



AMPS Proceedings Series 8

Government and Housing in a Time of Crisis

Policy, Planning, Design and Delivery

AMPS PROCEEDINGS SERIES 8

Liverpool John Moores University; AMPS
8-9 September, 2016

Government and Housing in a Time of Crisis: Policy, Planning, Design and Delivery

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AMPS PROCEEDINGS SERIES 8. ISSN 2398-9467

INTRODUCTION

Government and Housing in a Time of Crisis: Policy, Planning, Design and Delivery

This publication is the product of the conference Government and Housing in a Time of Crisis: Policy, Planning, Design and Delivery held at Liverpool John Moores University in 2016. The premise of the conference and this publication was that in the political economies of the West the provision of social and affordable housing has been subject to major change in recent decades. Nowhere is this more evident than in local and regional government. Today, local authority architects are mostly a thing of the past; house construction by regional administrators is increasingly rare; and local government management of housing is in decline. In place of these models are a plethora of policies, approaches and players. In the UK context these include ALMOs, stock transfers, Section 106 Agreements, right-to-buy, and the growth of Housing Associations etc. In other parts of Europe and across the developed world, the names of such initiatives and groups differ, but the issues in play remain the same. On that basis, the themes of the conference, reflecte this publication, include: Local Authorities, Government and Policy – planning ideas for housing the future; Building and Housing Professionals – ideas from inside (and about) the profession; Community Projects, Artists and Resident Engagement – the experience of users; Research, Academia, Innovation, Design and Case Studies – proposed and implemented models of housing

This publication, and the conference which it documents, were organised by the research organisation AMPS, its academic journal Architecture_MPS, and the Department of Architecture as Liverpool John Moores University. It formed part of the AMPS program of events, Housing – Critical Futures.

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DO IT OURSELF

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INTRODUCTION

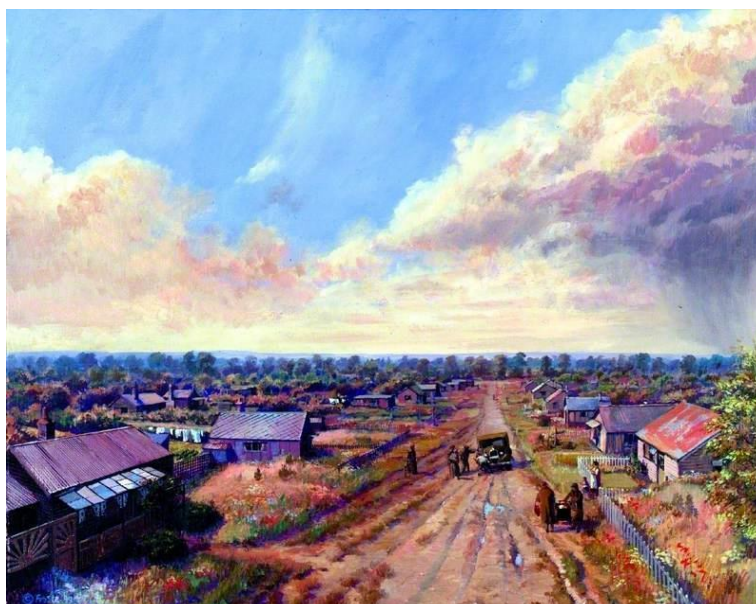


Figure 1 Basildon Plotlands in the 1940s
Credit: Peter Froste/Essex County Council

“...a socialism which is neither of the managerial right or the authoritarian left, but which uses state intervention to release the creative energies of ordinary people.”¹

This paper poses the following question: what role does self-build have in addressing the current housing crisis?² In attempting to answer this, the paper will draw on two historic examples of self-build housing programmes; the *Wild Settlement* housing of inter-war Vienna, and the historically contemporaneous *Plotland* communities in the UK.

Although these two examples differ in significant respects, they both demonstrate models for self-build housing beyond the individual or ‘one-off’ unit. They therefore offer potential clues for the use of self-build within larger residential developments and the design of new settlements.

The paper looks at the desirability of self-build as a model and the reasons why it might provide answers to the housing crisis at a socio-cultural as well as political level. In doing so I will draw on the work of the anarchist theorist and writer Colin Ward and in particular his concept of ‘dweller-control’. The empowerment of the individual in relation to housing and the built environment forms an important point of departure from mainstream housing models.

Departing from Ward’s work though I have attempted to link this to a wider sense of collective responsibility and a strategic role for the state. In making the case for self-build on a large-scale, the paper refers to the economic and political models that might make it possible. In this, I refer to the work of the UK-based economist Mariana Mazzucato, specifically her book *The Entrepreneurial State*³. In doing so, I argue for a significant role for the state in addressing the economic conditions for self-build, making an analogy between new housing and other forms of ground-up, government supported innovation. The paper will therefore examine current economic and legislative circumstances in order to ground the earlier historical research in contemporary possibilities. For example, the historic examples of both *Wild Settlement* and *Plotland* communities were made possible by comparatively cheap, available land and therefore any analysis of their contemporary relevance needs to confront current land values and development models today.

Finally, the title of this paper attempts to encapsulate a civic or social dimension to self-build and therefore address a combination of communal and individual needs. The apparent contradictions between Ward’s suspicion of the autocratic state and a commitment to social housing form a rich terrain on which to discuss current housing questions, one encapsulated by the quote from Nicholas Taylor at the head of this paper.

COLIN WARD AND ‘DWELLER-CONTROL’

Before analysing two key historic examples of self-build, it is important to set out more generally the potential advantages that it offers. For Colin Ward, self-build, Do-It-Yourself offer a critical opportunity for ordinary people to regain control over the built-environment. As house-owners and dwellers we are usually the distant consumers of the products offered by either the state or the house building industry. As such we are removed from the process of designing and building houses and the production of our built environment. In his 1984 lecture *Direct Action for Working-Class Housing*⁴, Ward states; “Everyone today is so completely dependent upon the housing supply system, whether renting in the public sector or buying in the private sector, that we find it hard to believe that people can house themselves.” Ward’s concerns extend to state-led housing provision as much as they do to today’s dominant private-sector model. As an anarchist, Ward was suspicious of all top-down, managerial forms of government from either the right or left. Even for supporters of the public sector, these criticisms of mass housing are important to address.

Throughout his writing on housing, Ward considers that the removal of the end-user from the production of housing – and their re-casting as either ‘passive’ consumers or equally ‘passive’ recipients of ‘council landlordism’⁵ – creates social and cultural problems in the form of urban alienation and lack of individual agency. Instead, he looks to various forms of self-build in order to foster more productive and meaningful relationships between us and the built environment. For Ward, the ability to affect this environment and to intervene meaningfully in it is a fundamental question not answered by either neo-liberal or socialist/social-democratic approaches to housing.

Part of the question posed in this paper then is whether there is a way to reconcile Ward’s quest for greater dweller control with a commitment to the state’s responsibility to make housing affordable for the majority of people. Another way of putting this question would be: what is the role of the state in

relation to self-build? How does it facilitate and encourage the productive and creative relationship that Ward desires? I will attempt to answer this question in more detail in the final section of this paper.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WILD SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT



*Figure 2 Image Of Settlers Building Houses on the Outskirts of Vienna.
Credit: Eva Blau/National Geographic*

The *Wild Settlement* movement was born out of the economic crisis following the collapse of the Austro Hungarian empire in 1915. In her study of this period, Eva Blau⁶ describes it as “...probably the most widespread example of physical self-help in the twentieth century in an industrialised nation.” The movement was a response to Austria’s huge housing crisis, in which families and individuals illegally occupied land and built their own houses. Organised into cooperatives and community associations, these ‘squatter’ settlements grew their own food, manufactured their own building materials and constructed their own housing.

In 1918, the squatters numbered some 14,000 families occupying 6.5 million square metres of land. Blau describes their settlements as “radically independent of bourgeois structures....anti-picturesque, urban and inextricably bound to the cultivation of food.”⁷ Official reaction was mixed. Blau describes concerns that existing green spaces would be lost to squatter settlements and that their uncontained nature was a threat to the identity of the city. However, within the Social Democratic party there was a desire to embrace them as an official part of the public housing programme.

During his tenure as an advisor on housing issues to the Social Democratic government of Vienna, Gustave Scheu developed plans for a complex relationship between the government and the settlements. Blau describes this relationship: “The role of the municipality was to provide funds, public transport and urban infrastructure. All the rest including the design and construction of the buildings themselves would be arrived at by cooperative building societies”⁸.

Scheu’s plans for official legitimisation of the settlements offered an intriguing hybrid model for housing, combining the state’s ability to purchase and plan large areas of land with a desire to allow a level of individual autonomy and ‘dweller-control’ in the production of housing.

Settlers would contribute to the costs of their housing by providing labour. Depending on their skills this might involve any number of tasks not limited to the construction process itself including

gardening and allotment farming. According to Blau; “a minimum of 10-15% of the total estimated building costs were provided by the direct labour of the settlers themselves”⁹.



Figure 3 Plan of the Rosenhügel Estate of Vienna.

Credit: Wien Museum

Scheu’s ambitious plans to combine municipal planning with the *Wild Settlements* didn’t quite happen, largely due to the political instability and chaos at that time, but a number of new settlements were built albeit in a more diluted, less radical form. As Chief Architect for the city of Vienna between 1920 and 1922, Adolf Loos was involved in a number of these, planning both the areas of the new settlements and designing prototypical dwellings. These house types combined highly economical construction techniques with essays in compact and super-efficient planning. Loos’ house types – including his patented House With One Wall – were also linked directly to large allotments so that the house and its productive garden were designed as an integrated and carefully planned unit.

The Viennese *Wild Settlements* gradually mutated from the radical self-help of the squatter movement to more regularised and traditional suburbs - albeit ones still based around the self-sufficient ideas of allotment cottages. However, Scheu’s proposals for a radical form of joint venture between the state and collectives of small-holders still offers a potential answer to contemporary housing problems.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PLOTLANDS

England’s agricultural depression of the early twentieth century led indirectly to the development of the *Plotland* communities. The low value of agricultural land that resulted led to farmers and landowners selling off parcels or ‘plots’ for individual development. Most prevalent in the arable-lands of the southeast – particularly Essex, Kent and Sussex – these plots formed the basis for a radical experiment in housing development.

Colin Ward has charted the development of the *Plotland* communities in detail in his pioneering book (written with Dennis Hardy) *Arcadia for All*¹⁰. Ward and Hardy describe how working class city dwellers would purchase a plot of land on which to build a simple hut as an escape from slum conditions. Initially serving as a weekend escape, over time the huts and plots were developed often

into permanent homesteads accompanied by allotment gardens and smallholdings with poultry and livestock. The resulting landscape formed an ambiguous but fascinating hybrid, neither suburban nor urban nor wholly rural. Ward describes a provocative mix of all three with houses, gardens, smallholdings and allotments coalescing into the kind of Continuous Productive Landscape as envisioned by Andre Viljoen and Katherine Bohn.¹¹



Figure 4 Looking up Fourth Avenue, Laindon Plotlands.
Credit: Allan Young

Ward also describes the construction process of the houses, with city-dwellers cycling out to the ‘edgelands’ of London with building materials transported on their bicycles and assembled over time. *“Take the case of Walter Southgate. After the First World War, he and his wife bought two and a half acres near Ongar in Essex. The following Easter they hired a Model T Ford van and transported their shed to erect of the concrete footings they had spent ages building. They finished the building in September 1928 and lived there in the smallholding they developed over the years until 1955. Over the years they produced every kind of fruit and vegetable, kept poultry rabbits and geese, grew a variety of trees and made their holding far more productive than any farmer would.”*¹²

Paradoxically, the formal rigidity of the *Plotlands* – areas of land sectioned off into a simple grid – allowed for an almost anarchist flowering of self-build expression. Houses were assembled from a wide variety of materials involving the creative re-use of existing objects such as railway carriages and military huts. Ward praised the creative self-sufficiency of this scenario, citing it as a rare example in the history of UK housing where the owners were fully involved in the design and construction of their own homes and environments.

The *Plotlands* were essentially ‘off-grid’, without mains electricity, water or adopted roads. Settlers constructed the infrastructure themselves – paving the area immediately in front of their dwelling for example – which would over time come to form something approaching a public realm. For the most part though the *plotland* settlements lacked the kind of public infrastructure and municipal support put forward for the *Wild Settlements* by Gustave Scheu.

Land (first performed in 1940) satirised both ‘gimcrack’ suburban ribbon development and the *plotlands* makeshift settlements.

Writing in the late 1960s, architectural historian Norman Scarfe typified the disdain for the *Plotlands* when he described the settlements in the Langdon Hills of Essex in the following way: “...seven parishes living in hair-raising scatters of shacks and gimcrack bungalows: the land in something like 30,000 ownerships and all part of the North Thames-side industrial and commuter region”¹³

This area was to become the post war New Town of Basildon, the only instance in which a *Plotland* community was deliberately developed into a more legitimate, public act of house building. Basildon was a very different beast though, the replacement of an essentially self-determining community with the civic architecture of social democracy.

Following Ward, one might ask what future the Laindon/Dunton plotlands might have had if their principles had been extended rather than ignored. Or if – following the Viennese model – the state had sympathetically underwritten their expansion with large-scale infrastructure planning?

SELF-BUILD AND THE STATE



Figure 6 *The Diggers Self-Build Scheme, Brighton*
Credit: Author

“History shows that those areas of the ‘risk landscape’ that are defined by high capital intensity and high technological and market risk tend to be avoided by the private sector.”¹⁴

The final section of this paper looks at the economic models in which self-build housing could flourish and the role of the state in facilitating and developing this. Mariana Mazzucato’s book *The Entrepreneurial State* forms an important basis for this because of the way that it examines the relationship of public and private investment. The book addresses the pervasive binary opposition between made between the public and private sectors. Mazzucato argues that in key areas of economic activity where the risks are too great for the private sector, the state can create markets through sustained and targeted investment. As she writes: “In the face of uncertainty, the business sector will not enter until the riskiest and most capital intensive investments have been made.” Mazzucato’s argument is framed around the IT and Pharmaceutical industries, where state investment led the way in developing new technologies such as the touch-screen software crucial to Apple’s iPhone. Mazzucato argues that Venture Capitalism – which has hitherto claimed most of the credit for California’s Silicone Valley innovations – only invests once the ‘heavy lifting’ of state investment is over. Markets, according to Mazzucato, are made by the public sector, into which the private sector invests.

Is it possible to transfer Mazzucato’s analysis of green technology and tech innovation to the housing sector? And can this help in attempts to foster self-build, community and cooperative models? Her argument is crucial in understanding the limitations of the current government’s interventions in housing. Current government policies focus on demand side strategies to incentivise first-time buyers through schemes such as Help to Buy introduced in 2013.

These strategies conform to Mazzucato’s theory of current perceptions regarding the limited role of the state in ‘correcting’ market failures, as opposed to more fundamental ability to create new ones. As she puts it: “The ‘entrepreneurial state’ is needed in the creation of new visions, rather than just fixing market failures.”

Are self-build projects an area of innovation in housing supply that the state can invest in? Beyond “just fixing market failures” can the state provide funding, support and strategic research into new models of house building and development? This would seem to be precisely the area of long-term social gain that Mazzucato has in mind when she addresses the green technology issue. Furthermore, the housing industry seems to represent the problem of ‘financialistion’¹⁵ that Mazzucato identifies in the increasing inability of the private sector to invest long-term in research and development. The state’s incentivisation of private sector market failures tends to exacerbate the disconnect between short term private gains versus long-term social ones. What Mazzucato and other economists refer to as the “socialisation of risk” – that is the state’s financial support for private risk taking - is accompanied by a “privatisation of gain” – i.e. the private sector takes all the reward for the risk subsidised by the public.

CONCLUSIONS

To return to the earlier historical sections of this paper, Mariana Mazzucato’s arguments for a dynamic and entrepreneurial state start to resonate with the example of the Viennese settlements. This could be seen as a radical and innovative model of housing supply that circumvents current stasis and stagnation. The development of new construction products and techniques enabling smaller-scale community and self-build housing could be combined with long-term infrastructure planning – exactly the kind of experimental thinking advanced by Gustave Scheu in Vienna in the 1920s. Equally, this could lead to an updated form of *Plotland* community where public infrastructure and master planning

could be combined with private house building. The role of Local Authorities and government agencies in not just enabling but strategically developing such scenarios could address the single most fundamental problem facing self-build as a model: land prices. Not only is the public sector a huge landowner itself, but it alone has the financial resources and long-term investment abilities to compete against the large volume house-builders. It also has the ability to revise and develop planning policy to allow for new developments on currently undevelopable land, in the process releasing the financial uplift in value in much the same way that Ebenezer Howard conceived in his model for the Garden Cities and, indeed, the Development Corporations via the New Towns of the post war period.¹⁶ In doing so, Ward's challenging ideas of hybrid and productive landscapes not reducible to terms such as town or countryside or suburb might prove useful in tackling objections on the grounds of conservation and protection from development. New terms of reference that recognise environmental issues, public access to land and the positive effects of individuals designing, building and managing their own homes will need to emerge.

NOTES

¹ Nicholas Taylor cited in Colin Ward, 'Direct Action for Working Class Housing,' in *Talking Houses: Ten lectures by Colin Ward* (London, Freedom Press, 1990), 77.

² Rowan Moore, "Britain's housing crisis is a human disaster: Here are 10 ways to solve it." *The Guardian*, March 14, 2015.

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2015/mar/14/britain-housing-crisis-10-ways-solve-rowan-moore-general-election>

³ Mariana Mazzucato, *The Entrepreneurial State: Debunking Public vs Private Sector Myths* (London, Anthem Press, 2013).

⁴ Ward, *Direct Action for Working Class Housing*, 69.

⁵ Ward, *Direct Action for Working Class Housing*, 65.

⁶ Eva Blau, "Learning To Live: 1919-1923," in *The Architecture of Red Vienna: 1919-1934* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1990), 90.

⁷ Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna*, 90.

⁸ Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna*, 92.

⁹ Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna*, 95.

¹⁰ Colin Ward and Dennis Hardy, *Arcadia For All: The Legacy of a Makeshift Landscape* (Nottingham, Five Leaves Publications, 2004).

¹¹ Viljoen and Bohn, *Second Nature Urban Agriculture: Designing Productive Cities*. (Oxford, Routledge, 2014).

¹² Ward, *Direct Action for Working Class Housing*, 70.

¹³ Norman Scarfe, *Essex: A Shell Guide* (London, Faber & Faber, 1968), 49.

¹⁴ Mazzucato, *The Entrepreneurial State*, 29.

¹⁵ Financialisation results in the redirection of profits from long-term research into short-term rewards in the form of dividends and share packages for management and shareholders. Mazzucato uses the example of 'Big Pharma', stating that: "From 2003 to 2012, Pfizer spent the equivalent to 71% - 75% of its profits on share buy backs and dividends."

¹⁶ Ebenezer Howard, *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path To Real Reform*, ed. Peter Hall, Dennis Hardy and Colin Ward (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

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ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES OF HOUSING FOR OLDER PERSONS IN NIGERIA- IN SEARCH OF A TIPPING POINT

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INTRODUCTION

Planning for the housing situation of an ageing population is one of the challenges of many countries today. In Nigeria, housing provision is majorly a matter at the family level where the individuals take on the responsibility for their housing plans. Though, there is increasing involvement of the private sector, governments and mutual aid groups in housing provision, the government takes more on the responsibility for facilitating for the different actors to realize their housing plans and for influencing the situation in the housing market. In order to do this successfully, knowledge about the housing preferences of the different actors is crucial. In Nigeria today, most people remain in ordinary housing all through life, while an infinitesimal proportion of the population age 65 and above move to assisted living or other forms of housing (e.g. living with children or family members). As the Nigeria population continues to age and the near absence of aging in its policy discourse, this paper portends on the need to ascertain that suitable housing is provided for the Nigerian elderly. With the country's current housing deficit of about 17 million and the fact that most individuals remain in ordinary housing through life, lack of adequate policy intervention may culminate in a very specific housing crisis. For example, many houses in the city centres are becoming dilapidated because of the inability of their aging owners to maintain or repair them. This situation is even worse in the rural areas. This exacerbates an already ingrained set of problems about housing quality and suitability in Nigeria. The research underlying this paper asked the following questions: what issues are developing regarding elders living with their family as the population ages? What housing options exist for elders with varied degrees of disability? What is needed to address housing issues for older Nigerians? By drawing on previous work and published data to consider age-related household trends and housing needs in Nigeria, this paper intends to stimulate dialogue and future research on housing needs of older adults in Africa in a bid to avert a potential housing crisis for this demographic category in the coming decades.

POPULATION AGING AND HOUSING

Population aging is described as the rise in the median age of a population resulting in a shift in the age structure of that population. While this ageing trend started in the developed world, it is now a global phenomenon, and it is accelerating, especially in the developing world. In industrial countries,

the share of those 60-plus has risen from 12% in 1950 to 22% today and is expected to reach 32% (418 million) by 2050. In developing countries, the share of those 60-plus has risen from 6% in 1950 to 9% today and is expected to reach 20% (1.6 billion) by 2050. The pace of this change means that developing countries will have much briefer periods to adjust and establish the infrastructure and policies necessary to meet the needs of their rapidly shifting demographics. It also means that unlike developed countries, they will need to cope with getting old before they get rich¹. The problem of global aging is going to be more seriously felt in the developing countries than in the developed countries as there will be higher absolute numbers of elderly people, a larger share of elderly, longer healthy life expectancies, and relatively fewer numbers of working-age people.

Like every other region in the world, Africa's population is ageing, but this is happening much more quickly. By 2050, the number of people over 60 living in Africa will increase from just under 50 million to just under 200 million². This unprecedented demographic shift portends profound implications for society, influencing people's social, economic and political lives. Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, has a young population with only 5 percent of its population aged 60 years and above accounts for nearly 7 million of its entire population³. Estimates by the United Nations (2012) shows that the elderly population in Nigeria will increase from 6.4 million in 2005 to 11.5 million in 2025, and then 25.5 million by 2050. This implies that the elderly population will constitute about 10 per cent of the total Nigeria population by year 2050⁴.

The discussion of the potentially serious implications of these changes for the provision and funding of public services, and for housing, are evolving in academic and policy arenas in Nigeria. Studies on the living arrangements and housing circumstances of older people is yet to receive adequate attention in many African countries, including Nigeria, except for few studies making general comments on the issue within studies on challenges of aging. Couple with this is the near absence of reliable data on housing in the country.

DEFINITION OF AN OLDER PERSON

There is no universal agreement on when old age begins. Our perception depends largely on context and our own age. Most countries of the developed world have accepted the chronological age of 65 years as a definition of the elderly or aged person. The age of retirement is often used as the marker of old age (which in the Nigeria is currently age 60). In Africa and Nigeria in particular, the ageing process is a biological reality which has its own dynamics, usually beyond human control. The definition of the elderly or aged person correlates with the chronological age of 50 to 65 years depending on the setting, region, and the country⁵. Apart from this chronological definition, most societies have a set of social markers which determine who is old. Glascock and Feinman's 1980 definition of old age in developing countries in which a number of African countries were included, reported that the definitions of old age fell into three categories: chronological age, change in social roles, and change in capabilities⁶. Some have opined that the concept of who is old depends on how long people are expected to live in a particular community. This has led the World Health organization to suggest that if a definition of old age in Africa is to be developed, either it should be 50 years or 55 years in light of the fact that life expectancy in Africa is lower than those of the western countries⁷. Complicating the issue of definition of old age is that in much of Africa, actual dates of birth are often unknown. Specifically, in Nigeria, many individuals do not have official records of their birth. As of 2012, Nigeria had not implemented the compulsory registration of births and deaths as legislated since 1979⁸. The current UNICEF report estimated that 70 per cent of the children born annually in the country are not registered at birth⁹. It is therefore reasonable to surmise that the situation would have

been worse for the older generation, particularly those born in rural communities. Thus, effort to define old age by reference to chronology alone may be fraught with inexactitudes. In a study of age identification among the Yoruba of south western Nigeria, it was found that there was a strong relationship between chronological definition of old age and some social markers, particularly for women. Women were more likely to be defined as old if they have attained menopause and have grandchildren, and men, as old if they are advance in age and experience limitations in their physical capabilities¹⁰. In addition, the Welsh Government's Strategy for Older People in Wales defines older people as aged 50 and over, although this has been the subject of much discussion¹¹. However, given unprecedented improvements in life expectancies, the increasing complexity and heterogeneity of populations in terms of their age structure is also reflected in the distinction now often made between the Third and Fourth ages, or "young-old", "old-old" and "oldest old" groups¹¹. For the purpose of this paper, old age, unless otherwise stated, is defined as aged 60 and above.

OLDER PEOPLE'S HOUSING OPTIONS

Shelter has been universally accepted as the second most important essential human need after food. A home is much more than physical shelter since it gives those who dwell in it a sense of security, privacy, comfort, and independence. It also plays a major role in facilitating social interaction with family and friends¹². Over 60 per cents of Nigerians who 60 and above are home owners¹³. The high incidence of home ownership among this age category can be linked to the value attached to house ownership among the Nigerians. To many people house ownership is personally and socially desirable and represents a measure of well-being especially in old age. Reasons for this include the generally held belief that house is not only a mere shelter; it a source of financial asset for owners who let them out to tenants for a fee. Home ownership is a popular retirement component by individual worker while in active service. It has proved to be highly rewarding for those who build for rent especially in cities. However, the rate of substandard homes among the elderly exceeds those for other age groups. Many houses are becoming dilapidated over the years, (especially in the city centres), and in later life, the ability of older adults to maintain or repair them is often limited by low incomes.

Majority of older individuals perceive their home as one of their most prized possessions. However, the quality and type of dwellings in which older adults live depend on many things such as their income, age, marital status, gender, and race, as well as their health and functional status¹⁴. In spite of these factors, the standard and suitability of older people's accommodation is vital to their health and quality of life and a key factor in their capacity to take care of themselves or to be cared for should they become dependent¹⁵. Hence, good quality housing is a critical factor in the promotion of independence and the attainment of a good quality of life for older people.

According to the Nigeria' population and housing census 2006¹⁶, a household "consists of a person or a group of persons living together usually under the same roof or in the same building/compound, who share the same source of food and recognize themselves as a social unit with a head of household". There are two major types of households recognized: regular and institutional. The criteria used to categorize regular and institutional households were 'presence of a recognized head of household', 'sharing of catering arrangement' and 'feeling of belonging together as a social unit'. There were other types of household classification/identification used during the census: Homeless households, Homeless persons, and Nomadic households, Transient persons, Fishing and Hunting population and Institutional/Census functionaries. In all, a total of 28.9 million households were enumerated out of which 95.2 percent belonged to regular households, 3.6 per cent were in the institutional category, while homeless, nomadic transient, fishing and hunting households were 1.3 percent.

However, the data on the residential patterns for age 60 plus in Nigeria indicate that over 65 per cent of older adults stay alone, 14 percent reside with their spouses. 2.6 per cent live with their children, 11.1 percent stayed with parents, 1.3 percent lived with siblings, 3.0 and 0.7 lived with other blood and non- blood relations respectively while 1.6 per cent lived in institutional households. Most older households are characterized by couples or single people living alone in general needs housing as many of them prefer to stay in their current homes. A good number of older homeowners typically have at least two spare bedrooms.

Housing options for elders with varied degrees of disability

In spite of the strong desire of many older adults to continue to stay in the houses they used to be when they are younger, certain conditions such as varied degree of disability may make the home environment unsuitable for daily living. In some cases, they move in with family members in order to be close to people who can assist with daily living activities and needs¹⁷. Many of them live with children, relatives and few in institutional housing. In Nigeria, institutional residential options are not yet integrated into the Nigerian housing system though there are about ten residential care homes for an elderly population of over 5million¹⁸. Many of these which can barely pass as nursing homes are operated by religious organizations, NGOs, States and Local governments' welfare department. In some instances, the elderly is kept in the same facilities with destitute and delinquents.

EMERGING ISSUES ON ELDERS LIVING WITH THEIR FAMILY

The traditional African housing unit is a compound. It is a group of compartments, with no clear cut divisions, built in the form of a rectangle enclosing and facing an open courtyard. Though there may be slight variations in architectural design by ethnic groupings, a compound is the unit of common residence of patrilineal descent groups. This design promoted intergenerational support which served as safety net in old age. In the face of modernity and gradual depletion of the extended family system, the compound housing pattern is gradually fading out giving way to a new style of architecture that encourages dispersal and promotes the nuclear family model. In essence, the modern architecture design and family system may be responsible for a high proportion of older persons staying alone. In the absence of institutional housing for older persons and the need to ensure sufficient care in old age, the older person may have to live with younger relative or adult children. This practice is in line with the age long pattern of sequential responsibility in which parents look after their children, and the children look after their parents when they are old people are too feeble to work. Apart from this, a high incidence of global migration and rural-urban drift is making it impossible to sustain the age long practice of family members staying together throughout life.

However, Nigeria's high unemployment rate is constituting a threat to the age-long pattern of sequential responsibility. Unemployment Rate in Nigeria increased to 10.40 percent in the fourth quarter of 2015 from 9.90 percent in the previous period. The number of unemployed persons went up by 518 thousand to 8 million and labour force population rose by 1 million to 76.95 million. The underemployment rate grew to 18.7 percent (14.4 million), compared to 17.4 percent (13.2 million). Unemployment Rate in Nigeria averaged 8.85 percent from 2006 until 2015, reaching an all-time high of 19.70 percent in the fourth quarter of 2009 and a record low of 5.10 percent in the fourth quarter of 2010¹⁹. Many grown up children who should be saddled with the responsibility of providing care for their aged parents, in the absence of state administered old age pension, still depend on their parents for economic support.

In many instances today when an older person has to stay with family member, it is within the nuclear family and not the extended family as the former is gradually replacing the latter. And when this occurs, a critical issue is that the older person stays alone for most hours of the day because the nature of economic activities in urban centres requires that adult children stay away from home most hours of the day. Hence an older adult living with them may experience loneliness during the period. However, older adults who live in their adult children's homes in some instances relay the lesson of reciprocity as they cook, do housework and babysit their grandchildren. They make it possible for both parents to go to work without the fear of entrusting childcare to the maid, or high bear the high cost of daycare centre.

Just as older adults in other parts of the world prefer to age in place, the Nigerian elderly prefers to age- in-place. Maintaining one's independence has been described as a crucial component of successful ageing. One way to achieve this for older adults is to age in place which is the ability to stay in one's home as a person ages²⁰. The current trend in Nigeria is for the elderly to live alone many of who found their living arrangements difficult. See Table one below.

Age Groups	Total	Head of Household	Spouse	Child	Parent	Brother/Sister	Other Blood Relation	Non-Blood Relation	Institutional Household
60-64	2,450,286	1,605,867	443,019	58,743	195,686	30,235	60,137	16,772	39,827
65-69	1,151,048	752,363	194,390	30,593	103,741	14,068	29,659	8,124	18,110
70-74	1,330,597	899,151	147,579	32,176	166,095	16,514	40,986	8,018	20,078
75-79	579,838	382,139	65,971	19,135	73,937	7,414	18,127	3,902	9,213
80-84	760,053	484,533	73,887	28,844	116,170	10,439	28,890	5,130	12,160
85+	715,225	469,802	52,300	14,762	123,227	8,975	28,703	4,557	12,899
Total	6,987,047	4,593,855	977,146	184,253	778,856	87,645	206,502	46,503	112,287
%	100.0	65.7	14.0	2.6	11.1	1.3	3.0	0.7	1.6

Table 1: Distribution of Population by Age Groups and Relationship to the Head of Household

WHAT IS NEEDED TO ADDRESS HOUSING ISSUES FOR OLDER NIGERIANS

As the nation's demographic profile tilts towards the elderly in the coming decades, it becomes expedient to commence a dialogue toward the development of a housing policy that will specifically address housing needs of older persons. Past efforts at addressing the housing problems in Nigeria have erroneously equated the housing needs of young adults with that of older adults. Compared to the younger population, the needs of older people are not always the same as the latter are exposed to higher risks of increasingly poor health, disability and frailty. Loneliness is also sometimes an issue for those who have been widowed or whose family and friends have died or moved away. These factors can have a significant impact on health and wellbeing. All in all, as we age, the likelihood of needing more help with health, social care and social requirements will increase.

We must begin to think about building age friendly cities, towns and villages. Older people live in both rural and urban settings and each of these locations have their peculiar attributes and implication for this category of people. Older persons who in many instances migrate to rural areas at retirement are confronted with untold hardships in the course of everyday living. While the urban area grapples with inadequate housing, unplanned development, improper maintenance of existing structures, aging, absence of social infrastructure, insecurity and pollution., rural housing is deficient in social services such as electricity, water supply, as well as transportation facilities. Additionally, the houses in the urban core areas are characterized by inadequate infrastructural facilities, poor ventilation, non-availability of in-built toilet and kitchen, as well as poor refuse disposal system. Other problems that are associated with urban housing are lack of effective planning, development of shanty towns, and availability of dilapidated houses. Older people's housing needs can be twofold: the need for repairs and adaptations to existing accommodation; and the need for alternative accommodation when necessary or when preferred. In this light, financial support can be provided by government for repairs and adaptation to existing accommodation to encourage aging in place. In recognition of the fact that as people advance in age, independent living may be hampered, home care services may be encouraged. Other options that may be appropriate is to ensure that Nigerians are sensitized on the need to thinking ahead and planning for "lifetime-smart" homes so that housing stock can be built to become age-sustainable rather than catering to age-specific needs.

NOTES

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URBAN REGENERATION OF PUBLIC HOUSING IN SOUTHERN ITALY: APPLICATION OF AN ANALYSIS AND DESIGN METHODOLOGY TO AN EMBLEMATIC CASE-STUDY

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INTRODUCTION

This essay presents experimental research under way at the “Eduardo Vittoria Academic School of Architecture and Design”, University of Camerino, within the sphere of activities of the Italian Society of Architectural Technology (SITdA)¹.

The research is focused on the development of a method for an effective approach to the regeneration of the industrialized residential housing districts built, in Italy, between the '60s and '80s and which now have become, after only a few years, a real urban emergency. Currently, they contain rapidly deteriorated, obsolete and often overcrowded homes, completely inadequate to the inhabitants' needs, to the current legislation and to the now accepted performance standards. Within the controversy between "new construction" and "retrofitting the existing" as strategies for the modernisation of the city, the majority of debate has now concentrated on the destiny of these estates. In these areas, physical deterioration reaches exceptional levels, not only for the shoddy quality of their construction but also for the failure of the original planning choices, characterized by the quantitative application of urban standards, the indifference towards the quality of common outdoor spaces, the lack of flexibility levels in the dwelling units (to respond to changes in the needs of their inhabitants).

The fruit of the research carried out to date is *SET_up* (“**SETTLEMENT_upgrade**”), which is an analysis and design method devoted to the regeneration of this mass housing typology, applicable to different case studies in this housing field. The paper illustrates the method configuration, in its broad lines, and some results of the application of *SET_up* to an emblematic case-study of southern Italy: the PSER intervention in Naples in the '80s.

***SET_up*. An analysis and design methodology for the upgrade of industrialized housing estates**

The principal reference in the *SET_up* method is the “Open Building Theory”². In accordance with J.N. Habraken's “vision”, in fact, the method works on the assumption that the environment can be

“read” on different levels, and that the systemic industrial scheme of industrialized housing can be considered an opportunity to replace some sub-systems, rearrange the spaces, improve the environmental and energy performances. So, the method is based on a pattern which provides a breakdown of housing problems and solutions in three **reference scales** (*neighborhood, building and dwelling*) and as many **strategic levels** (*space/functional, technological/construction, energy/environmental*).

The REFERENCE SCALES focus mainly on:

neighborhood scale

the organization, characterization, functionality of the open space (including pedestrian paths, ramps and lock-ups); b) accesses to the neighborhood; c) the definition of artificial and natural elements necessary to improve the environmental quality of the outdoor spaces; e) the materials for external paving;

building scale

a) the typological and morphological characterization of the buildings; b) the recognition of internal “functional lines” in which to organize, in a rational way, dwellings and connection spaces; c) the treatment of buildings (plan and elevation articulation) in relation to the their position and orientation; d) the organization of the distribution spaces (corridors, galleries, staircases, etc), common spaces, collective services, roof and ground floor; e) the study of ground floors; f) the study of the principal enveloping features in terms of energy performance and morphology; g) the verification of the first architectural outcome;

dwelling scale

a) the distribution, the dimensions, and the orientation of the dwellings; b) the attribution of flexibility and adaptability to the housing spaces on a basis of possible fruition cycles; c) the relation between the housing spaces and the utility network.

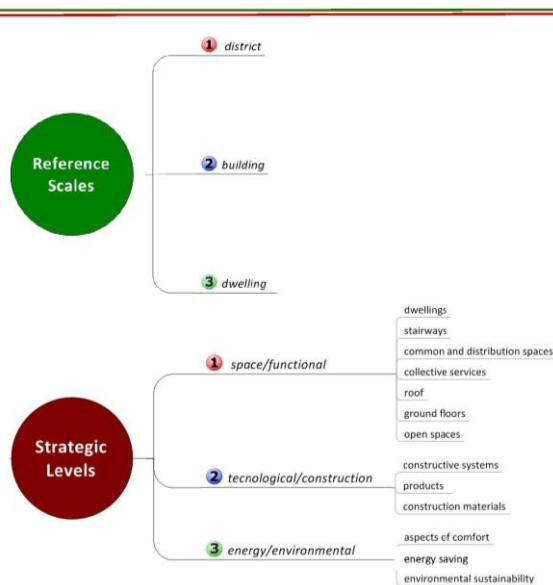


Figure 1 - References and levels in the SET_up pattern

The STRATEGIC LEVELS refer, in particular, to:

space-functional level

the indoor and outdoor spaces, as a) dwellings; b) stairways; c) lobbies; d) roof; e) ground floor; f) open spaces;

technological-construction level

a) construction systems; b) products; c) construction materials;

energy-environmental level

aspects of a) comfort; b) energy saving; c) environmental sustainability (in general).

Levels and scales determine a 3by3 matrix whose rows are occupied by the reference scales and columns by the strategic levels. This matrix is a sort of "navigator" that orientates all the phases of analysis and design. Each intersection of the matrix constitutes a specific field of analysis in which it is also possible to test specific design interventions. In this way, applying SET-up to different case studies, both phases of the general analysis and assessment of design strategies can be reconstructed in the form of a "catalogue" organized in reference scales and strategic levels, as the sum of the work done at each intersection of the matrix. The more case studies that are analyzed, the more the method can be developed, and the catalogue can be exhaustive and incisive.

Application of the method to a case-study

The case-study presented here is the intervention carried out within the still emblematic context of the Extraordinary Residential Construction Plan (PSER) drawn up in Naples following the earthquake of the 23rd of November 1980³.

Naples and its province represent a place with a strong tradition of housing problems, only partially resulting from a density of population that is among the highest in Europe. The earthquake of 1980 worsened this already dramatic situation. As soon as the gravity of the problem was clear in relation to the earthquake damage, it was decided to take drastic action. First of all, the Mayor of the city was appointed as Superintendent for the Reconstruction with full powers. The strategy adopted was to apply the urban plans already approved by the Administration before the earthquake, originally devoted to the redevelopment of suburbs and not yet effective. A disaster like the earthquake was used as an accelerator of processes that had not been put into practice.

The PSER was drawn up to build new districts or to restore some existing but damaged, amounting to a total of 20,000 dwellings. The new districts were all carried out with industrialized systems. In relation to the technical choices, the methods and the procedures implemented, but also to the dimension of the intervention, the PSER operation was a vanguard and experimental plan in the national history of public urban planning. It should also have been a program of absolute excellence in terms of performance. But, particularly for the new districts, it was not.

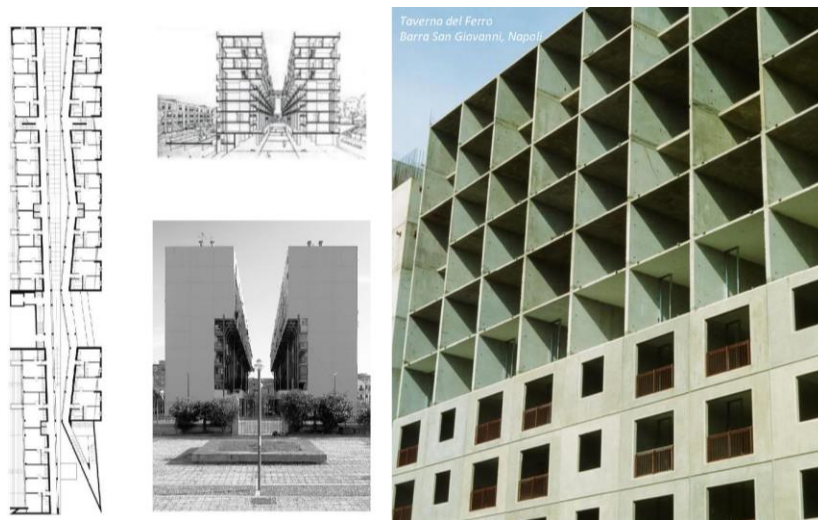


Figure 2. One of PSER interventions: "Taverna del ferro, Barra-San Giovanni neighborhood, Naples

As an example, given below are the results of the application of SET_UP to one of the 13 new construction areas. In the Sant'Arpino area, *Selva Cafaro* district was built for an original population of 2,800 people in the northern suburbs of Naples. In accordance with the SET_UP pattern, the neighborhood was critically read at "strategic levels".

Space/Functional level

The original building typology proposes *linear* solutions for the lower levels and *balcony-housing* solutions for the upper levels. Both typologies are characterized by front-to-back units, with the service block (bathrooms and kitchens) confined to a central band. The size of the apartments varies but rarely exceeds 100 square meters. This implies general overcrowding of housing units (the households are usually of more than four people) that are often penalized by rigid and not always functional living spaces. Part of the ground levels should have been original spaces for commercial activities and services; the open spaces should have been characterized by a dense presence of public parks. Today, the ground floors are closed or improperly used for residential purposes (or lock ups); the open space used as parking areas.

The monotonous repetition of the dwellings and the rigidity of the internal space solutions are the result of a housing model that has been unable to satisfy the needs of the inhabitants, also because of the rigidity of the industrialized construction systems.

Technological/Construction level

With its multi-storey buildings of 7/8 floors forming two large courtyards, *Selva Cafaro* is a large-size hive of reinforced steel and concrete structures, characterized by wide and degraded open spaces, by the marked obsolescence of the buildings built with non-flexible systems, with shoddy quality, chosen for the economy of the process at the expense of quality. Its position is particularly unfortunate since it is in the center of an intricate infrastructure system (*Capodichino airport* is part of it). Its "gigantic" parallelepipeds (eight buildings, seven floors above ground, 12,600 covered square meters and a volume of 240,000 cubic meters) emerge in an area of approximately 6 hectares, arranged around two large courtyards open to the south-west towards an indefinite and desolate space. The original 540 lodgings have over time increased with the illegal occupation of spaces and rooms originally intended as facilities and common services. The neighborhood is characterized by a substantial difference in the

structural system between the two main blocks. The first block of buildings has a metal structure with pillars and beams, with prefabricated concrete floors; the second is composed of a three-dimensional reinforced concrete system built on site (*tunnel formwork system*⁴). Both the envelope blocks are made up of prefab concrete panels (with interposed insulation) which today is totally inefficient in terms of thermal and acoustic insulation and waterproofing (the roofing systems and windows have the same problem).



Figure 3 - Selva Cafaro neighborhood

Energy/Environmental level

It is an energy-consuming settlement, and not only for the reduced performance of the concrete panels of the envelope (that time has further reduced). The lack, during the planning and construction phases, of any strategy for reducing energy consumption and increasing thermal comfort has meant that Selva Cafaro is currently far from the now acceptable standards; likewise, the size and the emptiness of its open spaces share the responsibility for the environmental degradation that has resulted over the years. Of course, the issues of energy efficiency and environmental comfort only recently have found stability in construction practices. And yet, in these buildings, there is no trace of that "environmental responsibility" which in those years was in its early stages. The houses are hot in summer and cold in winter and the large outdoor spaces are "dominated" by climatic conditions. This is the reason for the clearly visible attempts at "spontaneous" energy adjustment by the residents, who - using awnings, porches, double glazing and other DIY devices - have created, over time, a supplementary apparatus to improve the level of comfort of their own living space.

In accordance with the SET_UP method, the neighborhood has been analyzed from the point of view of its performance, considering not only its present condition but also its original condition. In this way it has been possible to identify the defects evident today, after almost thirty years, and to trace the causes which are ascribable to the faulty planning strategies and technological choices adopted. Among the most obvious defects which can be mentioned, are: the lack of a reference social model; the priority with which the households were chosen; the degradation of part of the components and construction systems; improper use of the spaces by the inhabitants; sabotage by the residents as a manifestation of their malcontent.

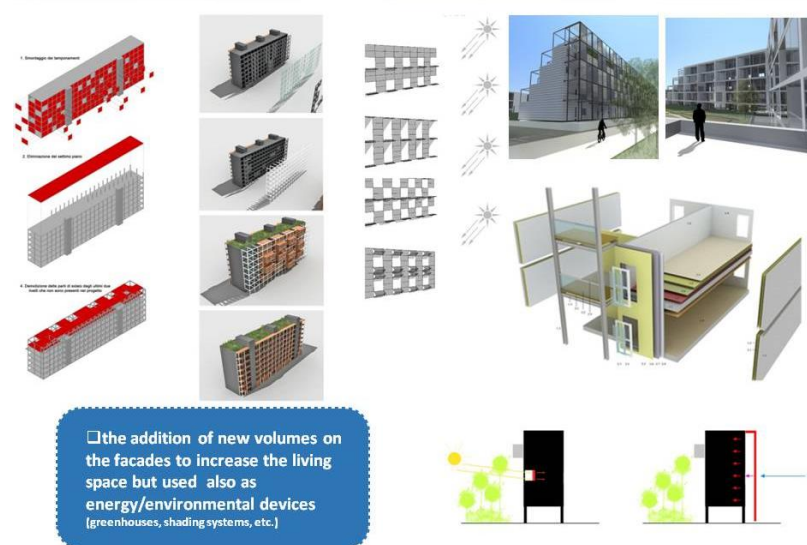
The results of this analysis have allowed an assessment of the regenerative potential of the district and to experiment a first batch of design strategies among which, in particular:

- the opening of spaces on the ground floors;
- the recovery of roof-top terraces to be allocated to common functions;

- the merging/splitting of the units;
- the addition of new volumes on the facades to increase the living space but used also as energy/environmental devices (greenhouses, shading systems, etc.);
- the total or partial replacement of the envelope systems, including the change of the relationship opaque/transparent surfaces on the facades, the use of systems of brise-soleil and darkening of the fixtures; the use of solar and photovoltaic devices. In some cases external insulation and finishing system (EIFS) has been planned (instead of the total replacement of the envelope);
- the acoustic insulation of the internal partitions and floors;
- the replacement of utility networks and provision for cooling systems.



Figure 4. A synthesis of some of the design strategies experimented, according to the 3by3 matrix



Figures 4-5. Some results of the design application

Outcomes and open questions

The application of the SET_UP method to the case-study PSERN has allowed the reconstruction of a clear and accurate picture of the problems that afflict not only the buildings of PSERN, but most of the analogous examples of industrialized housing estates in Italy. In addition, the design experiment performed on Selva Cafaro district - carried out in accordance with the SET_UP methodological approach and its theoretical assumptions related to the Open Building Theory - has allowed the identification of possible design solutions and technical strategies that, in later research, should be verified in terms of logistics and economic feasibility. These first two results will be implemented through the in-depth study of the PSER districts and by extending the application of the method to

other case studies. However, the work done to date shows that upgrading these neighborhoods is technically feasible. It also shows, in particular, that:

- the industrial building season for homes has made constructions that, although degraded in a very short time, enjoy a regenerative potential "different" from the traditional building: a potential that derives not so much from a "dismantling" of the systems and components, as the "systemic conception" that was at the basis of their construction. This specific condition offers them another chance at rehabilitation. In philosophical terms, in accordance with the design methodologies of the "Open Building", it is possible to consider the building structure a unique invariable sub-system and operate on others with greater freedom based on the total or partial replacement of the elements of which it is composed, with the intent to respond to the spatial-functional needs of the final users. This approach suits the specific nature of this kind of housing very well, because it considers the building organism, created using industrialized systems and procedures, as consisting of a fixed and durable support structure and elements with a shorter lifespan that can be wholly disassembled and/or interchanged to respond to the necessities of individuals and family units. This entails the identification of a procedural and normative structure capable of placing the current industrial production at the service of the users' desires. This involves primarily the use of technological systems and industrial products that, opportunely assembled using "dry" building techniques, can be coherently adapted to interventions of retrofitting at different levels of action, offering elevated performance at reasonable costs.
- that regeneration of these building is more suitable with steel pillars and beams than those with three-dimensional concrete systems (cofrage tunnel) in which the rigidity of the system greatly reduces the design variables. However, in both cases, it is clear that a marked renovation of technological systems requires the use of lightweight technologies and devices that are reversible, integratable, achievable with dry assembly techniques, responsive to parameters of simple construction and low maintenance costs. The industrialized wood technologies, in particular OSB, seem particularly appropriate for the necessary transition from a heavy envelope to a lightweight one.
- prior to speaking of the "correction" of energy-performance of the buildings it is necessary to consider a "re-signification" - first - of open and common spaces in environmental terms, defining new uses, spatial qualities and levels of comfort. These spaces must also be treated as an integrated system of energy/environmental devices as, for example: solar shading, natural and artificial systems for protection against prevailing winds, greenhouses, systems for balancing temperature and humidity throughout the district, systems for accumulation and reuse of rainwater. The primary focus of this new environmental system lies more in the settlement than its individual buildings.
- for many of the neighborhoods, like those created by PSER, the current Social Housing policies in force in Italy are not realistically applicable. Neither is it reasonable to conjecture, in a short - and - medium term, that these areas will be the object of gentrification on the basis of the Anglo-Saxon model (assuming this to be valid). In many cases, these neighborhoods have become real slums that need extraordinary programs for which it appears unrealistic to foresee incentive formulas that can attract private capital;
- its regeneration, even before being of an urban and technological nature, should occur first on the social level. In many cases the situation is so compromised that it appears very unlikely

that a similar process can be triggered without a re-appropriation by the State of the areas that today escape, at least in part, its control;

- in these areas, “bottom-up” intervention strategies (starting from the community’s initiatives) may be desirable, but by themselves will not be decisive;
- the complexity of the problem requires "extraordinary" measures, as was the case of the PSER where extraordinary measures were adopted after the earthquake.
- equally inevitable appears the need to operate through public – national and European - funding;
- regenerating these neighborhoods needs, first, an infrastructure and connection plan (with neighboring towns), considering that “isolation” is one of the principal causes of their present degradation.

This experience of research carried out to date shows that a systematic solution to this kind of emergency seems, in the context of central and southern Italy, still far away. However, it is clear that the density of these settlements and the negative impact that they have on the urban contexts they belong to make the definition of incisive action policies a priority.

NOTES

¹ SITdA that is a scientific society that brings together academics, researchers and operators interested in the field of architectural technologies and innovation in construction. SITdA is organized in thematic clusters which constitute a research network. The authors of this work are all members of the cluster “Social Housing” (SH), which includes (actually) 82 researchers and is organized in 12 units operating within the main Italian universities in the field of urban and environmental renewal of public housing built between the 1950’s and 1980’s. Since 2007, SITdA pursues the promotion, implementation, and dissemination of the research in this area of interest through seminars, conferences and publications (some of which are published on its scientific magazine “Techne”).

² “Open Building” (OB) is an approach to the design of buildings that is recognized internationally to represent a new wave in architecture. As is known, J. N. Habraken is the father of this approach. The OB theory is based on some original point of view, including: a) the building can be theoretically considered the intersection of systems composed of a number of different components, each of which would be tackled separately; b) it is possible to reconsider *structure* as a unique invariable sub-system (*support*) and operate on others with greater freedom based on the total or partial replacement of the elements of which it is composed (*infill*), with the intent of responding to the spatial-functional needs of the end users (“support-infill concept”, was explained in *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing*, which was first published in 1961); c) the State provide the infrastructure on which people could build their own housing; d) the interface between technical systems allows the replacement of one system with another performing the same function; e) the built environment is the product of an ongoing, never ending design process, in which the environment is transformed part by part.

³ In particular, the earthquake hit the regions of Campania and Molise and had devastating effects. Only in the municipal area of Naples, which was not the hardest hit area because of the remoteness from the epicenter, 52 people died and there was several damage to buildings and infrastructures.

¹ *Tunnel form* is a formwork system that allows the contractor to cast walls and slabs in one operation in a daily cycle. It combines the speed, quality and accuracy of factory/off-site production with the flexibility and economy of in-situ construction. The result is a cellular reinforced structure, the surfaces of which are sufficiently high quality to require only minimal finishing for direct decoration, while the end walls and facades are easily completed with thermally insulated units that can be clad as required. The result is a repetitive cellular construction, unsuitable in terms of flexibility and adaptability of indoor spaces.

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FAMILY HOMELESSNESS IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND: EXPERIENCES, POLICY AND LEGISLATION

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INTRODUCTION

This article outlines the emerging findings from a qualitative participatory research study of homeless families in Ireland and England. The research study specifically aims to explore the experiences of homeless families, particularly children's experiences, as well as examining the policy and legislative context impacting on families. The research is innovative in that it specifically explores children's experiences, and the impact of homelessness on their health, wellbeing and education. Integrating the experiences of families, the voices of children and interviews with experts in the field, with the policy and legislative issues from the literature, provides a greater understanding of this complex societal problem. Using a template analysis (King, 1998) the research identifies a number of emerging themes including the definition of homelessness, the experiences of homeless children and families, the housing market, and the correlation between wider government policy and homelessness (Fitzpatrick, 2005; Mayock et al 2014; McKenna 2010; Ravenhill, 2016).

METHODOLOGY

Participants in this qualitative study included families with children who are currently homeless or have recently experienced homelessness (within the previous three months) in Ireland and England. The definition of homelessness used was the first three categories of the European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) including rooflessness, houselessness and living in insecure accommodation (FEANTSA, 2016). Families interviewed included those sleeping rough, those living in temporary B&B/ B&B hotel accommodation, those in immigrant reception centres and those with no legal tenancy who have been served with an eviction notice. To date, utilising a purposive sampling strategy, thirty two people have been interviewed including ten families comprising sixteen adults and ten children as well as six experts who work in the area of homelessness.

Adopting a critical interpretivist approach and a participatory research strategy (Freire, 1995; Van Blerk & Kesby, 2013; Cahill 2007; Beazley & Ennew 2006) families were interviewed using semi-structured interviews and observations were undertaken, and children's views and experiences were sought using creative methods (Singhal & Rattine-Flaherty, 2006; Kelleher et al, 2000; Lomax, Fink, Singh & High, 2011). A participatory approach was adopted that was participant led and

accommodated different levels of marginalisation and concentration abilities of participants (Thompson, 2007; Coyne et al., 2006). This participant led approach was essential, as there were many occasions when the interviews had to be cancelled at the last minute due to the difficult environmental positions that participants found themselves in, and to the sometimes chaotic lives of homeless people. On these occasions' family observations were undertaken. Holland et al (2010) writes of one aim of participatory research as enabling child centred communication. Facilitating children to draw their experiences of homelessness and talk about their drawings enabled the voice of the child to be heard in this research (Mertens, 2009). Semi structured interviews to elicit experts' experiences were undertaken and this provided valuable information on both the experiences of homeless families and the policy and legislative context of homelessness in Ireland and England. Interviewing experts working in the area of homelessness, combined with a review of the literature also provided valuable insights into the policy and legislative context of homelessness. Being a qualitative study with a small sample size the findings are not generalizable and instead aim to give an understanding of the experiences of homeless children and families and the policy and legislative context of their homelessness.

Ethical permission for the study was obtained from the University Research Ethics Committee. Informed consent is very important in any research, but particularly with children and families who are homeless and vulnerable (BERA, 2011). Specific information for the parents, experts and the child was developed to ensure that each person understood the research study. Consent forms were compiled for parents to agree to their child's participation in the study. Consent forms were developed for parents and experts. Specific consent procedures for children were developed. The voluntary nature of participation in the study was verbally explained to participants and they were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time in the process. Confidentiality and anonymity of participation was emphasised. The interview data and recordings were kept under lock and key and only viewed by the researcher. Children were given pseudonyms to ensure their individual identities were protected.

DEFINITION OF HOMELESSNESS

Internationally there are varying definitions of homelessness across countries. Australia adopts a three-category definition comprising primary (no regular accommodation), secondary (living in shelters or with friends and family) and tertiary (substandard housing). The US has been developing its definition over time with the HEARTH Act (2012) extending the definition contained in the McKinney-Vento Act to include chronic homelessness. Although various definitions of homelessness exist (Chamberlain et al 2000; Lee et al 2010), the Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless (FEANTSA), developed the ETHOS (the European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion) definition of homelessness that appears to be quite comprehensive. The four ETHOS categories that include rooflessness, houselessness, living in insecure accommodation, and living in inadequate accommodation, is 'possibly the most systematic and detailed definition' that exists (Mayock et al., 2014: p. 2). Ravenhill (2016, p. 11) believes that there are 'political and welfare consequences to defining homelessness'. She believes that finding a statutory definition is not where the difficulty lies, but in subsequent economic and logistical decisions. In Fazel et al's (2014) analysis many high income countries are attempting to find 'uniform definitions in an attempt to monitor progress on the reduction in homelessness and to determine service eligibility.' Findings emerging from this research show that definitions can exclude vulnerable people from obtaining

housing and also that policy can be interpreted differently at a more local level, which can exclude vulnerable people from applying for housing.

Quilgar et al., (2011), state that homelessness is defined differently in statute and by the general population. The Department for Communities and Local Government (2015) in the United Kingdom reflects this stance:

'The term 'homelessness' is often considered to apply only to people 'sleeping rough'. However, most of our statistics on homelessness relate to the statutorily homeless i.e. those households which meet specific criteria of priority need set out in legislation, and to whom a homelessness duty has been accepted by a local authority.'

This department's statistics outline that in 2015/2016 there were 39,130 Homeless Households with dependent children unintentionally homeless / falling within a priority need group. The UK is one of the few developed countries that have legislation that confers a statutory duty to provide housing to homeless people. The difficulty with this is that vulnerable families must be accepted as homeless by a local authority and some families are categorised as intentionally homeless, thus excusing the local authority from a homelessness duty.

The Housing Act 1988 (section 2) provided the first legal definition of homelessness in Ireland. The legislative provisions in this Act have been defined by Kenna (2006) as enabling rather than conferring a specific statutory requirement on local councils to deal with homelessness. The National Census of Ireland (CSO 2011) identified 3,808 persons as homeless, defining homelessness as either sleeping rough or residing in specific accommodation for homeless people. It was the first time homelessness was measured in the Republic of Ireland Census, and although this is commendable, Focus Ireland the charity that specialises in supporting homeless families, outlines the 'transient and hidden nature' of homelessness, and therefore the difficulty in measuring it. Its figures show that in June 2016 there were 1,000 families and 2177 children, accessing emergency accommodation, with many more hidden homeless staying with family or friends and often sleeping on sofas (Focus Ireland, 2016). In 2016 official figures put the total number of homeless people at 6525, (Department of Housing Planning Community and Local Government, June 2016).

Minnery (2007) points to the 'growing significance of the new homeless consisting of families, women and children'. Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 25) outlines the right to an adequate standard of living for the health and wellbeing of oneself and one's family including housing, the definition of homelessness in statute in Ireland and England poses problems for homeless families. Although the scale of the problem in both Ireland and England is different, the definition of homelessness in both countries poses questions about its extent. This influences housing policies, housing provision and construction policies required to address homelessness. In addition this research shows that families face bureaucratic obstacles, in particular delays in being accepted by councils as homeless and being excluded from housing waiting lists because of being considered intentionally homeless. Another problem that was specific to Ireland, involved families gaining access to the housing waiting list where they moved between Dublin and the surrounding counties. Housing authorities at times denied responsibility for a particular family each authority saying it was the other's responsibility. Families that have difficulty being defined or accepted as homeless are not included in homeless statistics. This 'lack of a comprehensive definition... prevents cohesive action on tackling homelessness' (Ravenhill, 2016: p. 5).

EXPERIENCES OF HOMELESS FAMILIES

Utilising the first three categories of the ETHOS definition of homelessness this research identified two types of homeless families; those who cannot afford their homes and those with complex needs. Experiences common to both types of families include child and family wellbeing such as poor health,

psychological distress, and behaviour problems in children; disruption of children's education; family separation involving children being separated from parents, spouse/partner separation, isolation involving living where you do not know anyone, and feeling distressed and frustrated in relation to proving you are homeless.

One Family comprising mum, her daughter L aged ten years and her partner (not L's father) lived in a car and encountered a lot of bureaucracy proving that they were homeless to the council. Mum said: *'We were constantly down with the local council {they} fobbed you off. You had to nearly fight with them to put you on the homeless list. They kept asking you to prove things. It was like we had done one thing and they had you jumping through another hoop. It was just something after something. It was never just do this and you are on it. It was do this, come back to us. So you got that done. Some of the stuff they got you to do was ridiculous.'*

Delays in being accepted as homeless were common to both England and Ireland. Other bureaucratic obstacles specific to Ireland included homeless people waiting hours on the emergency telephone line, being required to phone the emergency line every day and an excessive need to prove that they are homeless. After three weeks of living in a car the family was accepted as homeless by the council and it was a further three weeks before they were housed. They were accepted as homeless when a charitable organisation contacted the council on their behalf and verified that they were sleeping rough. The family lived primarily on pot noodles for their main meal and found it difficult when it came to finding facilities for personal hygiene which resulted in health problems. Because of their homelessness L aged ten went to live at her father's house on occasions, as mum was afraid that social services would take her daughter into care. Family separation including spouse / partner and parent / child separation was common among homeless families and this causes great distress for homeless families. L aged 10 says:

'I missed my mum, I used to go around the schoolyard crying all the time and when my friends asked me what was wrong I would not tell them. I was really confused.'

S aged six travelled with his family from Eritrea through Libya and made a boat crossing to Greece and then spent three months in the Calais Jungle before travelling in a lorry to England. He says:

'We lived in a cave in the jungle [Calais Migrant Camp] me and my mum. The floor was very dirty and there were lots of people there. There were no toilets and we just had to find somewhere to go. There was no room to play so me and my friend had to play sit down games.'

S, his mum and his brother are living in temporary accommodation. They are separated from their father/ husband as he could not make the journey to England with them and was deported from Calais. His father is now in another European country and is seriously ill in hospital with no immediate chance of family reconciliation. The family are very emotional and distressed about this situation.

This research identified how many families face mental health problems that emerged after they became homeless. They reported depression, anxiety, distress and fear for their personal and family safety. Children aged six to eight found it difficult when they did not have facilities to play or if they were separated from parents or friends. Older children and young people had a much more emotional response to their homelessness many reporting confusion, upset about lack of personal space, loss of friends, distress and anxiety because of separation from their parents and getting embarrassed about their situation. Bassuk et al (2014) reports that

'40% of homeless school-age children have mental health problems....and points to the impacts of homelessness interfering with learning, social relationships and emotional self-regulation.'

An observation undertaken by this researcher demonstrated Bassuk et al's (2014) contentions:

'I visited with the intention of doing a family interview to find the room covered with white powder. When I asked what had happened mum said that her 12 year old daughter had thrown the baby food around the room as she got angry. It was 7pm and the four children had not eaten dinner and there was now no baby food for the four day old baby. The children's homework was not completed and mum was crying. The situation appeared chaotic'.

The researcher helped to restore calm and helped the family with their immediate needs thus cancelling any interviews. Other mothers reported the disruption to children's education including difficulty travelling long distances to take their children to school depending on the location of the temporary accommodation, frequent changes of schools, the deterioration in children's academic progress, financial pressures associated with travelling to schools, absenteeism from school and a deterioration of their children's behaviour at home. Harker (2006) reports a lower level of academic attainment and increased levels of absenteeism among homeless children. Some children reported difficulties in doing homework particularly those in one room B&B accommodation. They also reported getting into trouble in school for its non-completion. Roze et al. (2016) report that children in homeless families experience psychological problems that puts them at risk for poor educational achievement in the long term.

Schools did appear to provide stability in children's lives and where schools were aware of a child's situation, supports were often provided. The benefits of this stability were often mitigated by the other problems including travelling long distances to school resulting in being tired at school or absenteeism, lack of homework facilities, and the family instability and distress due to being homeless. One family living in a one room B&B accommodation reported that when the baby awoke in the middle of the night, everyone was awake. There is currently no requirement on housing authorities in Ireland or England to inform schools when children are homeless.

Because our culture tends to view homelessness as individual weakness rather than a societal injustice, Powers-Costello and Swick (2008) believe that some teachers perceive homeless families and children as different and one of the biggest challenges faced by homeless children are the teachers' attitudes to them. Embracing a social justice perspective, Powers-Costello and Swick (2008) suggest that teachers should be given the opportunity to, reflect on their own perceptions of homeless children, reflect on how the curriculum and children's learning meet the needs of homeless children, and engage in planning to meet the needs of homeless children and families. Teachers can make a difference to children who are homeless and those teachers who continue to '*learn about the children and families they teach are more powerful in their relations with them*' (Powers-Costello & Swick, 2008). Equipping teachers and schools with the skills and the resources to deal with vulnerable children has implications for education policy.

Although good practice with regards to homelessness policy involves 'addressing the housing, psychological and social needs of the homeless as well as integrating across programs' (Minnery 2007. P. 641), the Housing First for Families model (Beyond Shelter, 2016) suggests that housing for families is a human right and once a family's housing needs are addressed social stability becomes easier and is more lasting (McKeown, 2008). Although used primarily for people with complex problems and shown to work well with long term homelessness (Bretherton & Pleace, 2015), the housing first approach should not be discounted as a model for family homelessness replacing the emergency responses that lead to a myriad of other problems for families and children. This approach for families requires an adequate supply of affordable houses followed by case management support of the individual family for a period of time. Notwithstanding the fact that research supports the housing first approach to addressing homelessness, there are many social and economic policies that appear to

coincide with an increase in homelessness and other policies that do not take account of people's homelessness.

THE HOUSING MARKET AND HOMELESSNESS

Drudy (2007, p. 85) analyses two approaches to housing, the first where housing is viewed as a 'market commodity' and secondly as a home or 'non-market' that would cater for housing need. Relying on market approaches may be acceptable where there is equilibrium of supply and demand; however, Drudy's (2007) analysis is that this is rarely the case. In cases where there is reduced supply of housing, rents and house prices rise leading to market failure. He believes that where there is a 'commodification' of housing, its contribution as a home 'becomes a secondary contribution... perpetuating inequality and segregation' (Drudy, 2007, p. 86.). Most governments depending on their underlying political philosophy adopt policies that tend towards market driven approaches or a combination of market and non-market approaches with market led approaches tending to minimise the involvement of the state in housing provision, preferring to leave housing provision to the private sector. This may affect the availability of affordable homes to address and prevent homelessness particularly in periods of market failure. Powerful interests groups such as developers, landlords and estate agents consistently argue for tax incentives, fast track planning permissions, more home ownership and other incentives. Many of these incentives are visible in the Housing and Planning Act (2016) and the Rebuilding Ireland Action Plan for Housing and Homelessness 2016.

With regard to the Housing Market, it is interesting to note the decrease in Local Authority owned dwellings in England. In 2015 local authorities owned 1.64 million dwellings, a decrease from 3.67million in 1994. Private rented accommodation was also down 11% in 2014/2015 on the previous year (Dept. for Communities & Local Government, 2016). In Ireland in 2007 there was a total social housing output of 11,591 comprising new house completions and second hand house acquisitions. Of these 74.8% was provided by the local authority and voluntary and cooperative housing sectors. In 2015 although total social housing output was 10568, only 14.9% was delivered by the local authorities and voluntary and cooperative housing sectors (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2016). There is a clear repositioning of social housing in the private rental market in Ireland although many receive welfare supports for this. The overall house building completions in Ireland in the local authority, social/voluntary and private sector decreased from 26,683 in 1994 to 12,666 in 2015 despite the fact that the population increased by over 1.2 million since 1991 (CSO, 2016). The Census (2016) shows that ten percent of Irish houses are vacant, this comprises almost 200,000 empty properties across the country. The Irish Government Policy is to build 45,000 houses as part of a social housing plan over the next few years (Rebuilding Ireland 2016). O'Regan (2016) citing Professor Lyons outlined a number of complications in the Irish property market including the delays in the legal and conveyancing system which take twice as long as in England and even longer if there are problems with title and ownership. He also pointed to the low property taxation rate on empty homes contributing to the high rates of empty homes in Ireland, possibly for capital gains reasons in the longer term.

The introduction of the Housing and Planning Act (2016) in England involves, selling off council and social housing, thus reducing the social housing stock, the reduction of local planning controls, and the deregulation of Housing Associations to be named 'Private Registered Providers. These changes may position social housing primarily in the private rented sector. In addition, the Housing and Planning Act (2016) is primarily supportive of private home ownership. It is right to question how families who are homeless, threatened with homelessness or who live in insecure housing will be protected and

provided for in government policy, particularly when the market will favour profit above the welfare housing needs of homeless families. McKenna's view of the Irish Housing (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 2009, is very relevant:

'Traditional notions of communitarianism and concern for the poor are clearly displaced in favour of positioning social housing within owner-occupier and rental market systems.'

McKenna (2010)

McKenna's (2010) concern about where social housing is positioned with regard to Housing Policy is important given the reductions in local authority dwellings and reduced availability of private rented accommodation in England. Similarly, in Ireland most families becoming homeless are coming from the private rented sector (Focus Ireland, 2016). It states that:

'The current rise in family homelessness is driven primarily by structural economic factors. The overwhelming number of families becoming homeless had their last stable home in the private rented sector, and the crisis in this sector is the immediate cause of their homelessness – rising rents, landlords selling up or being repossessed, shortage of properties to rent.'

(Focus Ireland, 2016).

In addition, the reduction of house building in Ireland has led to a scarcity of supply of houses both for sale and for the rental market. This has led to an increase in the price of houses and an increase in rents. With most homeless families coming from the private rental sector (Focus Ireland, 2016) and factors such as cuts in housing benefit (Fitzpatrick, 2005) in the UK, one can understand how wider economic policy and the economy generally is contributing to the scale of homelessness among families. A sustainable solution to the problems of housing homeless people must be underpinned by government / local authority provision of housing so that the economic influences on the housing market do not unduly contribute to the homelessness problems we are seeing in society today.

HOMELESSNESS AND WIDER GOVERNMENT POLICY

The research literature suggests that, economic crises, governmental adoption of austerity measures, unemployment and cuts in welfare benefits has a direct impact on the increasing rates of homelessness (Stuckler & Basu, 2013); Minnery, 2007; Hanan, 2012; Fitzpatrick, 2005). Shinn (2007) outlines how lower rates of homelessness are associated with social policies that, provide adequate income supports to those in need, and those that help to reduce inequality, while Hanan (2012) outlines how long term unemployment can impede access to affordable homes. Austerity can also influence policy implementation as Alden (2015, p.14) applied 'Lipsky's Street Level Bureaucrat Conceptual framework' to frontline homeless services and found, that where there was a political climate fostering austerity, frontline staff applied an 'illegitimate use of discretion in the form of gatekeeping' resulting in housing law being inappropriately applied. The majority of homeless families interviewed for this research were unemployed and those who were employed tended to be employed in unskilled, low income jobs often on a part time casual basis. Many experienced the inappropriate gatekeeping at council level as described by Alden (2015).

The relationship between homelessness and health has been known (Robinson, 1998). Stuckler & Basu (2013) in their analysis, outline how recessions affect health, and how austerity measures particularly social and welfare cuts, lead to worsening health and an increase in homelessness. Many homeless families may have pre-existing health conditions, but these are exacerbated by their homelessness. According to Homeless Link (2014) their research reconfirms the link between housing and health. The research outlines that 73% of homeless people have physical health conditions, 77% smoke, 35% do not have a minimum of two meals daily and 45% have a mental health problem. In

researching homeless families this author found similar rates of physical and mental illness and smoking among the adult family members. Some of the conditions were self-reported as pre-existing their homelessness and some emerged after they became homeless. However, in this research homeless families were more likely to be headed by someone aged 26 to 30, and in general they did not have substance abuse problems. From the children's perspective, the behaviour issues and children's mental health issues were the ones most reported by parents, with some children having a medical diagnosis of Autism. Homeless Link suggests that policy initiatives around reducing health inequalities for homeless people should be enhanced with clearer action plans to ensure implementation.

The issues arising from this research and other research (Ravenhill 2016; Bassuk et al 2014; Mayock et al 2014; Minnery 2007), particularly with regards to the issues facing children, requires a coordinated policy response to support children who find themselves homeless. Temporary accommodation allocation to homeless families does not take account of the location of children's schools. This research found children had changed school's frequently resulting in loss of friendships and routines for the children concerned. The lack of integration of government policy dealing with housing and education for these families can cause disruption to children's education. The Department of Education and Skills in Ireland utilises (DEIS) Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools, as a policy instrument to address educational disadvantage. However, DEIS schools often don't have the resources to comprehensively support homeless children. In both Ireland and England, the requirement by housing authorities to let schools know when children are homeless could ensure there are greater supports for homeless children. (Bassuk et al 2014). It is also essential that schools are not financially disadvantaged if they enrol children from homeless families midterm. Many B&B hotels do not have indoor or outdoor places for children to play. Ensuring play facilities are available would go a long way to partially normalising children's lives as well as providing some relief from crowded one room temporary accommodation.

There are correlations between homelessness and wider political and economic policy. Avis (2007, p.4) in his analysis suggests that to further social justice and provide opportunities for disadvantaged groups, 'economic changes aligned with the provision of educational opportunities' are needed. The same could be said for other policies impacting homeless families. Economic changes that are aligned with affordable housing, health provision and adequate welfare policies are needed to ensure social justice for homeless families.

POLICY ANALYSIS (MACRO)

Head's (2008) three lenses for policy analysis include political knowledge, scientific knowledge and practical implementation knowledge. This research has examined family homelessness policy from these perspectives and found it deficient from a number of viewpoints pertaining to both England and Ireland;

1. The wider economic climate particularly economic crises, austerity and benefit cuts (Fitzpatrick, 2005) has an impact on rises in homelessness among families;
2. The definition of homelessness needs to be comprehensive to include all vulnerable groups and to enable governments to take preventative measures to avoid homelessness; In the case of Ireland a statutory duty to house the homeless rather than enabling legislation is preferable.
3. The possibility of misinterpreting policy locally, which excludes vulnerable homeless families from obtaining housing as soon as possible, should be tackled through training and education.

4. It is not a choice for families to be homeless and the experiences endured by families in this research could be avoided with a 'housing first' approach, combined with a preventative approach to homelessness, and an adequate supply of affordable housing that is not influenced by the market and subject to market failure.
5. The integration of economic, housing, health and education policy does not exist and does not have an objective of reducing inequality and thus preventing or at least mitigating the worse effects of homelessness among families.
6. Homeless families are casualties of a rolling back of the welfare state, which in the past created a safety net for vulnerable families, but now represents a costly approach socially, economically and personally for the homeless and for society generally (Hannan, 2012).
7. Political ideology has an impact on homelessness and pure market driven policies, systems and structures do not raise all boats. Homeless families can be the victims of this political ideology.

CONCLUSION

This article supports the assertion that politics, policy and legislation in England and Ireland may have an effect on current homeless families and on the increasing homelessness problem in both countries (Fitzpatrick, 2005; Mayock et al 2014; McKenna 2010). Families' experiences in this research, as well as the research literature help to support this contention.

This research has concluded that families who are homeless face enormous challenges to maintaining family cohesion and enormous obstacles to caring for and educating their children. Homelessness affects normal structure and routines in a family particularly for children, it affects an individual's privacy which can be distressing for older children. Secure affordable housing is essential in keeping families together. Homelessness affects children's, behaviour, their health, schooling, and relationships within the family. Homelessness also interrupts the relationships that families have with schools and health services.

A comprehensive definition of homelessness is needed if a country is to prevent homelessness, and plan for the housing needs of its vulnerable families. In addition, the influence of the 'street level bureaucrat' (Lipsky, as cited in Alden, 2015) who can inappropriately interpret housing policy due to organisational budgetary pressures, should be minimised. The adequate availability of low cost affordable accommodation and a 'housing first' approach to could help to prevent homelessness. However, a market driven housing system combined with a reduction in the welfare state has an impact on those who are vulnerable in our societies. This research demonstrates that homeless and potentially homeless families cannot compete in this system.

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HOUSING – THE OSLO CASE

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OSLO'S CURRENT HOUSING CRISIS

Housing in an unregulated market

Opening a Norwegian newspaper, one might get the impression that Norway is in a constant housing crisis: either the prices are rising or dropping dramatically, or the newly produced housing is of poor quality. The housing crisis seems to reproduce itself. Nevertheless, statistically, Norway has reported that less than ten percent of their population live in overcrowded dwellings and has one of the largest average sizes of dwellings in Europe with 122 square metres per dwelling only outranked by Belgium, Luxemburg, Iceland and Cyprus.¹ Home-ownership on a national level is 82% and even in Oslo, the metropolitan centre and capital of the country as many as 80% own their dwelling.²

But at the same time, Norway's real estate market is one of the most extreme in Europe with 65.6% of the population living in owner-occupied dwellings with an outstanding loan or mortgage, with an average of 1 000 000 NOK (approximately 100 000€ with today's rates).³ Fuelled by low unemployment, low interest rates and favourable tax-breaks for home-owners, prices in Oslo have climbed 16,3% in the last 12 months, despite a crisis in the oil-industry in the rest of the country. The current situation is accompanied by the fear of a bursting housing bubble, which would be a possible threat to the stability of the national economy.

Home-ownership has left its imprint on the system and the notion of the housing ladder or 'boligkarriere', housing career, as the term translates from Norwegian, influences the market. Housing is thus seen as an investment that has to be made as early as possible in order to pass the first threshold of 'getting into the market'. As an indirect result, renting was, and still is, regarded as a temporary housing solution mostly used by students, immigrants and vulnerable groups – and somewhat stigmatised.⁴ Not surprisingly 54% of all college graduates live in their own owner-occupied flat.⁵

Housing prices and housing quality thus directly affect most people's lives and, not surprisingly, are big topics in a small country. People need – and want- to advance up the housing ladder. In general, this trend is then: bigger apartments, newer apartments or dwellings in areas with a better reputation.

Or to put it the other way around: how small or far away could an apartment possibly be and still be considered a good place to live? The kind and sizes of dwellings that are available on the housing market within different price ranges have an influence on the realism of the option available to certain groups. Moving patterns, as well as resulting tendencies of socio-economic segregation, one could argue, are thus as much influenced by the actual physical housing supply, as they are by reputation and

image of an area. What has been built in the past, creates the framework for the current situation and future development, not unlike the situation described through the term of path dependency⁶.

Studying the urban development of the capital area of Oslo through mapping, statistics and architectural analysis provides us with valuable insights into how land availability, financial models, organisational frameworks and architectural trends have influenced the production of housing in Oslo and how lessons learned from key-projects may provide us with some clues as how we might go about rethinking housing outside disciplinary prejudices.

Oslo's urban development

Oslo's geographical location in a valley along a fjord naturally limits the possible extension of the city towards the south. The citywide master plan, the 'general plan' adapted in 1950⁷ further limited the expansion of the city towards the surrounding woods along a strict line known as the 'markagrense' in order to preserve the city's nature reserves. In response, the city has historically grown to the north-west and the east and southeast, although with a slightly uneven distribution of housing typologies.

In addition to the fjord as an epicenter for industrial activities, the Akerselva River, as a source of hydropower, became an attractive location for factories in the early industrialisation phase around the turn of the century. This had the effect of dividing the city into the more well-off districts in the west, such as the bourgeois Frogner and the villas in Holmenkollåsen, and the working class quarters in the east, such as Grünerløkka or Vålerenga.

The urban patterns we are seeing today are to a great extent a result of the decisions taken since the 1930s and the efforts of the post-war period to solve the housing crisis that had unfolded due to population growth and delays in housing production during the war periods. The shortages forced all political parties to actively address housing as one of the main topics in their programs and encouraged the Norwegian government and municipalities to engage heavily in housing production.

In this process the notion of universalism⁸, state benefits available to everyone, has been a founding principle of social justice and social security of citizenship in Norway. Consequently, resources that were invested by the welfare state after the war were not directed towards the poor but were meant to serve the needs of all people, independent of class.

Comparing neighbouring countries like Sweden to Norway, we see major differences despite their common focus on housing solutions for everyone: Sweden focused on the creation of a large public rental sector, while Norway's policies on the contrary were highly favourable to homeownership. This specific Norwegian approach has previously been explained as a reaction to failures in the rental market in earlier decades, where owners were profiting from poor living conditions for their tenants.⁹

Housing co-operatives were thus one of the pillars of these municipal housing programmes based on needs-oriented, non-commercial post-war housing ideas¹⁰ that were designed to provide 'homes for all people'. A political investment into housing as one of the pillars of the emerging welfare state led to a strong support for co-operative housing associations as major players within the housing system. Especially, the largest – OBOS (the Oslo Building and Saving Association), founded in 1929 – came to play a key role.

In order to enable large quantum housing production, a tight collaboration between OBOS and Oslo municipality was established, that intensified earlier cooperation dating back to an agreement already made in 1935.¹¹ Oslo municipality provided land and infrastructure, while housing cooperatives were responsible for the delivery of the housing projects. The housing cooperatives were run as membership organisations open to join for everyone. The idea of a membership organisation whose members

would either have the occupancy rights of a dwelling or be waiting to gain those rights as members of the same organisation according to qualifying time, created some sort of solidarity within the system.¹² The resulting housing projects were primarily built for their members, but also involved the municipality of Oslo, which acted as the landlord for the most vulnerable groups.

Two main changes boosted the system after the Second World War: Locally, the merger of Oslo municipality with the adjacent Aker municipality supplied the city with affordable agricultural land that could be converted for housing purposes – through acquisition or eminent domain.

On a national level, the establishment of a national housing bank, Husbanken, in 1946 marked a milestone. This national financial institution directed towards dwelling construction ensured the availability of financial funds for housing production as well as introduced clear minimum and maximum quality standards as eligibility criteria.¹³ By 1980 more than 80 % of the post-war housing stock in Norway had been financed by Husbanken.¹⁴

As a result, a whole range of architectural projects has been built as parts of the municipal social housing production by housing co-operatives – like OBOS and similar organisations with the financial backing of Husbanken.

Milestones in housing production

Lambertseter: Light and air and welfare

The first satellite town of Lambertseter in the outskirts of Oslo bears witness to the first deliberate design of a new society: between 1951 and 1966, on almost 800,000 m² of newly acquired municipal farmland, a new town was planned from scratch and built to provide affordable housing for the expanding population of the Norwegian capital.¹⁵ By the time the original plan by Frode Rinnan, a member of the left-wing progressive architect group PAGON, was completed, these homes had approximately 18,000 inhabitants.¹⁶ In addition, public services, shopping facilities, schools and space for leisure activities were gradually designed and built. In addition, 95,000 m² of housing¹⁷ was provided in Lambertseter through nine independent housing cooperatives under the umbrella of the local Oslo Housing and Savings Association (OBOS). Designed with the idea of ‘light and air and proximity to nature’, these housing blocks, most of which were between three and five stories high, were clustered in neighbourhoods in a spacious discontinuous pattern as a modern interpretation of a garden city. The majority of the housing blocks were linear with pitched roofs, and most contained several entrances with staircases leading up to two or three flats on each landing.

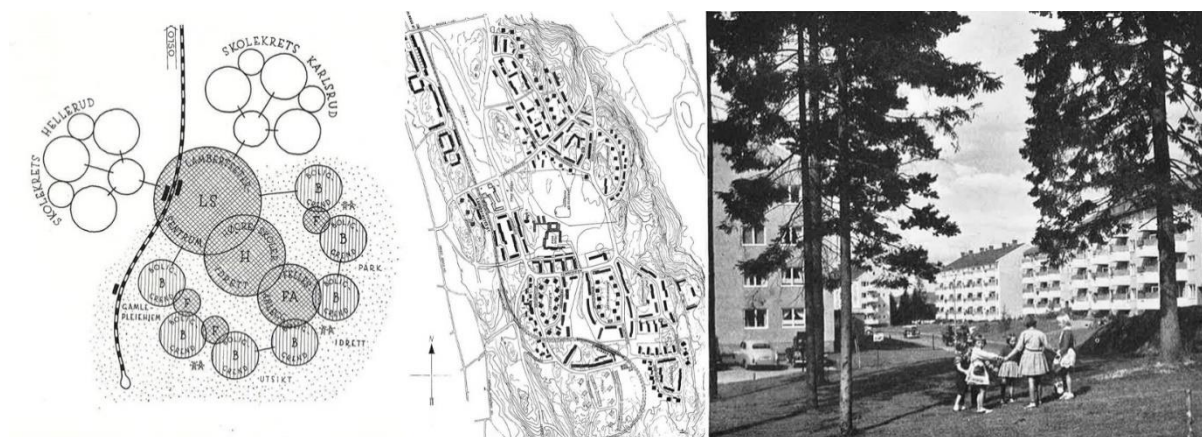


Figure 1 The planning approach and resulting built environment of Lambertseter.

Although the architecture and facilities were kept modest—a normal family flat was less than 80 m² and consisted of two bedrooms, a living room, a bathroom and a kitchen—rising building costs and necessary investment in infrastructure pushed prices up by 10% between 1951 and 1960.¹⁸ To a large degree, this financial burden had to be shared by the homes' inhabitants. As a result, Lambertseter was given the nickname *grautbyen* (porridge town) because it was so expensive to live there that the residents would only be able to afford to eat porridge. In a series of interviews conducted by Kjersti Granum in 1981 as part of a postoccupancy study of Lambertseter, more than 30% of the inhabitants described this social housing development as expensive.¹⁹ One reason, as implied in the interviews, might be because Lambertseter was a long commute from possible employment opportunities, especially for women, and childcare was often difficult to organise, making it virtually impossible for both a husband and wife to work.²⁰ Although a limited number of jobs had been created in the area, the functional division of housing areas from industrial zones, based on the general plan of Oslo from 1950, significantly affected the possibility of combining housework and childcare alongside paid labour in less central areas.

The Architect Frode Rinnan considered housing in Lambertseter to be a step towards a new welfare democracy, and the neighbourhood principle on which the plan was based was thought to provide a physical infrastructure for social cohesion.²¹

Ammerud: More is less

One example that illustrates the efforts and the bandwidth of the implemented solutions and – often contradictory – developments in Oslo is Ammerud. As 85% of all housing built between 1945 and 1989,²² it was built far away from the city centre as a node along the expanding subway and light-rail system.

Although the lack of cultural facilities and social meeting places in Lambertseter was already being criticised, Ammerud, a satellite town designed a decade later in the Grorud valley just east of Oslo, was a pure dormitory town. In contrast to Lambertseter, where more than half of the housing cooperatives also contained commercial spaces for rent spread out through the whole development, shopping facilities were located at a nearby shopping centre one subway stop away. Although cultural facilities were scarce in both developments, several elementary schools were provided as part of the basic public service infrastructures for all housing schemes under investigation and were thought to play a central role in integrating newcomers to the area into the existing neighbourhood, which, in reality, was a role that the schools could only partially fulfil.



Figure 2 Contrasting housing typologies in Ammerud and their resulting controversial living environments.

Ammerud, built between 1965 and 1968, is a typical product of its time—it was the result of a fascination with efficiency, progress and the benefits of industrial production. Especially advances in prefabrication of concrete elements had allowed to reduce labour hours on site and thus for faster and cheaper production of affordable mass housing. The development consisted of an impressive number of housing units (1,245) in four 13-storey high-rise blocks, contrasted by 236 housing units in introvert atrium houses and 246 housing units in long low-rise blocks. The architectural concept of Ammerud is deeply rooted in the tradition of the modern movement. Designed by Norwegian architect Håkon Mjelva, they were clearly inspired by the international tendencies towards iconic large-scale developments based on the *Unité de habitation* built by Le Corbusier in the south of France.

By taking the growing wealth of some of its members into consideration, OBOS opted for a two-fold solution, providing both a high percentage of affordable units in high-rise building and a limited number of more expensive single-family homes for the most senior and well-off groups of their members. For reasons of cost efficiency, both developments are characterized through the repetition of the respective housing units in a vertical or horizontal manner. Ironically these visual metaphors for equality create the strong contrast on which the identity of the urban planning concept is based on.

Due to technical requirements regarding the most efficient span and size of the concrete panels for walls and ceilings, the flats became deeper with a shortened façade length. As a result, kitchen, bathroom and secondary rooms were placed in the darkest central part of the flats without access to sunlight or ventilation. Although most of the family flats had an extra bedroom and were bigger than in Lambertseter, rooms got more specific according to their dedicated purpose.²³ While only a few studio flats or bed-sits were built in Lambertseter, almost one-third of all flats in the high-rise blocks in Ammerud had only one bedroom. The fact that these flats were often rented out by the municipality under highly subsidised conditions to individuals who depended on public support did not help the reputation of the area.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, the whole process of public housing provision came under critique, such as through the Ammerud report by Thorbjørn Hansen and Anne Sæterdal²⁴, which was a study of the design and decision-making process of the project. The lack of choice, where to settle and how residents could improve their own living conditions was one of the main concerns.²⁵ This gave birth to a critical discussion on how social housing should focus on meeting the needs of its users. As the

architect of the Ammerud project, Håkon Mjelva responded to Hansen and Sæterdal by stating that ‘the surprising conclusion of the authors of the report is, that planners should be blamed for the mistakes of the authorities’.²⁶ This started a discussion of the underlying ideas of democracy and equality expressed in ‘good housing’ and the need for a revision of the institutional and organisational framework in which social housing was provided as part of the welfare state.

The remote location, almost 12km by subway from the city centre, made these properties less attractive over the long term, contributing to the fact that they are still less expensive than inner-city properties and thus more affordable for lower income groups.²⁷ These same conditions, however, also restricts their future possibilities on the open housing market. Certainly, the fact that the bad reputation of the area still has not recovered completely does not contribute positively and is only about to change slowly due to urban regeneration projects such as Groruddalsatsingen and bottom-up initiatives.

Romsås: neighbourhoods and services

Husbanken, as the main instrument for implementation of housing policies by providing financial support, took up the debate and began to refuse loans to housing projects that did not focus on the living conditions of its inhabitants.²⁸ The satellite town of Romsås, built between 1970 and 1974, can be viewed as a reaction to these discussions in the late 1960s. In an attempt to bridge sectorial planning and arrive at a more integrated approach, the municipality as the owner of the land, OBOS as the main client and a group of architects joined forces and formed the multidisciplinary Romsås team.²⁹

The project consists of 2,600 flats in 3- to 8-storey blocks and reintroduced clustered neighbourhood schemes that had been implemented in the earliest satellite towns such as Lambertseter as the nuclear unit for a—rather paternalistic—social-democratic welfare society.



Figure 3 The reintroduction of the neighborhood through public social meeting places in Romsås.

Using the sloping terrain of the forest in which Romsås is set as a starting point, the housing areas were designed with an emphasis on the closeness to nature and preserved spacious green forest areas and lakes between the neighbourhoods of the various independent housing cooperatives. This shift in the understanding of welfare as a provision of everyone’s specific needs was not played out in the architectural concept as distinct local variations of each cluster; rather, it was based on micro variations of rooms arrangements within the floorplan around a central circulation core and access to

balconies along the full length of the facades of the concrete-block buildings. In contrast to Ammerud, the scale was broken down through the insertion of small garden sheds in the open courtyards in an attempt to create human-sized public spaces and to increase communication and self-help among neighbours, similar to the ideas promoted by Jan Gehl around the same time in Denmark.³⁰ Depending on one's perspective, this could be interpreted as timeless common ground in which different welfare programs covering the whole lifecycle of an individual could be integrated into the building programme: Throughout the scheme, there were kindergartens, schools and sports facilities. Shopping facilities, a library, a public swimming pool and a nursing home, were placed close to public transport. Especially the latter was meant, as well as the availability of kindergartens, to enable both woman and men to join the paid workforce through the incentive of easy access to public institutions. These facilities were considered to be an essential part of this scheme and were opened more or less at the completion date of the dwellings.

Although some community participatory elements, such as open meetings, were introduced in the planning phase, public engagement into the design was limited. Similar to Lambertseter and Ammerud, it was unclear who would be able to move to Romsås until most flats were almost finished, and the user-centred thinking therefore remained very abstract.

Nevertheless, Romsås is considered the most complete of all the housing schemes established on the outskirts of Oslo as part of welfare provisions, especially since it was the last big housing scheme that met the governmental policy ambition that housing expenses per household should not exceed 20% of an average industrial worker's income.³¹ In reality, the eligibility criteria for seniority and the amount required for the housing deposit made the project unaffordable for many.

Hallagerbakken: Filling the (typological) gaps

The last example is Hallagerbakken, a housing association built in the early 1980s when housing politics were already changing. To counteract the flight of middle-class families to the suburbs and smaller rural towns in the neighbouring communities, Oslo municipality required higher percentages of housing typologies that would appeal to the higher income strata, especially to those families that were looking for single-family homes with a garden, for its last large-scale project on virgin land at the south-eastern border of the city. The project can thus be seen as an interesting attempt to actively tackle the resulting segregation of population groups through the mix of housing typologies. Although the site – a steep northwest-facing slope – was challenging, the architects managed to come up with a housing typology that could combine urban densities with the spatial qualities of rural villages. A set of car-free streets following the contour lines of the landscape was the starting point to combine row houses with low-rise blocks.

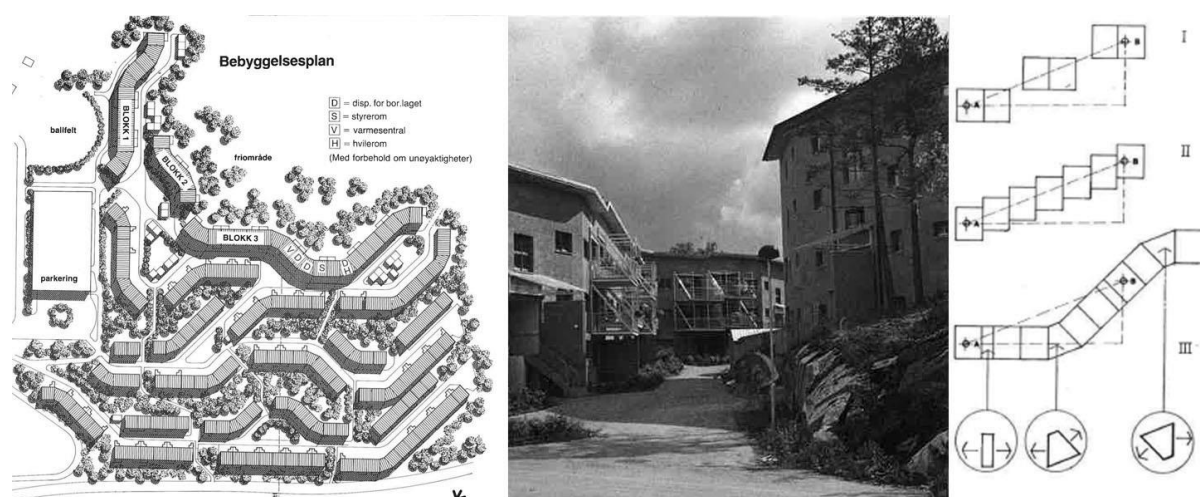


Figure 4 Readapting housing architecture to land scarcities in Hallagerbakken.

All in all, 2016 housing units were built, ninety in blocks with smaller apartments of two to three rooms and 126 housing units in terraced houses with two- to five-room accommodations.³² The architectural concept combines rationalised repetitive modules with ‘wedges’ that mediate the changes of the terrain. The resulting in-between spaces separating the buildings create social meeting spaces that would encourage informal contact and interaction between neighbours and thus strengthen the ties to the neighbourhood. This is an aim that the organisational model within the housing-co-operative supports: As all homes belong to the same housing association and members are given priorities when a unit is sold. This built-in mobility in the system supports the stability of the neighbourhood and has so far proved to be a successful strategy for community building and affordability.

Prosperity and social housing in Norway

Looking at Norway, the growth of income per capita that almost grew six fold between 1945 and 1960 is a clear indicator that the country went from being an average European economy towards becoming one of the wealthier countries in Europe. Following the discovery of the North Sea oil in 1967, income per capita in Norway further increased tremendously.

Although the availability of the resources would have put the government in a favourable position to invest in state sponsored housing programs, the contrary happened. The idea of housing changed from being considered a right to becoming more and more a commodity to be traded in the free market and thus considered a private affair.³³

Afterwards, the municipality withdrew from the brick-and-mortar supply-side subsidies that it had previously offered and went over to means-tested demand-side subsidies, such as housing allowances for vulnerable groups, municipal budgets for housing decreased significantly.³⁴

The State housing bank stated to change their criteria and begun targeting selective groups which had difficulties in competing in the private housing market. Many other steps, such as deregulating the financial market, abolishing price regulations for rent, and abolishing restrictions on the sale of apartments within housing cooperatives followed and gradually transformed the Norwegian housing system into one of the least-regulated housing markets in Europe.

The abolishment of price regulations to counter black market negotiations for the cooperative housing flats ended the heydays of co-operative housing as the preferred organisational model. Providers of

affordable housing, like OBOS, became one of many competitors on the private market competing over land, building costs and consumers. Now co-operative housing apartments are traded as real estate – not much different from any other house or condominium. Priority rights to take over the highest bid at a sales transaction within the housing-co-operative being one of the few characteristics. But although the approach shifted towards a market-based housing system in the 1980s, OBOS still manages 30% of the housing stock in Oslo and still builds 25% of all new housing in the capital.³⁵

Although the overheated housing market crashed in 1987 and created new shortages of affordable housing, the Norwegian government remained steadfast in following the neo-liberal tendencies of its north European and Scandinavian neighbour's housing policies.³⁶ Social housing expenditure in terms of large-scale governmental investments into housing has been replaced by mortgage reduction on taxes for homeowners.

Today, the tools and incentives of governmental agencies in a deregulated market are rather limited. Adjusting the interest rate, increasing taxes on real estate possession or sales and price regulations can intervene at the level of production rates and square-metre prices, but will have little effect on architectural quality or distribution patterns, as doing so would exceed the technical requirements in building codes or general guidelines in masterplans. Housing is a private business within the market, but the provision of a well-functioning framework for the housing market is a governmental and municipal responsibility.

The on-going transformation of former industrial sites – often with an upgrade of road or railway infrastructure – opens opportunities to introduce missing housing typologies into central parts of the city. Award-winning projects like Pilestredet-Park, the transformation of the former central hospital *Rikshospitalet* into dense residential and commercial spaces bear witness to this.



Figure 5 The Pilestredet Park housing project as an example of innercity transformation.

Using the ambition of introducing principles of sustainable architecture as a starting point to rethink urban housing, the architects from GASA, and the landscape architects from Bjørbekk & Lindheim and Asplan Viak balance individual and collective needs: Especially the well designed balconies and loggias and outdoor areas, with well proportioned small public spaces of lawns, squares and informal meeting spaces in front of the entrances to the individual multi-storey housing blocks projects offer a viable urban alternative to large single-family homes in the suburbs - although just for the upper middleclass.

Other projects, such as the redevelopments of the former Ringnes brewery into similar mixed-use quarters are missing Pilestredet's well designed architecture. In contrary their spatial concept has become the cookie-cutter model for the new urban quarters: six to eight storey high housing blocks, surrounding a maintenance-friendly central courtyard on top of a plinth of underground parking and commercial spaces.

Due to the need to refinance expensive retrofitting of road- and harbour infrastructure and the revenue being much higher on luxury housing, no housing directly directed towards low-income groups has been made part of these schemes. So far, these areas, which have become part of the new iconic skyline of Oslo behind the opera house, have become enclaves of higher-income groups. The newest developments, such as Tjuvholmen, Sørenga have been developed according to the same pattern: land is sold to commercial developers that produce housing and commercial spaces for sale. Within this market-driven housing system based on supply and demand, affordability is managed indirectly through the municipality's attempts to ensure a sufficient housing supply through strategically making public land available for building purposes and through the regulation of housing densities.

Looking at the distributional pattern of the existing housing stock, we see that the contemporary task is not only to retrofit the existing housing stock to fit changing demographics and modern living patterns - through updating kitchens and bathroom to contemporary technical standards, giving facades a face-lift or attaching elevators to fulfil the requirements for universal access - but as well to counteract some of the earlier developments through introducing new housing-types in mono-typological areas in order to make certain areas more available for people from more diverse socio-economical backgrounds. As a result, municipal guidelines for a mix of large and small apartments have been introduced for new developments in certain inner-city areas: only 35% of the housing units should be between 35 – 50 m² and minimum 40% of the housing units should be over 80m², with up to 20% containing a rental unit with ca. 20m². Nevertheless, no requirement to build for low-income groups or enlarging the rental sector has to be addressed in large-scale master plans and has so far often left those groups unable to meet their housing needs.

Lessons learned?

Projects such as Lambertseter teach us lessons on how to think about housing developments as a utopian project of an ideal society. Although the architecture was very much grounded in reality as it was in the scarce post-war times when Lambertseter was built - and nevertheless have an ambition of addressing values such as solidarity, equality and considering housing as a investment into the future.

Whereas projects such as Ammerud remind us of the enormous potential industrial innovation has supplied us with: Could 3-d printing, cutting and milling opens up new possibilities that combines the advantages of industrial production with the possibilities of individual customization?

Or should innovation be addressed on an organisational level, as the example of Romsås with its integrated design process suggests?

Could projects like Hallagerbakken be models on how it is possible to design housing, that is both flexible, through the generality of the floor-plans, but as well specific enough through a variation of sizes and typologies, to allow people to identify with their dwelling and adapt to their changing needs?

Looking at the examples that have been portrayed, we see that in contrast to contemporary developments, housing quality and affordability was addressed on several levels in the post-war period: the government's financial politics were actively used to influence housing quality through Husbanken as a national institution. At the same time the municipality's role was much more central in housing provision than it is now: land-banking and providing land was key as an instrument to

influence urban development, especially through the tight collaboration with housing co-operatives for the delivery of housing supply. Is it possible to readapt some of the benefits of the previous systems that would ensure quality and affordability to the alignment of different financial, organisational and management tools to both ensure quantity and the quality of the housing supply?

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HOUSES AS MEMORY

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INTRODUCTION

'We live our lives through the homes that we occupy. If we lose our memories of them we lose belonging; we lose our sense of being in space and we become disposed. Increasingly, with the global epidemic of ageing, dementia and global migration we need to remind ourselves of our houses as memory. This paper is a reminder of how we actually lived in the 20th Century and highlights significant housing issues for the future in the 21st Century. We need to articulate the experience of housing users for they are the people who were subjected to the experiments and housing innovations, successful or failing'.

Rob MacDonald

This paper traces an alternative interpretive past history, present and future of social housing throughout a city. We argue that memory, history and real experience are important because they reveal past housing models; they help us challenge the current status quo. The Marxist Cultural Historian Richard Hoggart questioned the 'uses and misuses of history' and the tendency to air brush out previous uncomfortable housing memories. We set out to expose these uncomfortable memories. We argue for the reappraisal of housing history based on memory, knowledge of actual physical and visual experience. In our lifetime we have been witnesses to what we can articulate, show and describe; this is our 'histofuturism' of housing. This paper can be read as a film script of sound bites; it's a narrative storyboard of the housing history of a city based on '*City as a Laboratory of Shadows*' AMPS Architecture Media Politic and Society 2014. We use written English as the spoken word and in the local language of the city. The paper is relevant and highly original to housing architecture and sociology and presents new historical and social perspectives based upon genuine sociological, anthropological and participant observation research and echoes the voices and experiences of the city. For all these reasons the paper does not follow the norms associated with academic texts. The paper speaks as the voice Patrick Keillers Robinson allowing certain ideas to spin out into others. At times randomly. The focus is on Liverpool; its housing and migrations of people that have moved through the city over time. The objective of the paper is to encourage others to take a closer look into this city and certainly learn from the deep lessons of the past, present and the future.

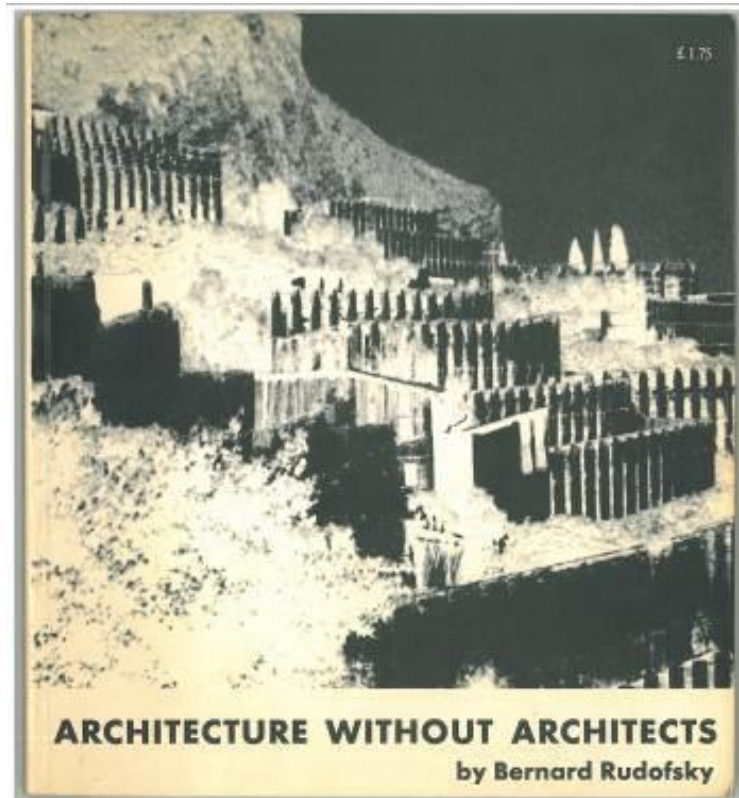


Figure 1: *Architecture without Architects* by Bernard Rudofsky – Cover

DIY HOUSING

We start our journey with Bernard Rudofsky's *'Architecture without Architects'* which draws attention to how much of the global population are DIY builders and makers. John Turner described the South American Flavellas as 'housing as verb'. In other words, housing is a doing process not an object. Before industrialisation, in Turner's words, we had 'the freedom to build'. Houses were in the vernacular and largely handmade. Is it significant that the Liverpool housing cooperatives took control of their housing provision, Assemble in Granby and The Bake House in Anfield have returned to the handmade, either DIY crafting or baking bread.

However, urbanisation, industrialisation and the forced migration of the new working classes into the expanding industrial revolution and the northern cities resulted in new urban rules based on spatial cleansing and attitudes of the middle class towards the working class as they learnt to know their place in the city. The working classes and ethnic groups were clearly separated and zoned from the middle classes as the city was segregated. Some areas were separated according to religious divides of Protestant and Catholic.

We have experienced our homes over generations of urbanisation and change. It's important to take a historical perspective about where our houses have come from so to predict and challenge where they might go to in the future. For us, our personal roots are based in Ireland and Scotland. Our forefathers lived in agricultural grass roofed long houses. We lived in *'Architecture without Architects'*. We shared space with our animals. The primitive hearth was our home centre and the range was for cooking and heating. We lived in the pre electric age and we kept a small holding and grew some vegetables and we doffed our caps to the 'Laird'. Some of us lived in stone cottages, farmhouses and we worked the land; potatoes were our staple.



Figure 2: Traditional Scottish House

THE CLEARANCES

The Irish Potato Famine and the Highland Clearances drove us to Glasgow and Liverpool. A few families went to New York. If we could afford lower class tickets, we crossed the Atlantic and our diseases were filtered out of the USA at Ellis Island. Unmarried women were not allowed into the USA and instant arrangements were made on the spot. In Glasgow we lived in high density tenements in the poor East End which was segregated from rich West End. We lived in very high density courts in New York in brownstone tenements.



Figure 3: Arrival at Ellis Island

HIGH DENSITY HOUSING

For those who could not afford the Atlantic crossing, we settled in Everton and Vauxhall in north Liverpool and lived in the courtyards and back to back housing sharing one water stand pipe and two outside toilets with twenty families. The cholera epidemics decimated our community; thousands of bodies were buried in a pit behind St Anthony's of Cairo, on Scotland Road. Doctor Duncan, The City Medical Health Officer, worked on resolving cholera and providing clean water for the masses.



Figure 4: Plaque of Dr William Henry Duncan

GEORGIAN TERRACES

The middle classes left the inner city for the high ground of the Georgian Quarter with its well ventilated green spaces and parks. They occupied sound built town houses and merchant villas. Townhouses and merchant houses were made of brick, stone and ashlar. In the Georgian period housing was designed according to classical rules of proportions and facades were replicas of Renaissance villas and Andres Palladio was the spring of architectural knowledge. Classical rooms were tall and well proportioned.

Those working classes that survived, moved into high density back-to-back housing, and the last surviving is on Duke Street and converted by Bill Halsall. In the 1880s the spacious Georgian terraces came with well ventilated high interior ceilings, tree lined streets and squares with space for lungs to breathe; this is now a well respected conservation area, often used as a film set. The urban pattern of the Georgian Quarter is appreciated, and property prices are a fair reflection of the value of the houses and district.



Figure 5: Before and after – Dukes Terrace, Duke Street, Liverpool

WORKING CLASS TERRACED HOUSING

The city still has large numbers of small Victorian bye-law terraces, 2up 2down, and Larger 2-3 storey Victorian terraces. Many were built by Welsh builders, hence the Welsh Streets and the number of chapels. There is an obscure book called *'The Welsh Builders'* in the Sydney Jones Library of Liverpool University.

In 1890, Forty five percent of the inner city was developed with small bye law working class terraces, with new space standards and street widths, determined by the Local Authority 'Bye Laws'. Many of 3.5m wide 'Bye Law' terraces stood for over one hundred years and residents still object to the demolition of them today. Rob MacDonald, like many in the city lived his early life in a small terraced house. His PhD was about the use of space inside these houses. Today there might be over 40,000 remaining in the city. We ask, is the terraced house still a proven sustainable house for the future; there is still a tendency to demolish and clear these houses. However in Anfield and Granby there are excellent examples of single and dual conversions by Bill Halsall.



Figure 6: Hope Place, Liverpool Grade II listed terrace

THE SUBURBS

In between the wars we moved to inter war semi detached housing along the outer ring road. The semis were built along tree lined boulevards with an integrated public tram system. In the 1930s we lived in tenements modelled on Karl Marx Hoff in Vienna and the Bull Rings were our playgrounds designed by City Architect Sir Lancelot Keay. There were many experimental terraces and walk ups, PRC dwellings - Airey, Cornish some 'Homes Fit for Hero's' on Local Authority estates. In 1936 the first recommendations for a completely self contained community unit was launched. The second self contained community was Kirkby.



Figure 7: Wavertree 'Nook garden suburb, Liverpool

POST WAR RECONSTRUCTION, INNOVATION & EXPERIMENTATION

The 1950s saw post war reconstruction and a new phase of clearances with relocation to outer new towns of Kirkby, Skelmesdale and Runcorn. Families experienced psychological disorders of the 'new town blues', isolation and disconnection from the city. Our mothers and sisters were isolated, and fathers and brothers suffered the illness of unemployment. The common perception of the middle classes was that we did not know how to use a bath; so we filled it with coal. Apparently, some of the low rise high density housing was modelled on rural Cornish villages and the villages were also cleared! Everton was a jungle of housing experiments and we lived in inner city major redevelopments and the construction of tower blocks and slabs were based on French industrial prefabricated concrete systems. The Braddocks were the politicians who led the reconstruction, and the Slabs were also named after them; E Block Elizabeth and J Block Jack they were paternalistic Labour politicians of the day.



Figure 8: Stockbridge Village – Radburn layout

LIFE & DEATH OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE

Eventually, concrete panels fell off, the concrete decayed and there was a famous gas explosion at Rowan Point in 1968. Was this the death of modern architecture? Other slabs were so bad we even named them the 'Piggeries', and we threw fridges and TVs off the open balconies at pedestrians below. The in between spaces became a war zone and post war modernism was unmanageable.



Figure 9: Ronan Point gas explosion

RIOTING IN TOXTETH

The city has over the years, experienced several urban riots; In the 1920s Winston Churchill said to take no notice, they are only a small local disturbance. At the same time as rioting Toxteth there were riots in Watts LA and Bristol in the 1970s - 80s as the small local disturbances returned. The family shopping streets were burnt and there was fighting on the streets and Prime Minister Thatcher appointed Lord Michael Heseltine Minister for Merseyside and so followed the redevelopment of the Waterfront Garden Festival and the gentrification of the Albert Dock.



Figure 10: The demolition of Tate and Lyle, Liverpool

HOUSING COOPERATIVES

The Militant Socialist Council developed over 5000 inward looking new semi-detached housing. Not everybody agreed and the housing cooperatives created over 40 new build projects across the inner

and outer city; they are still standing to this day. There is a complete blind spot about remembering the successful resident design participation and control. They addressed each inner city site in its context and design participation resulted in housing variety not monotony. Resident participation and control was important in their success and the Weller and Eldonian Ways were the route to follow. There is a clear need for a reappraisal of the cooperatives and reapplication of their methods in the 21st Century.



Figure 11: Weller Street Housing Cooperative Design Committee – Pioneering design participation

HOUSING IN THE SHRINKING CITY

The city became very low density and was identified by the German Government as a 'shrinking city'. There are numerous vacant sites and overall, the city lacks a coherent housing and public health masterplan. In the 1930s there was an integrated architects, planning, health and engineering departments. In contrast, the city now appears fragmented and disjointed. In the future we will need more public health design for ageing communities, neighbourhoods and dwellings, to respond to a 'global ageing epidemic'. How to live between the Urban fragments is a matter of public health. The return and appraisal of the English terraced house and street is called for.



Figure 12: Some areas of Kensington had 30% voids in 2003

FALLING BETWEEN THE CRACKS

Survival without a home is a public health issue. Now 'Cathy' is murdered for living on the streets. She sleeps outside and inside the stations try sleeping overnight outside a major railway station or airport. Our young people are twice likely to die if they are homeless - from hypothermia, pneumonia, assault, alcohol and drug abuse or suicide. Hidden homelessness is a public health matter in the 21st Century, for there are people sleeping rough on the streets in the shadows of our car parks. The working classes are certainly not working anymore; unemployment, public health and homelessness are the issues for housing in the 21st Century city. Migration from Syria and across the Mediterranean are the new clearances. 'DIY City' offered over thirty alternative community led projects across the city region; is this the way for housing and community planning and development in the future.



Figure 13: Jermyn Street, Granby, Liverpool

DEMENTIA FRIENDLY CITIES

Possibly the greatest housing challenge will be set by dementia, ageing and loneliness. Loneliness is a silent killer and is created by the demise of community. The challenge for the future is to design cities and neighbourhoods that are responsive to the needs of the growing population who are experiencing dementia; cities and urban institutions need to become dementia friendly.



Figure 14: The Dementia Friendly Home – design participation

CONCLUSION

Our own vision for the future of the city is based on the perception and experience of history. Although the city centre and waterfront will develop as high rise and high density we see a low rise inner city based on community generated master planning. We recognise the need for a new integrated inner city connected by a new transportation system including low energy buses, trams and bikes. We recognise the need for democratic neighbourhood urban design, planning and architectural co- design based on well proven methods of design cooperation.

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“YET *ANOTHER* APARTMENT BLOCK...?!” A CRITIQUE OF HOUSING PROVISION IN CITIES, AND QUALITIES THAT MAKE URBAN HOUSES DESIRABLE

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INTRODUCTION

The repopulation of UK cities over the last three decades has been dramatic, transforming many urban areas beyond recognition; city living has become an ingrained part of our culture. However, with providers building woefully limited choice, opportunities to live in these places are restricted to those whose needs are catered for by a very small range of dwelling types.

Consider the changing profile of Manchester. In 1987 the city centre had a population of three hundred;¹ by 2001 this had increased to over eleven thousand,² and in 2011 was almost eighteen thousand³ – a sixty-fold increase in twenty-four years. This census data also reveals that the city’s central area is, predictably, largely a habitat for the young; the mean age is twenty-seven, and the largest age group is ‘twenty to twenty-four’ (thirty-five percent), with ‘twenty-five to twenty-nine’ next (twenty-two percent).⁴ Crucially, however, consider the range of different dwelling types that accommodate these people. Unsurprisingly, ‘flats, maisonettes and apartments’ account for the largest proportion, but at over ninety-eight percent their pervasive domination is startling.⁵

Manchester City Council (MCC) recognizes the need to diversify the housing offered in the city.⁶ Its planning guidance identifies that the pattern of need for dwelling sizes differs greatly from the current mix of housing, and cites a resident survey which finds that fifty percent of households planning to move desire a three-bedroom home or larger.⁷ MCC argue that future provision should recognise such aspirations for larger accommodation, and proposes a shift in the mix which would more than double the proportion of dwellings with three or more bedrooms; a condition arguably more suited to houses than flats. Similarly, following statistical analysis of new housing in London, Rae concludes that the balance of supply is far too skewed towards flats over other dwellings types.⁸

Just as zoning came to be an inappropriate strategy for planning policy – resulting in banal, mono-functional areas – a restricted palette of housing undermines variation in both the built fabric and the demographic profile and restricts options for those who would like live in cities. Recent research has revealed that age segregation has worsened over the last twenty-five years, both between cities and rural areas, and within cities themselves.⁹ As Purves argues, we need a diverse mixture of inhabitants in cities¹⁰ – and, therefore, the dwellings to accommodate them. When describing a recent Urban Splash development Bloxham highlighted a lack of diversity in new residential stock, describing how

their traditional customers – living in apartments – would ultimately move to houses in the suburbs; their *hoUSE* development in New Islington, Manchester aims to provide for people who want to stay in the city.¹¹

The need for houses is not only to provide for diverse demographics, but also so those within the existing demographic can start a family or house-share, or for those who want more outdoor space than a narrow balcony. Apartments are an essential dwelling type; however, cities should have a rich tapestry – and configured appropriately, houses contribute to a more varied and nuanced urban grain. This paper discusses attributes that contribute to the appropriate design of houses in urban areas. Although Manchester is drawn on to interweave demographic and typology statistics, planning policy and examples – it could equally apply to other UK cities.

WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN HOUSES?

Towers has argued that if there is to be further revival in urban housing it is essential to gain an understanding of the forms which are likely to succeed.¹² Whilst all dwellings have many common attributes, it is argued here that the following are three principal characteristics which make houses typologically distinct from flats: private outdoor space, such as a yard or garden; an individual, direct threshold to the street; and appropriate form and massing. Each of these characteristics has been analyzed in turn, focusing on how their design might contribute to making houses appropriate in urban contexts. There is no claim that these are exhaustive, but within the scope of this paper they constitute a starting point to discuss the contemporary design of houses in cities. The rationale behind choosing these characteristics is also explained, drawing on research conducted into housing needs and expectations, and reference to housing policy.

The discussion is illustrated with examples. Some were chosen for being well-established precedents of urban housing. Others are contemporary projects, which have been carefully selected on the basis that they each embody at least two of the characteristics being explored, and collectively encompass both public and private sector provision. A visit to each of the examples illustrated deepened understanding of their design, following which they were critically dissected to identify how they embody the characteristics. The architects' descriptions of each project on their website provided further understanding of their design ideas.

Private Outdoor Space

The provision of external space in apartment blocks seldom extends beyond slender balconies, occasionally a communal garden. However, a key characteristic to a house is private outdoor space, such as a garden or yard. A survey conducted by Ipsos MORI for the RIBA researched the needs and expectations of housing in the UK public,¹³ and found that most participants reported the importance of outdoor space. A report by the Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) studying attitudes among homebuyers highlights preference for private space over shared gardens, and families in particular value gardens or private outdoor space highly so that children can play unsupervised.¹⁴ Significantly, the Ipsos MORI survey found that level of urbanity also has an influence, with outdoor space most important to those who lived in highly urbanized areas, and who did not currently have a garden or outdoor area in their property.¹⁵

The *1 Ellesmere Street* project in Manchester's Castlefield, shown in Figure 1, is a rare example of a contemporary urban townhouse development. Designed by Ollier Smurthwaite, these houses are a notable variation from the plethora of apartment blocks which surround them. Like Corbusier's proposal that flat roofs be utilized as gardens,¹⁶ each townhouse provides its occupants with outdoor

space in the form of a roof terrace; a louvred screen creates privacy from the adjacent houses and apartment buildings. Crucially, this project addresses the need for private outdoor space – often perceived as a prerequisite in housing for families – whilst maintaining the rigor and density of the traditional terrace. Because of the urban setting, where light levels are better higher up due to narrower street widths, the accommodation has been inverted; bedrooms and home offices are located on the lower two levels with living accommodation above.¹⁷



*Figure 1. Roof gardens provide private outdoor space atop houses at 1 Ellesmere Street.
Image by Ollier Smurthwaite, with permission.*

The 1996 *Borneo-Sporenburg* project for 2,500 dwellings on derelict docklands in Amsterdam sought to provide a reinterpretation of the traditional canal house; one innovative attribute was the inclusion of private outdoor space for each dwelling. The master-planners West 8 proposed that three-storey houses be oriented toward outdoor space in the form of patios and roof gardens.¹⁸

Designed by the architecture studio FAT for Manchester Methodist Housing Group, the *Islington Square* development provides a traditional garden and patio to the rear of the houses. However, an L-shaped dwelling plan enabled an outdoor yard to also be incorporated – providing private outdoor space both front and rear. As Figure 2 shows, the yard is hidden from the street behind timber doors; these are set into a single-storey wall which ties the front façades into a continuous elevation, thus creating the appearance of an unbroken terrace at street level.



Figure 2. *Islington Square, Manchester. External front yards are hidden from view by timber screens, lending the terrace a mews-like quality.*

These examples demonstrate that the traditional garden or yard can be ingeniously reinterpreted. Creative thinking has enabled these projects to incorporate private outdoor space, thus providing for those whose needs are not met in apartment buildings whilst also addressing issues such as high plot density and maintaining continuity of form and street façades.

A Threshold to the Street

In the Ipsos MORI survey of housing needs and expectations the security of a home was an important consideration, and participants talked about security in terms of the design of their homes.¹⁹ The CABE report highlights that the design of the interface between public space and the private space of the home is crucially related to many issues raised in surveys on homebuyers' attitudes, including both privacy and security.²⁰ Similarly, MCC's draft *Residential Quality Guidance* identifies the importance of threshold spaces to protect the privacy of the ground floor and provide necessary separation between residents and the public realm, and highlights that the depth of the threshold is critical.²¹ Clearly the articulation of the threshold between public and private space is key in creating a condition of separation, and thereby a sense of security and privacy.

Most apartments are accessed via communal circulation; these atriums, stairwells and corridors provide a buffer – semi-private space mediating between public and domestic space. Houses are characterized by a direct threshold to the street, and the sense of separation between the public realm and the dwelling cannot be established through such spatial detachment; instead, it must be articulated through the experiential qualities of the threshold crossed between public and private spaces.

In the Georgian terrace – an exemplary precedent of row housing – the dwelling is often both set back from and elevated above street level; this heightens the sense of threshold between public and private realms, illustrated in Figure 3a. In Brooklyn, New York, Brownstone-style townhouses are another comparable precedent (Figure 3b). The elevated ground floor not only establishes a hierarchy of private space over public, it also inhibits sightlines into the dwelling thus increasing privacy.²²



Figure 3a. A Georgian terrace, Liverpool, provides a strong threshold between the street and the dwelling.



Figure 3b. Brownstone-style townhouses, Brooklyn, provide a similar separation between public realm and private space.

The equivalent transitional experience can be interpreted into new housing. At *1 Ellesemere Street*, shown in Figure 1, each front door to a house facing the street is set back from the pavement and accessed via a small flight of steps – similar, but smaller in scale, to the Georgian and Brownstone terraces above. The frontage of each house is also screened at low level by metal railings and planting.²³ This creates a subtle sense of separation between the street and dwelling, adeptly achieved in a dense development on a constricted plot. Given the inverted accommodation, it also provides an important buffer to bedrooms facing the street on the ground floor.

Due to contemporary requirements for accessibility, a change in level between street and dwelling is not always easily replicated. The *hoUSE* project in New Islington – designed by ShedKM – has a level

entrance that is subtly articulated, resulting in a nuanced threshold between public and private spaces. Each terrace is set back from the pavement or canal-side path, with planting to screen the frontage at low level; the threshold is reinforced by a low-level screen between each house, as shown in Figure 4, and by the first-floor balcony projecting over the front door.



Figure 4. Setting the terrace back from the public realm, and the inclusion of planting, screens and projecting balconies over the entrance, reinforces the sense of threshold for ShedKM's hoUSes.

Appropriate Form and Massing

There is an imperative to ensure appropriate massing, scale and density when designing houses in cities, exemplified by some woefully inappropriate low-rise and low-density projects built near urban centers. Hatherley views swathes of inner-city housing in Liverpool as highly unbefitting, arguing that these semi-detached houses and bungalows in cul-de-sacs signify an undignified attempt to mimic suburbia.²⁴ Clearly such low-rise and low-density models are untenable and undesirable in urban areas for many reasons.

At the other end of the massing debate, Manchester's draft *Residential Quality Guidance* identifies a recent shift toward larger-scale massing due to the numerous apartment blocks; it points to the way that differences in scale interrelate with one another as one of the interesting characteristics of the city,²⁵ highlighting the importance of counterpoint to the larger scale of apartment blocks. Similarly, the recent housing White Paper recognizes the desirability of mews houses and terraced streets and considers that these forms may be preferable over high rise in order to reflect the character of an area and its local housing needs.²⁶

Interestingly, CABE identify changing views on three-storey dwellings in attitudes among homebuyers; earlier surveys reported that townhouses were seen as impractical, whereas a later investigation reported that families saw appeal in the idea of multi-level townhouse living.²⁷ Their research also suggests that whilst higher density housing is often perceived negatively, building higher buildings along wider streets – such as the Georgian housing in Figure 3a – could be effective in producing positive associations with higher densities.²⁸ CABE also point to research that shows buyers increasingly want something other than a standard housing estate, and identify a return to more

enduring forms of housing such as streets of townhouses, and addressing density through terraces instead of detached housing and building at three storeys instead of two.²⁹ Hatton also argues that there is much potential for renewal of the terraced row – the pervasive English urban house type.³⁰

There are notable examples of contemporary interpretations of the terraced form in urban areas, such as FAT's *Islington Square*, dMFK's *Guest Street*, and ShedKM's *hoUse*. Hatherley suggests that whilst *Islington Square* and *Guest Street* present much creative thinking, their low-rise form is at odds with the urban fabric that surrounds them.³¹ Perhaps to address this, in many places *Islington Square* appears as three-storey terraces rather than two – as can be seen in Figure 2 – giving the houses more scale. ShedKM's *hoUse* project – sitting between *Islington Square* and new apartment blocks – goes some way to mitigating against the situation which created Hatherley's consternation, through a mixture of two- and three-storey terraces, with the latter facing a new five-storey apartment block across the canal.

One of the most creative massing solutions looked at here is the *1 Ellesmere Street* project. Its forty-nine three- and four-storey townhouses have been seamlessly integrated with twenty-two apartments. Consequently, the height of the development is comparable with the surrounding old mill buildings and contemporary apartment blocks. This is aided by the louvred privacy screen around the roof gardens, which at a full storey in height makes the four-storey block appear five.

Houses – even terraces – might be considered inevitably less dense than apartments; consequently, it could be argued that they are profligate in land use and therefore less sustainable. However, with a site of less than half a hectare, the *1 Ellesmere Street* project achieves a density of more than 170 dwellings per hectare. Furthermore, the argument being made here is for a variety of dwellings that provide for a wider spectrum of society – also an inherent quality of what should be understood as 'sustainable'.

CONCLUSION

There is no single solution to the problems of housing in this time of crisis. It is well established that not enough new housing is being built in the UK, and the issue of where those dwellings are most needed – and can be built – is debated at length. However, a less frequently discussed facet of the conundrum is whether the appropriate types of home are being built. Apartments are a vital part of residential provision in cities and fulfil the needs of a large proportion of people who desire to live there. However, the pluralism and complexity of cities should not be dulled by repetitious replication of a single typology. Broadening the types of dwelling will create a richer urban grain and more choice for those who want to reside in urban places. Some might argue that as people grow older and start families they will inevitably want to move out of the city; however, whilst that might be true for many, such broad-brush presumption is countered by the projects discussed above.

According to Towers, the provision of apartments versus houses is an issue debated frequently, and it has much to do with established mores and expectations. Encouragingly, he goes on to argue that many European cities show that both forms can achieve good urban qualities, and both can be successfully built at relatively high densities.³²

Affordability is invariably an issue, and particularly for houses in cities. Current financial models mean that the land cost per unit would be higher for houses, as apartments provide greater distribution across a larger number of dwellings. This paper focuses primarily on design issues in the provision of different housing types within urban areas, and it is beyond its scope to explore the ramifications of affordability. However, compelling arguments have been made elsewhere that the affordability crisis demands a radical rethink of land procurement, and potential strategies are proposed to address this.³³

The argument for variety and diversity of housing lends weight to these calls for significant rethinking at policy level.

MCC's argument that future provision should at least double the proportion of dwellings with three or more bedrooms, arguably more suited to houses than flats, is seen as especially important in intermediate (delivering affordable home ownership options) and social rented housing.³⁴ It might be thought that houses in urban areas would largely be the preserve of affluent private ownership, however the examples here illustrate that houses in urban locations can be provided across both the public as well as private sector, notably *Islington Square* and *Guest Street* in New Islington.

There are certain attributes that make houses typologically distinct; to provide a credible and appropriate alternative to apartments, houses in urban contexts must embody these. Of course, houses with innovative private outdoor space, thoughtful articulation of thresholds and appropriate massing will not encompass all that is required but would go a significant way to ensuring that their design embodies qualities that make them appropriate for their context. Exemplary precedents of traditional forms provide a fertile source of inspiration for this, and the projects discussed above eloquently demonstrate creative interpretations of these characteristics of the traditional form. They do not provide definitive solutions but show what is achievable in providing contemporary houses that are appropriate within cities.

NOTES

¹ Owen Hatherley, *A Guide to the New Ruins of Great Britain* (London: Verso, 2010), 116.

² "Neighbourhood Statistics - Key Figures for 2001 Census: Key Statistics," Office for National Statistics, accessed March 11, 2016, <http://neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadKeyFigures.do?a=7&b=5941650&c=M1+1AD&d=14&e=15&g=351218&i=1001x1003x1004&m=0&r=0&s=1457711226547&enc=1&nsjs=true&nsck=false&nssvg=false&nswid=1920>.

³ "Neighbourhood Statistics - Key Figures for 2011 Census: Key Statistics," Office for National Statistics, accessed March 11, 2016, <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadKeyFigures.do?a=7&b=13689204&c=City+Centre&d=14&e=62&g=6342490&i=1001x1003x1032x1004&o=362&m=0&r=1&s=1467374956065&enc=1>.

⁴ "Neighbourhood Statistics - Age Structure - 2011 (KS102EW)," Office for National Statistics, accessed March 11, 2016, <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadTableView.do?a=7&b=13689204&c=City+Centre&d=14&e=62&g=6342490&i=1001x1003x1032x1004&m=0&r=1&s=1457711265734&enc=1&dsFamilyId=2474>.

⁵ "Neighbourhood Statistics - Dwellings, Household Spaces and Accommodation Type - 2011 (KS401EW)," Office for National Statistics, accessed March 11, 2016, <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadTableView.do?a=7&b=13689204&c=City+Centre&d=14&e=62&g=6342490&i=1001x1003x1032x1004&o=362&m=0&r=1&s=1467374624784&enc=1&dsFamilyId=2481>.

⁶ Manchester City Council, "Core Strategy Development Plan Document", accessed January 25, 2017, www.manchester.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/18981/final_core_strategy.pdf, 97.

⁷ Manchester City Council, "Providing for Housing Choice - Supplementary Planning Document and Planning Guidance", accessed January 25, 2017, http://www.manchester.gov.uk/site/scripts/download_info.php?fileID=8646, 26-7.

⁸ Alasdair Rae, "Too Many flats, Not Enough Houses? The Geography of London's New Housing," Significance, accessed January 25, 2017, <https://www.statslife.org.uk/economics-and-business/2360-too-many-flats-not-enough-houses-the-geography-of-london-s-new-housing>.

⁹ Intergenerational Foundation, "Generations Apart? The Growth of Age Segregation in England and Wales", accessed February 1, 2017, http://www.if.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Generations-Apart_Report_Final_Web-Version-1.pdf, 32.

¹⁰ Libby Purves, "This Exodus from London is Bad for Us All," *The Times*, December 28, 2015, 29.

¹¹ Amy Frearson, "ShedKM and Urban Splash Let Residents Design Layouts for Modular Manchester Homes," Minimal Blogs, accessed June 27, 2016, <http://minimalblogs.com/shedkm-and-urban-splash-let-residents-design-layouts-for-modular-manchester-homes/>.

¹² Graham Towers, *At Home in the City: An Introduction to Urban Housing Design* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2005), 93.

¹³ Ipsos MORI, "The Way We Live Now: What People Need and Expect From Their Homes – A Research Report for the Royal Institute of British Architects", Ipsos MORI and the RIBA, accessed January 25, 2017, <https://www.architecture.com/Files/RIBAHoldings/PolicyAndInternationalRelations/HomeWise/TheWayWeLiveNowRIBAIpsosMORIMay2012.pdf>, 49.

¹⁴ Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, "What Home Buyers Want: Attitudes and Decision Making Among Consumers", accessed February 1, 2017, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/201110118095356/http://www.cabe.org.uk/files/what-home-buyers-want.pdf>, 16.

¹⁵ Ipsos MORI, "The Way We Live", 49.

¹⁶ Le Corbusier / Pierre Jeanneret, "Five Points Towards a New Architecture," in *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th Century Architecture*, ed. Conrad Ulrich (Cambridge Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1971), 99-101.

¹⁷ "1 Ellesmere Street," Ollier Smurthwaite, accessed April 13, 2016, <http://www.olliersmurthwaite.com/projects/ellesmere/>.

¹⁸ "Borneo-Sporenburg," West 8, accessed June 24, 2016, http://www.west8.nl/projects/all/borneo_sporenburg/.

¹⁹ Ipsos MORI, "The Way We Live", 46.

²⁰ Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, "What Home Buyers", 10.

- ²¹ Manchester City Council, “Draft Residential Quality Guidance”, accessed January 25, 2017, <https://www.placenorthwest.co.uk/cms/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Manchester-Residential-Quality-Guidance-draft-June-2016-1.pdf>, 56-8.
- ²² Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, “What Home Buyers”, 13.
- ²³ “1 Ellesmere Street”, Ollier Smurthwaite.
- ²⁴ Hatherley, *A Guide*, 336.
- ²⁵ Manchester City Council, “Draft Residential”, 34.
- ²⁶ Department for Communities and Local Government, “Fixing Our Broken Housing Market,” accessed February 10, 2017, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/590463/Fixing_our_broken_housing_market_-_accessible_version.pdf, 31 and 88.
- ²⁷ Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, “What Home Buyers”, 14.
- ²⁸ Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, “What Home Buyers”, 8.
- ²⁹ Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment, “Better Neighbourhoods: Making Higher Densities Work”, accessed February 1, 2017, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110118095356/http://www.cabe.org.uk/files/better-neighbourhoods.pdf>, 9-11.
- ³⁰ Brian Hatton, “This Was Tomorrow: UK Urban Housing Today,” *Lotus* 147 (2011), 6-13.
- ³¹ Hatherley, *A Guide*, 143 and 336.
- ³² Towers, *At Home*, 197.
- ³³ David Rudlin and Nicholas Falk, *Uxcester Garden City – Second Stage Submission for the 2014 Wolfson Economics Prize* (Manchester: URBED, 2014), 16; and Peter Jefferys et al., *Building the Homes We Need – A Programme for the 2015 Government* (KPMG, 2014), 45.
- ³⁴ Manchester City Council, “Providing for Housing”, 27.

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CONSTRUCTING COMMUNITY: SYNTHESIZING LAY AND PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE IN ARCHITECTURE

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INTRODUCTION

The synthesis of lay and professional knowledge in building and urban renewal works can operate to ‘construct community’, and make strong, vibrant, integrated urban space, by establishing reciprocal bonds within communities and between institutional, enterprise, community and individual actors and actor groups. In this paper I’ll describe how architectural interventions and buildings can do this, through the work of Baxendale, a practice that explores an interdisciplinary approach to regeneration through the simultaneous development of both programme and place. Baxendale’s practice is concerned with the intersection of agency and design - work is orientated towards enhancing communities by building capacity, utilising active making as a tool for developing local empowerment and transferring knowledge and skills. Principally working in marginal communities, on interventions, buildings and processes, the work relates closely to, and builds on the long-standing discourse on participatory and marginal design practices, as found in the writing of Henry Sanoff, Colin Ward, John Turner and Nabeel Hamdi amongst many others, and latterly in the building work of practices like Peter Hübner, Ralph Erskine and Lucien Kroll and to a certain extent, self-build pioneers such as Walter Segal and activist organisations like Habitat for Humanity. Baxendale’s engagement, however, challenges aspects of such prominent participatory work by focusing on the processes of spatial practice, presuming collaborative learning between institutional, private and community actors towards synergistic outcomes. Work of the kind described is an important component of a thoughtful approach to urban renewal relevant to contemporary conditions, particularly renewal orientated towards making more just urban environments, which is of particular importance to the debate on housing provision. A community that is empowered in the public realm will generate for itself urban space which is creative, delightful and secure. This can only be beneficial for those tasked with providing sustainable housing in the future.

PARTICIPATION

The conceptual context in which Baxendale’s output sits is within the broad field of participatory design, an area of practice and theory that has been extensively explored over the decades since its conscious formulation and application in the mid-1960s. Even then, however, participation in development was contested and analysed in terms of its capacity to do good. Sherry Arnstein, in her

seminal paper 'A Ladder Of Citizen Participation' recognised that much participation tended towards the lower rungs of her ladder, and did not therefore function to satisfy the basic precept of participation, which was the redistribution of power towards more just societies, but instead often fell into the trap, either by intention or accident, of manipulation and therapy, or tokenism. Arnstein argued that this was largely due to a misunderstanding of what citizen participation was, and what it was for. Simply put, she stated, participation is:

'the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programs are operated.'¹

But even though identified in practice and purpose, participation has remained a problem for those charged with the organisation of social and urban development. Francis Cleaver noted in 1999 that whilst 'Heroic claims are made for participatory approaches to development, these being justified in the terms [...] of contributing to processes of democratization and empowerment...' ² such a status was not founded on reality and that in fact 'there is little evidence of the long-term effectiveness of participation in materially improving the conditions of the most vulnerable people or as a strategy for social change'.³ Evidence, she suggested, of the beneficial effect of participation on empowerment and sustainability was 'reliant on assertions of the rightness of the approach and process rather than convincing proof of outcomes.'⁴

For architecture this problem is significant and appears to stem from an under examined relationship between power and empowerment; social relations in processes of architectural production and in buildings have not been adequately linked to the latter. Because power tends to be viewed as 'force', inherent to physical bodies and transferrable in series through these, its significance to the social dimensions of the built environment is downplayed. If, however, as more recent theories have posited, power is 'three dimensional',⁵ emerging through social relationships and, to use Hannah Arendt, is possible wherever people come together for a common purpose in what she calls the 'space of appearance',⁶ the potential of the built environment as a mechanism for empowerment is clear. In this analysis the potential for participation to enable experiential, social and symbolic meaning through collaborative action *in space* becomes obvious. Further, power conceptualised in this way can be realised through participatory processes which are orientated towards achieving the greatest amount of meaning for a building project via physical collaboration on actually making stuff - by participating in the design and production of things, people add to the collective meaning of the built environment. This endows the urban realm with a sense of relevant identity which in turn allows for ownership, and a meaningful distribution of agency according to individual's and community's capacity.

In this conceptual context, it is evident why current models of participatory design practice don't work to empower people or communities: most commonly they are abstract and largely therapeutic processes applied from the top downwards which do not facilitate the free association of people towards collectivisation, dialogue, mutual understanding and the discernment of common practical or socio-cultural goals. They tend not to be spatially situated in real ways which relate to everyday experience of urban space, or even to promote the thoughtful analysis of needs and desires within communities. Rather, experience suggests that engagement is curtailed so as to limit and control output, better to manage unrealistic expectations.

COPRODUCTION

In contrast, coproduction has emerged as a mechanism for generating the goals that were once the objective of participation.

In her 1996 paper ‘Crossing the Great Divide: Co-production, synergy and development’ the Nobel Laureate Elinor Ostrom defined coproduction as being ‘the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not “in” the same organization’.⁷ This definition sums up well the nature of an approach to the provision of social goods increasingly seen used in the Global South to deliver necessary social and physical infrastructure, often in places where the abilities of the state are lacking. Coproduction across the world operates to meet the needs of people who are becoming increasingly informed and competent citizens and who are thus able to participate in the processes of service provision, including both infrastructure and governance. By implication, coproductive processes are therefore seen to derive from interconnected actor groups and operate with agencies of varying scales, from individuals to the state. In this way, coproduction involves all parties in the success or failure of a given service - the user is inherently important, vital indeed not just to the success of the project, but necessary for its realisation. This linking of users with service provision, also stresses the responsibility of institutional actors in project outcomes, Coproduction therefore operates to generate collaboration and co-learning.

The concept of coproduction has developed, growing through contestation and application in the work of Boviard, Mitlin, Mottiar and White and Joshi and Moore, amongst many others.⁸ It stands in contrast to participatory processes within otherwise hierarchical models of service provision, which have become in many situations, according to Frances Cleaver “translated into a managerial exercise[s] ... domesticated away’ from their radical roots”⁹ and have, as a consequence, lost much of their value as a tools for empowerment. This contrast between coproduction and participation is a significant issue insofar as whilst design participation already exists as a strategy to make housing an empowering process, it does not adequately address its originally stated and more valuable goal, which is the redistribution of power through the lifecycle of a building: design, procurement, construction, use and maintenance. In contrast, coproduction retains an orientation towards empowerment as its principal output, chiefly by preserving a focus on production, thereby maintaining the link between making and agency.¹⁰

Ostrom suggested four criteria which would make coproduction ‘an improvement over regular government production or citizen production alone’.¹¹ First: complementary technologies, legal options, credible commitments and incentives to encourage inputs. The objective of these criteria is twofold: it leads to the ‘vernacularisation’ of the processes of development away from overly professional systems towards collectively achievable outputs, and it simultaneously exposes institutional actors to non-professional knowledges and practices enabling service orientation towards more holistically sustainable ends. As such, the ends of coproductive processes are not only better-designed services, but also through this, the redistribution of power across the lay/professional divide.

BAXENDALE

The work of Baxendale, then, has developed to cross this divide, moving participation on from managerial exercises in placation and therapy. By centralising the making of *things* in urban space, Baxendale, re-establishes a clear link between the coproduction of urban space and its capacity to empower. People, who might be lay or professional, either institutional or otherwise, are through the making of things *together*, not only endowed with the right to leave their imprint on the built environment, but also the responsibility to do it for the common good; thoughtful design of both the

processes and built interventions allow actors of varying capacities to collaborate in these processes. Three case studies illustrate this, one short, one medium and one long term. Each demonstrates the ability of coproduction to make urban environments which ‘construct community’ through both processes and product.

TEST UNIT

Test Unit was a short-term programme undertaken in July 2016. Organised by non-profit partners Taktal and Agile City with Baxendale, this project output took the form of a one-week summer school supported by stakeholders including Creative Scotland, Scottish Canals, Glasgow City Council and the Glasgow School of Art, and which began with discussion, analysis and design and moved quickly to making, occupying Bairds Brae, a small site on the edge of Forth & Clyde Canal on land owned by Scottish Canals. The wider area had initially been subject to large-scale plans including extensive new housing, but the recent recession had necessitated a change of approach, one which placed ‘cultural activity, alternative use and temporary activation at the heart of the regeneration initiative’.¹²

The Test Unit summer school had a discrete agenda: it wanted to supply an antidote to the customary participatory processes of talking, charrettes and oral consultations which had been applied to the site, but which had resulted in little actual improvement and a weariness and wariness amongst participating groups. Test Unit instead instigated the prototyping of physical things, small pavilions and installations designed and made by the participants with direction by Baxendale and other experts, as mechanisms for exploring the potential of the site as a discrete physical and social space, as a potential locus for urban creativity and as a setting for broader discussions about the nature and potential of urban renewal.



Figure 1: Test Unit, showing main pavilion (left) and ‘The Nettle Inn’ (right) under construction.

By developing the site in a single week, Test Unit also demonstrated the potential of a shorter development process to parties invested in the site, both in terms of how quality occupation *can* be achieved quickly - it doesn’t have to be slow and arduous - but also how knowledge about urban space can be more effectively revealed through the act of design-making rather than talking. In addition, as a live process Test Unit avoided the tendency towards abstraction that can devalue participatory practice - the work remained vital.



Figure 2: Test Unit, showing main pavilion under construction (left) and 'The Nettle Inn' (right).

Test Unit also operated at a number of scales and for a number of audiences. To use Arjun Appadurai, it enabled the scale jumping inherent to a 'deep democracy' approach¹³, allowing the participants, groups and institutional actors to engage with the programme towards plural ends - skills acquisition, social experience, promotion, site development and occupation and ideas generation, as well as visibility and community engagement - through a process of spatial prototyping and by demonstrating capacity - in a week on a very marginal site interventions were developed which not only improved the public realm in a very direct way, but also produced public space through the development of new social activities, consolidated in built fabric.



Figure 3: Test Unit, complete and with an event in full swing.

POLLOCKSHIELDS

The Pollockshields Playhouse project, a one-year collaboration between numerous non-profit groups directed through Pollockshields Community Council and in collaboration with a private developer, situated on a site in south central Glasgow, was a programme of informal making activities overseen

by Baxendale, each of which were ordered towards the development of social events. Each building project was initiated with the objective of providing a mechanism for *the community* to prototype ideas about space, place and programme in an urban and semi-marginal context.

The area of Pollockshields has a significant low-income, ethnic minority community living alongside an increasingly middle-class population attracted by traditional housing, proximity to the urban core and an attractive cultural context. This gentrification was stimulated (if not entirely started) by the development in 1988 of a disused tram depot into Tramway, an arts centre, extended to its rear in 2003 by the development of The Hidden Gardens as a space for intercultural community building.



Figure 4: Playhouse in context (Image from Google Maps. Accessed 26.

Pollockshields Playhouse was located on a brownfield site opposite the Tramway and could be read spatially as deriving much of its identity from Tramway's agenda of creativity and co-operation. However, it differed insofar as the Playhouse was public space which was wide open to interpretation - it was just a big, walled space with a quite small gate and lots of rubble. But insofar as it was practicable, Playhouse was unbounded which allowed programmes of social activities to emerge in space according to the identity of Pollockshields as a singular place. In this way, the Playhouse acted as a framework onto which socio-culturally relevant programmes could be applied and tested.





Figure 5: The site developing (clockwise from top left)

The Playhouse's space, then, was not without any context: there was both a pre-existing place and a programme and together these produced an environment which was structured or programmed, but in which there were also 'gaps', as with free periods in a school timetable. These gaps were given impetus and coherence, too, by the programme and place, which then created situations through which the 'users' - developers, council, community, designers, visitors, and so on - could explore the boundaries and possibilities of public space - the what, where, who, why and how of being a citizen of a city. The Playhouse, then, was a new way of prototyping public space from the grassroots up, with the objective not of creating a pristine piece of urban renewal, but towards building a social and practical capacity in the community. As such, it radically contrasted with usual methods of public space development which customarily sees expert knowledge applied in the abstract so as to assess the risks and probabilities of a site towards concrete and permanent ends.



Figure 6: Activities on-site (clockwise, top-left) - Tinker Town; dance; theatre; carnival.

BEITH

The work done by Baxendale since 2012 in the small town of Beith, North Ayrshire, twenty miles from the centre of Glasgow demonstrates a long-term, embedded process of urban renewal via both social and spatial practices. Like many places in post-industrial Britain, Beith has seen its stock sink with the departure of traditional and heavy industries from the region, including textiles and furniture manufacturing. North Ayrshire is rural and suffers from high levels of deprivation. Beith is surrounded by agricultural land, with a large whiskey bond bordering the town to the west. Its historic identity has been slowly leeched away with the development of peripheral service provision, schools and leisure facilities, and the commercial draws of nearby urban areas, which has led to a sense of isolation and belief in the community that an active marginalization was in some way at play.



Figure 7: Mapping the key areas which flagged up in the engagement exercise.

In light of these pressures and the town's decline, Baxendale were commissioned in 2012 to produce feasibility work on potential mechanisms to improve the fabric of the public realm, including social infrastructure, small-scale interventions and building works, which would reinvigorate the town's sense of its own virtues by emphasising and enhancing existing activities. In line with Baxendale's process-orientated approach, they worked with the town's development trust to generate activity, latent or otherwise under-realised, identify social and built assets and to reveal the 'voice' of the town. This was undertaken through small to medium-scale public engagement projects which would reveal characteristics of the town which could be promoted and improved.

Renewal in Beith has taken the form of a slow, incremental process of capacity building towards larger-scale architectural works. The aim here has been almost archaeological, using social events and programmes of learning, witnessing, accompaniment and presentation to map the needs and possibilities of the town revealing existing identities and activities. These were consolidated into a series of strategic moves and a menu of interventions. Beginning in 2013, a pop-up shop on Main Street called Project Main Street tried various activities to reinvigorate the town centre, including supplying graphic design professionals, photographers and skilled makers to improve the image of the place, to expand the brand identity of many of the business, and to improve visibility through the use of social media and promotional literature. The intention was not gentrification but to work with local businesses so that they could learn how to access skills and expertise which would otherwise remain beyond their reach. The use of professionals and highly skilled creative practitioners was based on a belief that in part the isolation of places like Beith derives from a reluctant acceptance of bad quality stuff and that marginal communities have as a consequence come to have a very limited idea of quality and value in urban space is. By providing useful, beautiful things Baxendale demonstrated that this needn't be so; this craftedness wasn't limited to building improvements, however, but also to creating stylish promotional material for new local events, such as Beith Beer Fest.



Figure 8: (Top left, clockwise) Public kiosk - 'One thing that would make Beith better?...' / 'Things to do in Beith?'; Beith Past and Present interactive map; Beith Banter - drop-in centre on Main Street; Project Main Street pop-up shop.

The outcome of this process was the eventual acquisition of the Geilsland School site on the town's eastern edge. Once a residential centre run by the Church of Scotland, its closure and disuse saw a substantial public asset wasted. On receiving a substantial grant Beith Development Trust were able to purchase the site with a view towards developing it into a project where the good things demonstrated through Baxendale's work could be self-generated in the town's own learning and making environment. This project is underway and has seen Baxendale develop proposals for the renovation of the old sports hall for use as a camping, sports, dance, dog show and roller disco venue.

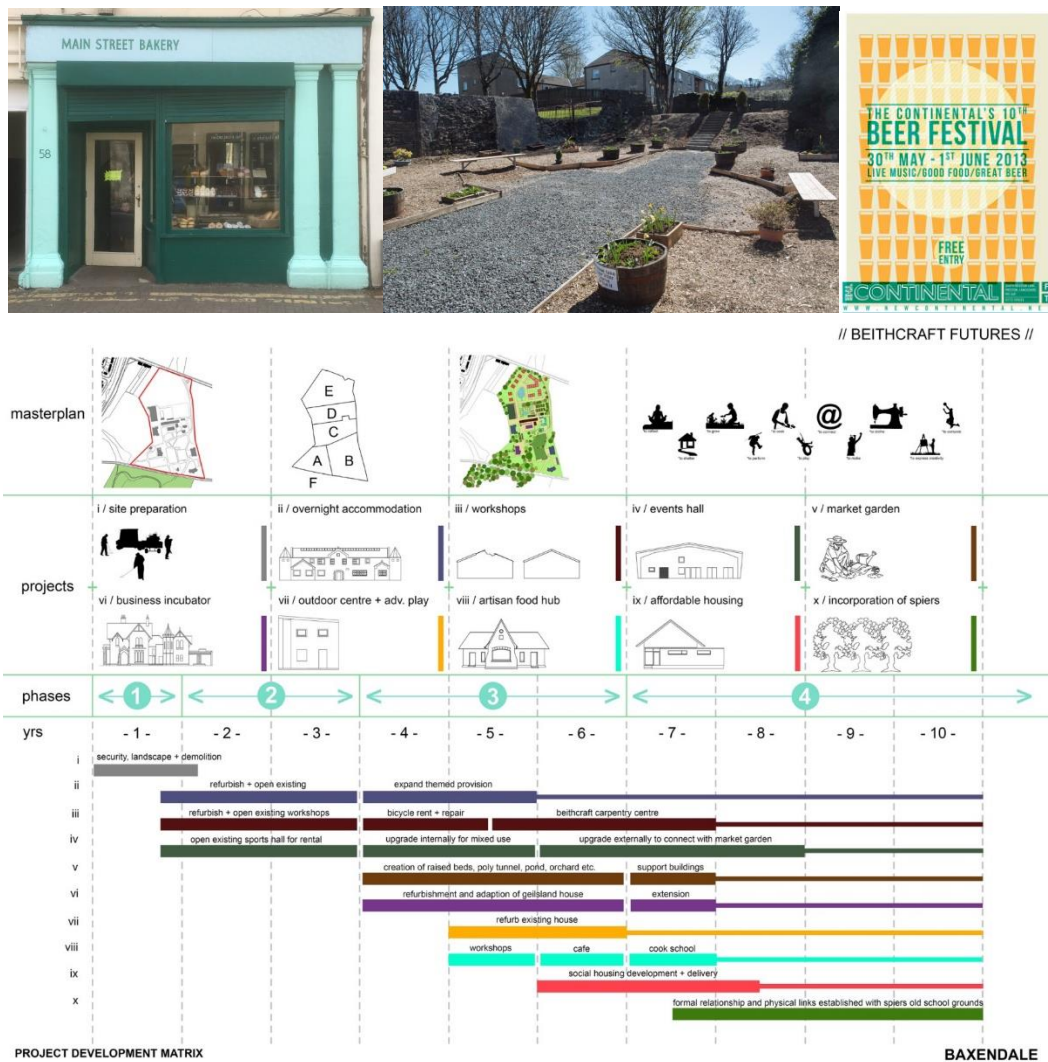


Figure 9: Top left, clockwise: Main Street renovation and re-branding; Main Street community garden; local produce and cultural event; Geilsland School site development strategy.

CONCLUSION

The work of Baxendale represents an emerging, radical agenda amongst practitioners for new architectures for marginal communities. This agenda understands the capacity of architecture as an effective agent for change, through both its artefacts and processes. By recognising the core purpose of participation, which is empowerment, and by discerning what power is and how power develops, architectural practice can produce built fabric which makes empowerment more likely to occur. By deriving built form from collaborative design and development approaches, Baxendale make built environments which more closely resonate with community visions of what good urbanism is, looks like and does. Further, the processes used towards this end operate to engage various user-groups in the act of building production which not only builds capacity in a practical sense - people learn hands-on skills - but also in a psycho-social sense - the built environment becomes appropriable by dint of the fact that it is de-mystified.

Through the three case study projects outlined the ability of Baxendale's kind of approach to construct community is evidenced. At Test Unit, a process of prototyping demonstrated the possibilities of spatial appropriation as a mechanism for broader discussions about public space and use, at the Pollckshields Playhouse, new ways of developing and using public realm for the benefit of a diverse, complex and fluid community have been demonstrated towards plural goals; at Beith an embedded process of urban renewal has explored the possibilities of architectural output deriving from a long-term programme of social activities. Each show how capacity can be built by expanding the agency of users and institutional partners. The answer to the question of urban decline then, does not necessarily entail more urbanism, more building. Instead, as Baxendale's approach demonstrates, the solution to urban problems lies in activating greater synergy, more engagement, more dialogue; in short, more of that stuff that distinguishes happy community life.

The engagement of a co-productive agenda and processes in urban renewal do however, speak of a new and perhaps somewhat worrying development in state-public relations with regards urban spatial and infrastructural maintenance, renewal, growth or change. The use of coproduction is arguably used in conditions where the ability of the state is limited or lacking,¹⁴ and not only in response to increasing capacity in service users.¹⁵ Scholars have argued for two main motivations for the use of coproduction: 'governance drivers which respond to declines in governance capacity' and 'logistical drivers which arise when some services cannot effectively be delivered because the environment is too complex or too variable or because the cost of interacting with large numbers of households is too great'¹⁶ It should also be noted that most significant literature on infrastructural coproduction relates to governance in LEDCs and not in major cities in the global north, and that the approach is largely used in relation to marginalised populations. Whilst often done very well, with good intentions and towards good ends, logistical nor governance drivers represent an ideal relationship between the state and the people. That marginal populations are more likely to be participant-recipients in such engagements is also significant, effectively demonstrating state inability to engage with the most needy.

Baxendale's approach, then, whilst effective and welcome, does underline a broader structural issue in urban renewal in Glasgow: that areas populated by marginal and economically deprived groups are increasingly effectively having to do the job themselves, with the help of well-meaning non-profits, charities and private enterprise and with limited resources and state support. The alternative, which has had questionable success for large parts of cities like Glasgow, appears to be to wait for global financial conditions to improve such that state intervention is once again possible. And whilst a coproductive model does facilitate levels of pluralism and agility in urban development less possible in centralised governance systems, it does likewise mean that urban centres are perhaps faced with increasingly heterogeneous and uneven growth and change. As described in the three case studies, Ostrom's four criteria are variously, and unevenly evident: whilst complementarity is developed in project design and delivery and the multi-actor work is clearly an incentive to community engagement, the credibility of state and institutional commitments are not, perhaps, as assured as necessary to ensure long-term project sustainability. As such, it is arguable that any 'vernacularization' of process and object is inconsistent and perhaps not that deep-rooted. Even so, the emergence of practices like Baxendale's does signify a new and potentially radical departure from customary models of participation in urban renewal in the global north which, for these authors, is worthy of note.

NOTES

- ¹ S. R. Arnstein, "'A Ladder Of Citizen Participation'." In *Journal of the American Planning Association* (1969). 35(4): p.216.
- ² F.Cleaver "Paradoxes of Participation: Questioning Participatory Approaches to Development." *Journal of International Development* (1999). 11: p.597.
- ³ *ibid.*
- ⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁵ J. Hearn. *Theorizing Power*. (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan 2012).; p.5.
- ⁶ Arendt, H. and M. Canovan. *The Human Condition: Second Edition* (University of Chicago Press, 1998); p.199.
- ⁷ Ostrom, E. "Crossing the Great Divide: Coproduction, synergy and development." *World Development* (1996) 24(6): p.1073.
- ⁸ Bovaird, T. "Beyond Engagement and Participation: User and Community Coproduction of Public Services." *Public Administration Review* (2007) September/ October; Mitlin, D. "With and beyond the state - co-production as a route to political influence, power and transformation for grassroots organisations." *Environment & Urbanization* (2008) 20 (2); Mottiar, S. and F. White. Co-production as a form of service delivery: Community policing in Alexandra township. *New Approaches to Decentralized Service Delivery, Santiago, Chile, Centre for Policy Studies* (CPS), (2003) Johannesburg, South Africa; Joshi, A. and M. Moore. "Institutionalised Co-production: Unorthodox Public Service Delivery in Challenging Environments." *The Journal of Development Studies* (2004) 40(4).
- ⁹ Cleaver, "Paradoxes of Participation", 608.
- ¹⁰ Gillick, A. *Synthetic Vernacular: The coproduction of architecture*. School of Environment and Development. Manchester, University of Manchester. PhD (2013): 332.
- ¹¹ Ostrom "Crossing the Great Divide", 1082.
- ¹² "Agile City", *Agile City*, Accessed May 7th 2017, www.agile-city.com
- ¹³ Appadurai, A. "Deep democracy: urban governmentality and the horizon of politics." *Environment & Urbanization* (2001) 13(2): 23-44.
- ¹⁴ Joshi and Moore "Institutionalised Co-production" 42-4
- ¹⁵ Boyle, D. *Co-production by people outside paid employment*, (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2006): 4.
- ¹⁶ Bovaird, "Beyond Engagement and Participation", 855.

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THE ASSEMBLY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE NEIGHBOURHOODS (UoN). A DOCUMENTATION OF MAKING NEW FORMS OF AGENCIES AVAILABLE

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INTRODUCTION

This paper explores what the project of running an experiment in urbanism as part of the International Building Exhibition 2013 (IBA Hamburg), called the University of the Neighbourhoods (UoN) (2007-2013), can teach professionals in urban design about urbanisation in general and about changing political conditions in urban design in particular. The materials and preliminary findings in this paper are from an on-going project archaeology¹ for the publication »Tom Paints the Fence. Re-negotiating Urban Design«, which is to be published by the research and teaching programme Urban Design at HCU Hamburg in 2017.

To ground the arguments more concretely the authors use the documentation of what happened in one 'take'², in retrospect named building a proposition for future activities, of the project University of the Neighbourhoods (UoN). The paper will meander between descriptive and conceptual paragraphs. The descriptive paragraphs function not so much as case studies, but rather as illustrative examples that are helpful in rehearsing an argument. The conceptual paragraphs assemble methods, tools and theories³ used in practice.

The paper reflects on how the UoN's team processed uncertainties around the role of urban development and education in the process of making a beginning of the project with the simple question: what is it like to live, work and learn in the area where the project site is located and how does this relate to the neighbourhood and the city?⁴ And what are we actually doing when we live somewhere day-to-day? Sleeping, eating, recovering, maintaining private relationships, running the household, being a neighbour...?⁵ Shifting our focus from housing in terms of object-centred policies to dwelling-as-practice, we were interested in studying and pushing existing understandings of housing. The contemporary administrative, policy, development and architectural perspectives on housing in our view prove myopic if we consider the emerging schism between housing as form and housing as function.⁶ Our perspective and the UoN experiment aimed to problematize the seemingly set understandings of housing by traversing the discursive and disciplinary territory in order to unpack and bring into play the various agencies and inner logics or potencies contributing to 'problem solving' without debating the problem. In an attempt to unravel the production, management and usage of housing and dwelling as a complex set of practices, understandings, regulations, materials,

situations and actors, our curriculum provided a framework within which to question what housing is, does and could be. If, as Engels noted ⁷as early as 1872⁸, “in mainstream debates, housing tends to be understood in narrow terms” it is seen as a “temporary crisis that can be resolved through targeted, isolated measures.”⁹

HOW TO WORK WITH AND WITHIN THE EXISTING

At the beginning of IBA’s official operation period its board of directors invited the president of the newly founded HafenCity University for the Built Environment and Metropolitan Development to contribute to the IBA’s catalogue of projects. The starting point of the discussion was a common urban situation: an empty and derelict building that had not been used for years – the former Public Health Authority building of the district that in its initial function had once served as a home for unmarried women. IBA offered this building on a lot next to a park in the area of central Wilhelmsburg and negotiated the commitment of funds in the amount of 540.000€ for the duration of six years (see Figure 1)¹⁰. The contract for the project stated that at the end of IBA in 2013 the building was to be demolished and the lot returned to the municipality’s housing programme. IBA and HCU both formed teams around the future project and issued a student competition as a teaching format in HCU’s urban planning programme. Meanwhile the chair of Urban Design at HCU Hamburg, Bernd Kniess, was asked to head the project called “Experiment on the Island”. He was faced with what could in retrospect be called “careless” design: the results of a competition showed “nice” designs but obviously without taking into account the framing conditions. This was not alone their failure, however, as their ambitions were based on the competition’s brief, which asked them to design ‘a temporary use of the empty premises as an »IBA Exhibition Pavilion«, as a »working environment«, a »place of dialogue«, a »think-tank«, and of course a »space of inspiration«’ without emphasising the existing building. It didn’t come as a surprise that only one student group was able to imagine keeping and working with it. Their project, named ›Grenzposten‹ (frontier post), was awarded the first price by the jury on the grounds that using 540.000€ to demolish the building, re-building something from scratch only to demolish it again in order to fulfil its initial contract would amount to an unsustainable use of the project’s resources.

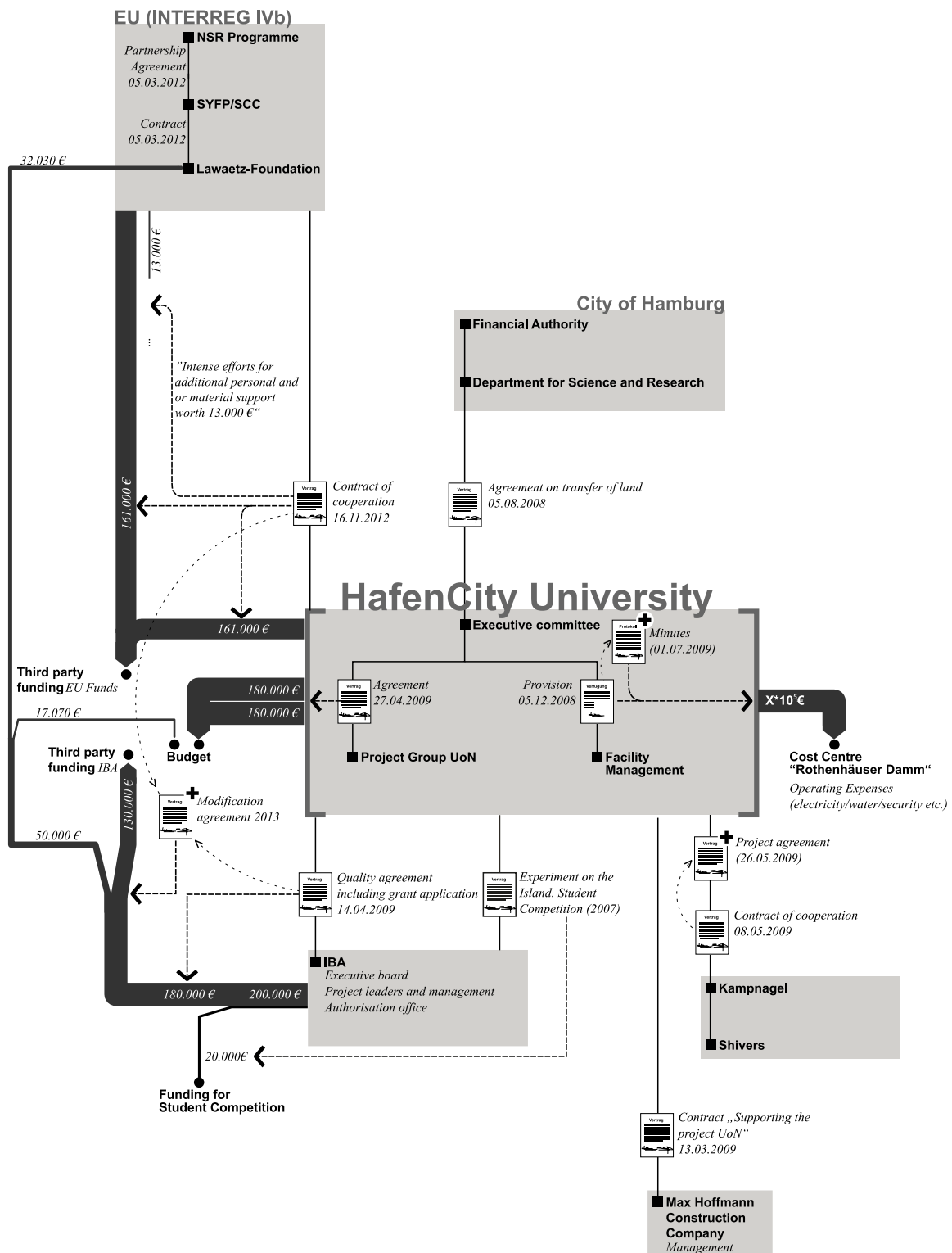


Figure 1 Project Funding Diagram
 Source: Jakob Kempe / Research and Teaching Programme Urban Design, HCU Hamburg

HOW TO DO THINGS WITH ART. PART I

Having analysed the preconditions of the competition, the UoN team decided to take a step back in order to find out which principal and basic questions are ingrained in the project itself. What was at stake was not to create a specific architectural design from a tabula rasa but to initiate a continuously renewing process that respects the framing conditions as resource. Much later we understood that this had consequences on how we conceptualised design processes. What had happened was a shift from the formula of problem solving to creating what one could call a machine that produces questions and broadens its target mode from matters of fact to matters of concern¹¹. In order to conceptually frame the open process that we were about to undertake, we entitled the project University of Neighbourhoods. ‘University’ underpins that we are neither a community centre nor social workers but researchers and students of the urban. The notion ‘neighbourhood’ demonstrates the relational and contextual approach of the project. Having come up with the conceptual framing, we spent one semester simply on putting our prejudices and scopic regimes¹² to zero. Students and staff collaborated in experimenting with teaching formats, undertaking dérives and field research, and methodologically reflecting knowledge production in MTT seminars. A particularly important recognition amongst the many different aspects and forms that resulted from the first semester students’ work was the form of presentation they chose for presenting their proposal: they staged a cooking event they called Kulturküche (culture kitchen). Students stood in front of the jury comprised of professors and project managers, improvised a kitchen with school furniture, portable cooking equipment and their own pans, dishes and cutlery and prepared a meal that was subsequently offered to everybody. They were aware that proposing a process rather than a product would need to be practiced and performed (see Figure 2). Our approach here draws on J.L. Austin’s speech act theory as well as N.K. Denzin’s call for a performative dimension. Based on the argument that concepts and ideas such as housing and dwelling, as well as research and knowledge production have to be actually practiced and performed, the actual doingness aspects of research, learning and teaching in the context of housing were stressed.



*Figure 2 Final Presentation of the Student Competition. Project “Grenzposten”
Source: Benjamin Becker / Research and Teaching Programme Urban Design, HCU
Hamburg*

This mode of projecting futurities was later used for further project conceptualisation of the UoN. But what happened during this performance? Students claimed a project before there was a project and thereby programmed a process of the urban as sensually perceptible to all people present. Thinking with Henri Lefebvre’s notion of the production of space, we further developed this way of making a beginning into a project postulating a ‘strategic hypothesis’: we consolidated the definition and the hypothesis of a continuously evolving urban situation into one. Setting a fictional starting point allowed us to make an entrance into to the existing urban situation, leave the work open for uncertainties along the way and simultaneously question and amend the initial definition.¹³ By using a strategic hypothesis the reality of the phenomenon of urbanisation is less a static object, which can be reflected upon, and more a virtual object.¹⁴ This approach allowed mapping urban processes on a space-time axis as well as ascribing different dimensions to it within which transformations can be analysed that would otherwise remain hidden in the mere black boxes of urban development processes.¹⁵ The following paragraph reflects on how education and urban development in Hamburg Wilhelmsburg were considered two main selected dimensions of urbanisation and translated into an experimental design for the UoN.¹⁶

The project’s didactic approach centrally worked with the superposition of two logics: the design build strategy of working with students off campus in the context of real building processes and housing/dwelling processes on the one hand and the conceptual curriculum on the other. By building a university of and in the neighbourhood we followed the aim of making practice reflective, and vice versa, reflection active.¹⁷ The clash of these two logics led to broadening each of their central assumptions, and furthermore constituted a new form of theoretical practice. While the concrete motif

and territory of the interplay of conceptualizing practice and bringing theory in action was the existing urban situation, the main interest was to develop an understanding and reading of contemporary processes in urban development. The specific mode through which to give this reading a form was a design task in itself. We sought to develop epistemological forms that translate urban processes into education and vice versa. If space, following Lefebvre, is conceived as a relational practice, its production processes and means as well as its meanings and perceptions of it need to be studied in situ. An important reference in that respect was Cedric Price's project 'Fun Palace'. Besides the fact that Price worked on his project in an interdisciplinary setting from the start, what constituted a decisive strategic stronghold for the UoN was Price's basic concept of a building that organises performative modes of education by subtraction and eventually vanishing altogether.¹⁸

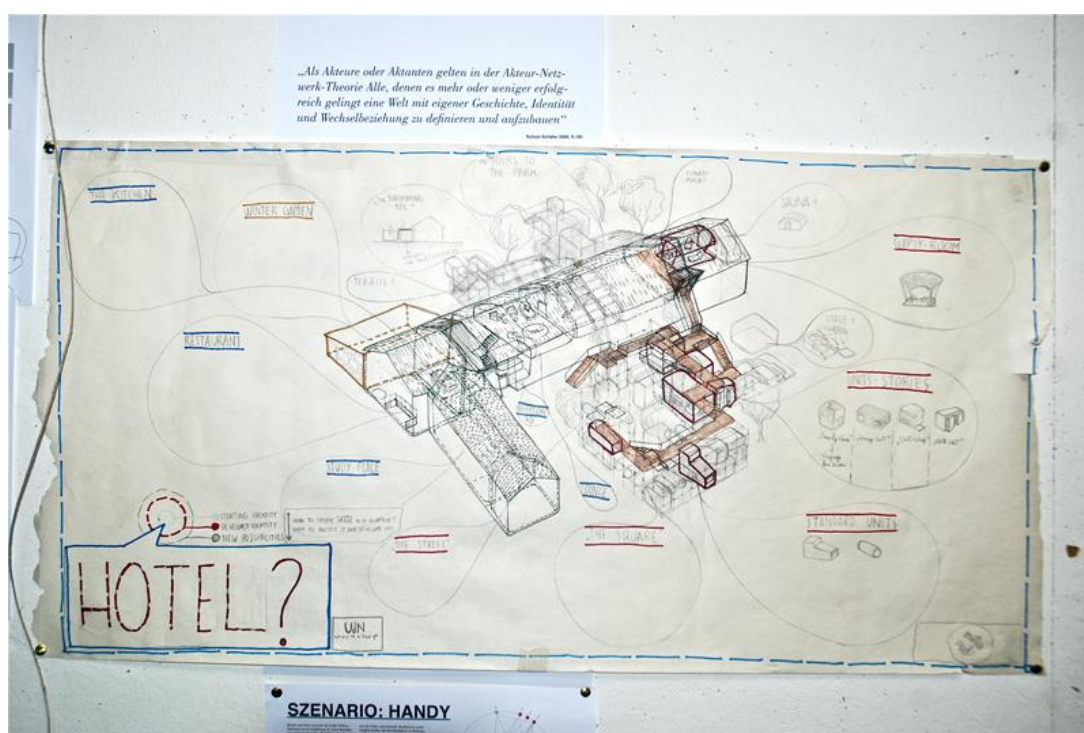


Figure 3 Building a Proposition for Future Activities
Source: Research and Teaching Programme Urban Design

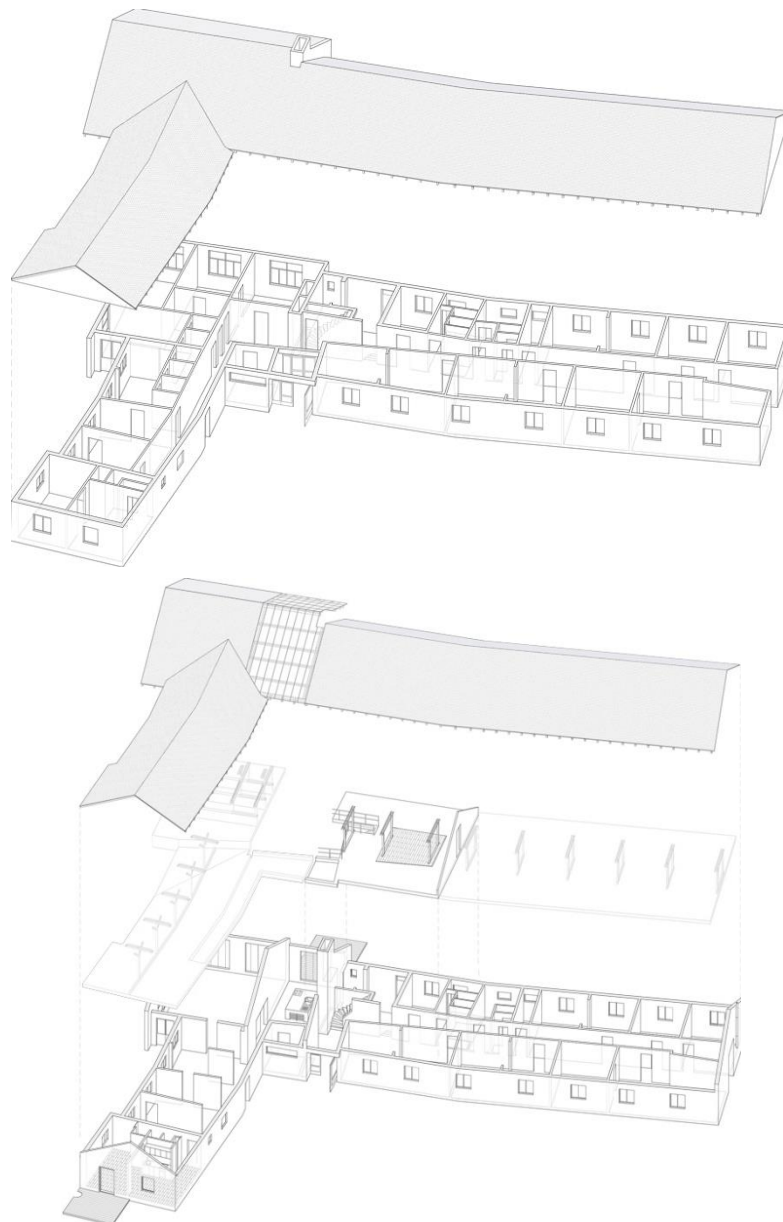


Figure 4 Subtraction

Source: Research and Teaching Programme Urban Design

ENABLING ARCHITECTURE AND ITS FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE – PROJECTIVE RECORDING

Rather than offering an object as a solution to an insufficiently explored problem, we argued for understanding and reading the existing urban situation in a mode that combines analytical and of projective thinking. In that way the notions of project and projection, which are so important for design, receive a transformation. Conventionally the project has a time vector that directs in the future. With the analytical logic the time vector of the project is multiplied, allowing to look at the 'now', the 'as found' or to look at the conditions of the project's coming into being in the past. That changes the formal category of a project from being a fixed object to a processional action. In her book »Extrastatecraft« as well as various other writings, Keller Easterling laid out the structural conditions

of this performative form as “disposition.” Easterling’s notion of disposition leads to the concept of infrastructure space as a way of “detecting and developing the active forms that shape disposition. [...] Disposition is the character or propensity of an organisation that results from all its activity. It is the medium, not the message.”¹⁹ Easterling proposes that professionals in urban design and related disciplines can develop a knowing how by altering their available tools to shape object forms to understand and manipulate active forms.²⁰ Her approach is particularly interesting as it allows describing how organisations use space, amongst other media, in the form of zones as powerful infrastructure that produces elaborate routines and schedules for organizing consumption.²¹

In a similar fashion we merged aspects of situational analysis as brought forward by Adele Clarke (as taught in the MTT block of the Urban Design curriculum) with aspects of project management currently used in urban development. Equally here we find the strategy of superimposing logics.²² Doing so, we put the existing legal infrastructure determining how professionals in urban design and related disciplines operate to test and push its meaning towards the possible. One such example is the German Fees for Architects and Engineers (HOAI). Within this regulation, a wide range of Urban Design practices occupies what the Baukultur Report 2014 calls “Phase 0” – the conceptual or research phase, and “Phase 10” – the use management phase (see Figure 3).²³ From these – currently not yet paid – phases actors involved in construction broadly expect to avoid conflicts of interests, save expenses and achieve better results in the overall acceptance of a project. This holds true in particular at times and in places where the public sector on every level behaves austerely. In a first phase 10 the students’ performance was conceived as the research subject and translated key aspects of it into a phase 0 for the project UoN.

Expansion of the HOAI service phases with “Phase Zero” and “Phase Ten”

Source: Federal Foundation of Baukultur 2014

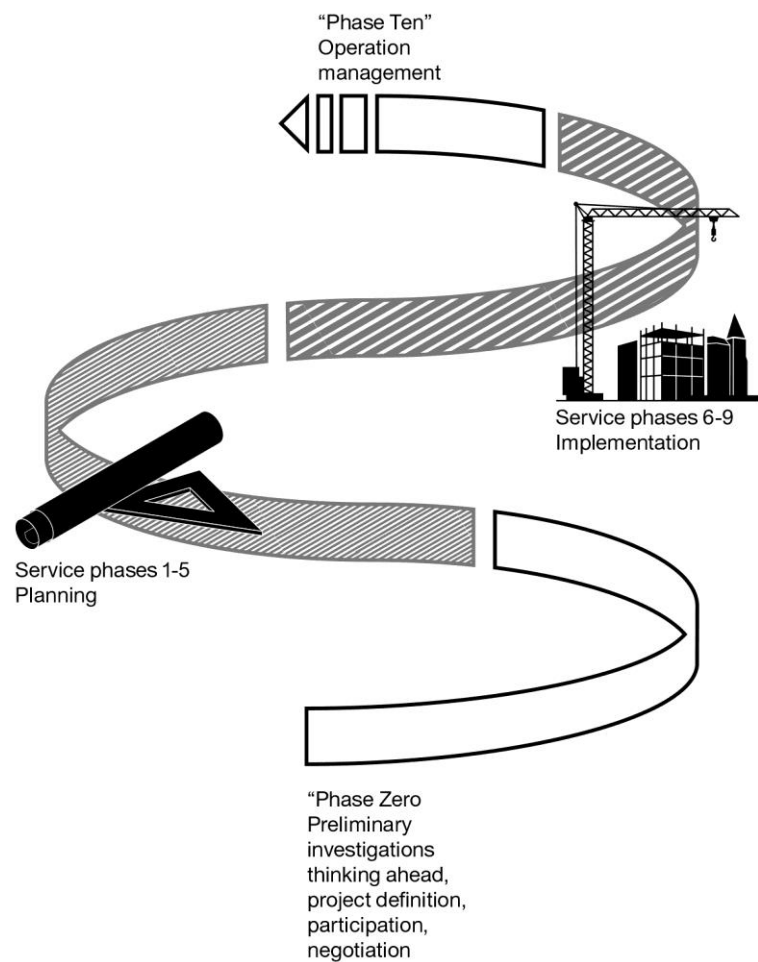


Figure 5 Expansion of the HOAI Service Phases with “Phase Zero” and “Phase Ten”
Source: Baukultur Report 2014

We were (and are) concerned with the organisation of urban development. In order to understand the existing and emerging agencies in their indeterminacy, we conducted what in retrospect can be described as a superposition of document analysis and scenario technique. Through these modes of analysis and projection we tried to process uncertainties of urban development and explore them across different scales. Thus, the core of the research, ingrained in a design-build format, consisted in the challenge to work with the existing building as a frame for working with the existing urban situation. This resulted in bringing together various dimensions of indistinctness about education and urban development that are normally not negotiated together.

HAMBURG – ZONING ‘GROWTH ISLANDS’ AND NEW MODES OF PRODUCTION

Let’s zoom in. To understand the IBA’s project dimensions, we began questioning its genealogy, its discourses and its practices. A first document for analysis that illustrates the then contemporary modes of urban development is the spatial model »Metropolis Hamburg – Growing City«, published July 11th 2002 by the municipal press office. This citywide spatial model served as an umbrella for existing and future projects in a clearly outlined development corridor. The spatial model of Hamburg suggests

strengthening its position as one of the “growth islands” of demographic development in Germany. In a timespan from 1987 to 1999 Hamburg had the biggest growth rate amongst German cities at 6,9%. The bigger part of the pie came from so-called “long-distance migration”. Yet, this international mobility is ignored in the document’s strategy for implementing the »Growing City« spatial model. The municipality offers a simplifying calculation: every new citizen immediately adds 3.000€ to the taxes that Hamburg as one of the federal states receives by way of Germany’s fiscal equation system. Yet this calculation ignores the heterogeneity of these new citizens and concentrates on the usual suspects: “Young, creative people are – besides young families with children – one of the main target groups. Apart from apprentices and skilled workers this includes students.” The authors of the spatial model conclude that if it is possible to “restructure” investments in the higher education sector the municipality would gain 690€ per capita per annum.

This needs to be put into relation to the then contemporary trends in urban development. Such commodification in the form of assigning a precise financial value via an obviously oversimplified calculation in spatial guidelines falls in line with Sharon Zukin’s writings about the culture of cities first published in 1995, seven years prior to the spatial guidelines that were crucial for the IBA and hence the project UoN. As part of the transformation of the Fordist city to a post-Fordist and post-industrial city, a new relevance is attributed to the symbolic economies in terms of the marketing of land, houses and apartments. Symbolic space itself becomes a commodity.²⁴ In 2002 Jörg Dräger, the former Senator for Science, is believed to have given out fresh copies of Richard Florida’s »The Rise of the Creative Class« to all members of the senate to peruse during the summer holidays.²⁵ Florida, although out-published by Charles Landry and his book »The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators« published in 2000²⁶, became the figurehead for change in Hamburg. Like Wilson and Kelling’s »Broken Windows Theory«, originally an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* published in 1982, scientific findings made agencies available on a global scale.²⁷ Florida offered a global blueprint for new modes of urban development. Dangschat in reference to Hamburg’s former mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi’s infamous speech »Unternehmen Hamburg« (Hamburg, a business case) summarised this under the header ‘moving business from the wet to the dry harbour’²⁸, the dry harbour referring to Hamburg’s airport and standing for infrastructure ready for transnational creative industries companies such as facebook, google and advertising firms who today occupy inner city offices. Most pertinent to the UoN’s Phase 0 is that the notions of creativity, education, research and knowledge production related to urban development are aspects of alternative modes of production (a proposition for future activities).



*Figure 6. Studio Space during the research and design project “How to live together?” with performance theatre group Cobra. Cobra Festival
Source: Research and Teaching Programme Urban Design*

WILHELMSBURG – MANAGING ACCESSIBILITIES AND GOVERNMENTAL STRATEGIES

Andrej Holm and Henrik Lebuhn have shown that and how the diagnosis of exclusion and disaffiliation in urban areas such as Wilhelmsburg has been translated into the governmental programme Soziale Stadt (Social City).²⁹ This programme had been developed in the late 1990s by Germany’s Ministry of Building and Construction while it was consequently put into practice by local organisational forms that were called ‘Quartiersmanagement’ (management of the quarter). Although this programme was aware that integration is a constitutive aspect of urban development, it failed to negotiate migrants and the urban poor and their particular practices and patterns of being active as equal to their German fellow citizens. Organisations set up to manage participation were not able to offer points of interaction for migrant self-organisation processes. Drawing on Foucault’s notion of governmentality (gouvernementalité), this clearly demonstrates how specific spatial models of the city coincide with specific ideologies of how the city should be managed – and are then presented as objective knowledge.

With this context in mind, the planning department of the municipality of Hamburg, in a broad participatory process involving Hamburg citizens, experts and administration, developed a white book »future conference Wilhelmsburg« (Weißbuch der Zukunftskonferenz Wilhelmsburg) and laid the groundwork for the International Building Exhibition IBA Hamburg operating from 2007 to 2013. The IBA further translated this plan into three guiding themes, namely, MetroZones, Cosmopolis and Cities and Climate Change. Let’s take a closer look at the example Cosmopolis. The main question

behind this ideological framework is how “an increasingly urban society” is enabled to “release its powers.” While we don’t know what powers this refers to in this context, the main target here seems “to demonstrate what the future of cooperation in the metropolis might look like” by concentrating on the strengthening of diversity. While it is correct to state that Wilhelmsburg is home to people from more than one hundred and fifty nations, the aim to provide these people with “diverse opportunities for development” is ill defined. Even less clear is the postulation to solve identified problems such as cultural barriers or demographic change “by means of urban development and architecture”. The heroic stance is amplified by the military notion of the “Bildungsoffensive” (Education offensive). This programme sought to develop “new teaching approaches and concepts for improving the education situation in districts with high percentages of immigration, and to facilitate the establishment of new, ground-breaking educational facilities with the main focus on the protagonists’ networking.” Taking Cosmopolis and Bildungsoffensive together, one can state that, while new themes and techniques are involved, we are still confronted with an approach that interprets the urban as externalised territory or as container within which solutions for identified problems are to be implemented. Chances are and history shows that this strategy is likely to create twenty-five new problems rather than solving deeply entrenched social inequalities.

“...THE ARCHITECTURE WORLD [IS] PRETTY INTOLERANT IN TERMS OF ENGAGING”³⁰ – THE DOINGNESS ASPECTS OF THE URBAN

The above stated underlines why we are interested in how alternative practices of knowledge production and commoning make new forms of agencies available in contemporary and future urban development processes. Take 0 – building a proposition for future activities – addresses practices and structures of making a beginning with this motif. We will now outline key aspects of the conceptualisation of the urban as part of the experimental design of the UoN.

The research and teaching programme Urban Design is concerned with the doingness aspects of existing urban situations, the practicalities and operationalization of urban processes. Even if at first sight the focus on the existing seems to be overhauled by the procedural understanding of the urban, we find it helpful to bring to attention a political dimension of the urban: making a beginning of a project through researching into the existing urban situation decentralises perspectives on the subjectification of research and design and works towards representing conditions of capacities for acting in an existing urban situation as a field of organising practices.³¹ Thinking with Latour we understand urban situations as procedural and assembled around matters of concern.³² This entails the notion that not everything is political, but that every issue in a given situation can be turned into a matter of politics. A conceptualisation of the doingness aspects exhibiting the relation between the urban and politics most suitable for the UoN’s research interest can be found in Rancière’s writing. Following him, political subjectification is dis-identification, removal from the naturalness of place (position to a matter of concern and in space), the opening up of a subject space where anyone can be counted since it is the space where those of no account are counted, where a connection is made between having a part and having no part.³³ Dikeç argues that “reading Rancière and Arendt together enables one to go beyond a subject-centred understanding of politics as neither postulates given identities as inherently political ones. Their politics emphasises the construction of space – for acting with others, for Arendt, and for setting a stage of dissent, for Rancière. For both thinkers politics is a world-building activity.”³⁴

HOW TO DO THINGS WITH ART PART II

We are challenged by a double movement: on the one hand we observe not only how governmental and political aspects shape the urban condition but also how political dispositifs shape the way we read the urban. On the other hand, the constitution of the political is influenced by territorial and spatial constellations. Evidently, one must conceptualise the urban politically in order to understand the organization of its production. And one must think politics spatially, in order to understand the organisation of its actions. The above mentioned examples of ‘Quartiersmanagement’ or ‘Cosmopolis’ help to understand why and how ‘post-politics’ intrude in urban policies and how established orders of city governance oppress political action itself. The model that Rancière presented is helpful to conceptualise that what is at stake is not the implementation of urban design strategies in a neutral space but the creation of spatial settings and frames that enable political subjectification. The UoN is a machine that not only produces spaces of and for politics but also reflects on the process of production.

The UoN is a building in process, a process of subtraction and mobilisation at the same time. It is a built structure of contestation that shifts space from a matter of facts to a matter of concern, i.e. a matter of politics (without compromising matters of facts). That in turn has consequences on how to read the UoN as a spatial – i.e. sensible – configuration. Rancière shows that politics is about disrupting routinized sensible and sense-making practices by re-configuring what he called the partition of the sensible. Politics challenge and renegotiate consensus not only theoretically but also aesthetically. So while the UoN started to become a terrain of politics, it opened up the field of struggles over and for a partition of the sensible. This partition confronted the UoN with the notion of the superposition of logics, since politics manifests dissent as ‘the presence of [at least] two worlds in one’³⁵. It is a double ontology: plurality always is a space producing one, producing spaces of ephemeral and contingent encounter and superposition of different and heterogeneous actors, things and concepts; at the same time plurality is produced by the spatiality of politics.

Nevertheless, whereas Rancière offers arguments for thinking politics and action spatially, he does not reflect upon the consequences that this implies for the notions of space and action. This, in turn, is the central aspect that the research of the UoN aims at. Especially UoN’s focus on improvisation and the question of the contingency of space not only refers to Rancière’s concept of regarding the space of political appearance as ephemeral and contingent and not a given. For the UoN it is of utmost relevance to take the contingency of space as a basis for any reading of the urban. Consequently, the conceptual focus of the UoN lies on challenging urban research in the mode within which notions of space and of action are thought. We follow Amin and Graham’s argument that “[t]he unthinking acceptance within urban studies that time and space act simply as objective, unvariant, external containers for the urban scene is now collapsing. (...) In this perspective, social ordering occurs through complex efforts of both humans and non-humans to engage other actors through performative actions that are fundamentally heterogeneous and impossible to generalise.”³⁶ Being confronted with political spatiality i.e. contingency of space, Thrift and Amin’s observation that “each urban moment can spark performative improvisations which are unforeseen and unforeseeable”³⁷ holds important questions. How can we read the contingent performativity of the urban? And how can we constructively work with its indeterminacy and its unforeseen and unforeseeable moments? One example of how the UoN tackled this challenge was inspired by Amin and Thrift’s suggestion that »Perhaps the most exacting, exciting and enticing attempts to produce these new models of belonging have been taking place in [...] performance art“³⁸. This inspiration led to UoN’s collaboration with Kampnagel, Germany’s biggest independent production venue for the performing arts, from the very

beginning of the project. Kampnagel is a centre for contemporary performance practises, hosting and producing cultural activities, theatre and dance performances and concerts.

After the first semester of pure research and fieldwork, the second semester prepared the official house warming party for the building. Kampnagel suggested the performance group God's Entertainment to create a performative framing for the event. This made sense, since the group's work constantly expands the conventions of theatre, shifting the site of the performance from the theatre stage to a specific urban realm. While developing formats, using and combining techniques and strategies of performance, happening, visual arts and sound, God's Entertainment's work re-defines the term performance itself. Their speciality is the development of performative framings to actively involve audiences. Such a frame development was set to work for the UoN with the format "Shivers". The format's motive consisted of the motto "Art as virus", putting forward a strategy for a performative journey into the infectious dimensions of Wilhelmsburg's gentrification process. For the opening party, the building of the UoN was transformed into a city within the city, hosting a local African barbershop, a TV station, a cultural kitchen, a discotheque, an inoculation centre against -isms, a rap stage, a strip room, a beach and so on. Fusing all these city functions in one building for one evening set a performative time and space dispositive that blurred the difference between audience and performers, students and neighbours, university president and caretakers etc. Working on a symbolic level, Shivers brought together a heterogeneous, performative diagram of urban actors, activating the empty building to the maximum. It brought to the fore the differentiation processes of the urban. By doing so, the performative clash of actors provoked the effect of interaction and the reduction of mental borders. In a minimal *pars pro toto* setting, Shivers illustrated the relationality of urban actors as agency and perception and as circulating energy of a performative space in a way that allowed spatiality to demonstrate its own agency. With reference to Rancière one could say that Shivers allowed performers and audience to present and constitute themselves as political subjects in and through space. Through its diagrammatic structure and the way it unfolded a topology of limits, closure and exclusion as well as division and transgression, the performance had a functional and formal character: it delivered the framing for political subjectification in which performers and audience were making space by using the building in new ways. In architectural terms we call this "architecture of enabling": the built structure modulates into an enabling structure that allows performers and audience to recognise themselves as political subjects by producing space. Collectively producing space in an agonistic and differentiated as well as differentiating mode renegotiates and challenges the established order of things, the order of the urban every day.



*Figure 7 Bar for Nice People during the performance Shivers. CEOs, Project Managers, Spokepersons from Institutions mapped in Figure 1, Students and People from the Neighbourhood Enact Take 0 of the University of the Neighbourhoods.
Source: Research and Teaching Programme Urban Design, HCU Hamburg*

CURRICULUM. BOLOGNA VS. OPEN PRACTICE

Having discussed the conceptual framing of the UoN, we need to explain yet another topic. After the 5-year experience of the project we can assert that Design-Build practices still remain at the very fringes of curricula. Sure enough it is no novelty that “a Europe of knowledge is now widely recognized as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competences to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space.”³⁹

But the fragmentation of the curriculum into credit points and modules turns the arrangement of longer periods throughout which students can spend time on a construction site into an art of its own. Again we are challenged by a two-sided effect, which describes the paradessence⁴⁰ of the Bologna process as being comprised of two aspects: One is economic. From this perspective, the Bologna Process is about exploitation under the conditions of immaterial labour, about preparing students for the market, about standardization, interchangeability, homogenization and profitability. The other is normative. From this perspective, the Bologna Process is about emancipating students from professorial hierarchy, about social and spatial mobility, about mutual tolerance and experience, about the sharing of knowledge, about unity and a better future.⁴¹ Torn between economy and normativity, the pure task to construct a building as an educational project becomes a design process in itself and a challenge for future research on the curriculum itself. It still remains an open question how to reframe the

curriculum in order to multiply agencies and allow for processes of subjectification in a political production of space as part of curricular structures. The translation of the university's contribution to Hamburg's urban development efforts into an actual presence in the neighbourhood showed how a clash of different subject positions and conceptual as well as disciplinary logics open the stage for political subjectification in curricular processes. To understand that higher education and re-negotiating infrastructure as building and form as a necessary proposition to be able to get active are inseparably linked is one of the lessons learnt while working at the UoN. We insist that this is not a question of informality but of form: the open form. The open form is made constructive by reading and organizing form structurally and diagrammatically as a series of cases. To give an example, rather than a sequential (linear) mode we know from traditional project management, our approach is structured by sequences and takes that can be extracted, fragmented, re-shuffled, re-assembled and zoomed in upon. The knowledge form and material for this process is derived from the project's archaeology as described above. With this strategy we achieve a visual organization of the project that keeps the open form intact vis-à-vis a minimal structure. Structure and openness are no contradiction in this example. They enhance each other. At the same time, we have to redefine agency itself. Against a dichotomist understanding, agency here becomes a structure-producing device. This redefinition shifts the mode of agency from rational action to a mode of improvisation. That is how to make good use of diagrammatic on a practical basis.

The minimal structure works on two levels: 1) on the level of form, we work with a series of cases, 2) on the level of content, we engage in a serial play with motifs – which we call Takes. What may sound like a rather isolated process that only refers to the university's curriculum in fact has consequences for epistemological form of the real city, as we have tried to illustrate. The Project UoN and its many interwoven layers showed that this specific form of Design Build project combined with conceptual research aims to accept the challenge of planning for the constructive processing of contingency and to reap the knowledge embedded within practice. However, although the live project / experiment UoN worked within and into the field of housing, what also became clear was that existing approaches to housing are tenacious and indeed immobile. Despite the many suggestions, findings and master theses, the city of Hamburg has so far not devised a viable project for the lot on which the UoN stood and enabled lively encounters.

NOTES

¹ The term 'project archaeology' for us describes a technique for reading structural traces of projective processes and thereby multiplying the directions of a project's time vectors. It is clear that a documented process is a temporal entity that happened in the past. It thus seems to be a closed entity although in its becoming it was an open one. The dilemma now is that when the process is read as closed entity, the potentialities of the process itself get lost. Consequently, in order to open up the process again and to regain its immanent potentialities, we work with a diagrammatic approach of a serial fragmentation, de-assembling, cataloguing and indexing of the process structures. Rather than looking for representational effects, we look in the document archive for traces that incorporate new beginnings and for structural entities that can be reassembled.

² A take is a specific didactic form, which we have developed and included in our curriculum. The notion take derives from film and music. Especially in jazz music, making a take means to record the same piece in different versions with different improvisations. That is exactly what a take for the research and teaching programme Urban Design is about: a structural form to work in circular iterative processes around the same motif or question. The take is a rehearsal tool to learn how to keep an indeterminate open process constructive without closing it. The performative moment of the take is the repetition; its formal moment is the incorporation of difference into the repetition. In regard to notation it is characteristic of the take that its form of repetition works beyond the representational without neglecting representation. We can call this characteristic diagrammatic. The take leads to a transformational state of working on questions in which the repetition unlocks spaces of potentialities as well as potentialities of spaces.

³ MTT (Methods, Tools, Theory) is one of three main pillars in the Master's curriculum of the research and teaching programme Urban Design.

⁴ cf. Bernd Kniess Christopher Dell, Michael Koch, and Ellen Fiedelmeier, *Universität der Nachbarschaften 04.10.* (Hamburg, 2010).

⁵ Sebastian Bührig, Bernd Kniess „Housing is fACT“ in *Wohnen ist tat-sache*, ed. Wohnbund e.V. and HafenCity Universität (Berlin: Jovis, 2016), 17.

⁶ Cf. Michaela Schmidt, *Im Inneren der Bauverwaltung: Eigenlogik und Wirkmacht administrativer Praktiken bei Bauprojekten*. Bielefeld: transcript, 2016.

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⁸ Frederick Engels, *The Housing Question*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1936[1872].

⁹ David Madden and Peter Marcuse, *In Defense of Housing. The Politics of Crisis*. London: Verso, 2016, 4.

¹⁰ Cf. Bernd Kniess, Christopher Dell (eds.) *Tom paints the fence*, Leipzig: Spector Books, 2017.

¹¹ Cf. Bruno Latour, "Why has critique run out of steam? From matters of fact to matters of concern," *Critical Inquiry* 30(2) (2004).

¹² cf. Martin Jay. "Scopic regimes of modernity," in *Vision and Visuality*, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1988).

¹³ Christopher Dell, *Das Urbane: Wohnen. Leben. Produzieren* (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), 235.

¹⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*. (Minneapolis, 2003), 57-58.

¹⁵ Christopher Dell, *Das Urbane: Wohnen. Leben. Produzieren*. (Berlin: Jovis, 2014), 214.

¹⁶ Cf. Bernd Kniess, Ben Pohl and Anna Richter, "University of the Neighbourhoods as enabling architecture," in *Agents of Alternatives*, ed. Alastair Fuad-Luke, Anja-Lisa Hirscher and Katharina Moebus (Berlin: Agents of Alternatives, 2015, 413, 416).

¹⁷ Donald Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*, (New York, 1983), 49, 52.

¹⁸ Cedric Price, *Fun Palace*, 1964.

¹⁹ Keller Easterling, *Extrastatecraft. The Power of Infrastructure Space* (London: Verso, 2014), 21.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Keller Easterling, *Subtraction*, 12.

²² Adele Clarke, *Situational Analysis*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, 2014, 12.

²³ Baukultur Report 2014

²⁴ Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities*, Cambridge, Wiley, 1996.

²⁵ Richard Florida, *the Rise of the Creative Class*, New York, Basic Books, 2002.

²⁶ Charles Landry, *The Creative City. A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*, Earthscan Publications, 2000.

²⁷ George Kelling and James Wilson, *Broken Windows. The police and neighbourhood safety*, (March), 1982.

- ²⁸ Jens Dangschat, "Von der Vielfältigen Stadt zur Geteilten Stadt," *Polis. Magazin für Urban Development* 18(3-4), 2011, 16.
- ²⁹ Andrej Holm and Henrik Lebuhn, Die Stadt politisieren. Fragmentierung, Kohärenz und soziale Bewegungen in der »Sozialen Stadt«, in *wohnen ist tat-sache. Annäherungen an eine urbane Praxis*, ed. wohnbund e.V. and HafenCity Universität Hamburg, 2013.
- ³⁰ Christina Pazzanese, "Koolhaas sees architecture as timid. He suggests field should tackle politics and surrounding world", citing Rem Koolhaas from his speech at Harvard Graduate School of Design, *Harvard Gazette*, 6 October 2016, <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2016/10/koolhaas-on-the-politics-of-architecture/>, accessed 2 November 2016.
- ³¹ Michel Foucault, *Überwachen und Strafen. Die Geburt des Gefängnisses*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1975.
- ³² Bruno Latour, "Why has critique run out of steam? From matters of fact to matters of concern," *Critical Inquiry* 30(2) (2004), 225-248.
- ³³ Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: politics and philosophy*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1999, 36.
- ³⁴ Mustafa Dikeç, "Beginners and equals: political subjectivity in Arendt and Rancière," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38 (1) (2013), 83.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Ash Amin, and Stephen Graham, "The ordinary city", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22 (4) (1997), 420
- ³⁷ Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift. *Cities – Reimagining the Urban*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2002, 4
- ³⁸ Ibid., 48
- ³⁹ Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999, <http://www.magna-charta.org/resources/files/text-of-the-bologna-declaration>, accessed 2 November 2016
- ⁴⁰ 'Paradessence' is a combination of 'paradox' and 'essence'.
- ⁴¹ Ursprung, "Out of Bologna, Lacaton and Vassal's Nantes School of Architecture," *e-flux* 64 (2015), <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/64/60867/out-of-bologna-lacaton-and-vassal-s-nantes-school-of-architecture/> accessed 2 November 2016.

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NEW HOUSING PROJECTS TO REGENERATE THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

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INTRODUCTION

This paper examines some different academic proposals for residential housing. These projects have been carried out by the students of the School of Architecture of Valladolid, coordinated by their professors Eusebio Alonso, Valeriano Sierra and others¹ during the last year 2015-2016.

The area of intervention or the field of action is located in La Victoria, a neighbourhood in the outskirts of Valladolid. It is an urban empty space whose persistence, after more than 30 years, is an opportunity today. Currently, in the neighbourhood new house-buildings coexist with the obsolete urban structures, which were built in times of original industrial and rural settlements.

The main aims of this work are research and opportunity. We have studied resilience in the current situation for the neighbourhood planning. Given the fragility of the architectural context in the district, we have studied typological alternatives and morphological transformations to renovate the urban stage.

We have considered three strategies to develop this project. Firstly, we have incorporated diversification programmes to meet the needs of the inhabitants, so we have designed houses for families, elderly and homes for young people in addition to providing community facilities for all of them.

Secondly, we have taken different alternatives from the traditional city prototype, designing new models for public areas besides new spaces of social relationships which could be able to revitalise urban life.

Ultimately, intervention on the urban “gaps” becomes an opportunity for the appropriation of space. New houses build a new town.

We have also studied the possibility of involving the community in the process of learning. For this purpose, we started by contacting the Neighbourhood Association and we took note of their main needs. Later, before starting the course, we visited their working areas with our students, which enabled us to focus our academic work on their urban reality. On the other hand, the Urban Planning Councillor gave a lesson to the students about the current urban and district problems. In addition, students explained their projects to the Neighbourhood Association (16 selected projects).

To conclude, we have prepared an exhibition and a conference about the projects in the Civic Center of the neighbourhood.



Figure 1. The neighbourhood of La Victoria in Valladolid: in the centre of the photograph, the empty space of the old sawmill; West: Canal de Castilla; East: equipment area of the neighbourhood.

PROJECT, DESIGN, CITY AND ARCHITECTURE.

For the last years we have developed different projects throughout the academic course, for example: the one for The Cares Route in Picos de Europa (2011-2012), other around the aqueduct Alessandrino in Rome (2012-2013), another along the route of the Canal de Castilla (2013-2014) and also projects located on both sides of the border of Portugal at the height of the province of Salamanca (2014-2015). Those places were physically, culturally and politically marked by a use and a strongly characterized function, which is obsolete or depreciated nowadays. Without renouncing the complexity of the contemporary project, we have suggested a linear scan in those places, and we have considered some specific locations along its itineraries and a series of open programs that could contribute to regenerate those territories².

Along the course 2015-2016 we have worked in our own city, specifically in one of their peripheral, more characteristic and historical neighbourhoods: the neighbourhood of La Victoria in Valladolid. We can start pointing a determinant observation of Rafael Moneo by thanking the architecture for helping him to see the world³. A simple and direct observation but, with almost endless implications because it brings the coincidence of a cultivated and attentive look over time in their intentions: “*What we know or what we believe affects the way we see the things*”⁴. A look which is not purely contemplative but, which is focused on the action⁵ to influence reality⁶ in an effective way.

There is no project without this transforming will of reality. The principal object of the architectural project is the development of the capacity for an effective advocacy in reality. This involves analysing reality in its complexity and with its contradictions, the formation of a critical and responsible judgment, the identification of the intentions and objectives of the project and the knowledge of the discipline of architectural projects. To see the world through architecture means a critical attitude that entails the need for intervention in a particular direction.

Commitment with an entropic reality

Reality is so complex and changing that any observation of it is partial and incomplete. We warned from the outset about the need to complete the observed data and the statements of the problem. Students must complete the statement issues and critically justify the solution towards determinations of the planning. The project should articulate a critical thought of the city model and propose an architectural intervention. The plan also establishes a set of strategies that will be useful for satisfying different objectives: using creative potential of a contradictory reality, working with the discomfort of urban conflicts and uncertainty about the programs, supporting mechanisms of appropriation for obsolete spaces, and qualifying for the community, private and everyday life.

The proposed programs and locations stimulate commitment with reality. Every project is the will of action, as it has an object to take part in reality, organizing and ordering it in a different way. *"Architecture is order... the architect is an organizer, not a stylist of the drawing board"*⁷. With accurate stage directions to make easy and feasible the learning task, we propose exercises, which concern from the beginning; on the one hand, the complexity of programs and areas of intervention, on the other hand, the need to find an intervention system, which can give a global response to the problem. The reasons for creativity in architectural project are found in our present problems with its complexity and contradictions.

We introduced students to a complex reality at the district level, but in situations where a clear intervention is required. The first and necessary task was the analysis of reality, which was stimulating. The location in a neighbourhood allows us to jump from the urban scale to the more ordinary and intimate one, playing to set up the world without losing sight of everyday life of their inhabitants. *"It deals to question brick, cement, glass, our table manners, our tools, our schedules, our rhythms...Describe a street, describe another, compare. Do the inventory of their pockets"*⁸.



Figure 2-3. The empty space of the old sawmill and the neighbourhood of La Victoria in Valladolid.

Different urban “gaps” still remain in the quarter area despite urban development dated from many years ago. We can still see a patch undergoing transformation where coexist some obsolete industrial structures, gaps in state of neglect, abruptly interrupted and incomplete road patterns and the typology, scale and proportions of some architecture dramatically conflicting. This is a working area specifically suitable for the educational and learning goals that we have proposed for the subject. The proposal collects earlier experiences of international workshops developed by the professors of the subject⁹.

The architectural proposals must be aimed at the urban entropy that we have described previously and must provide a suitable response.

In contrast to the entropic character of reality where architecture currently takes place and the added difficulty that involves working in territories with inherited problems and fragile urban structures, we propose the architectural project as the best discipline to provide a global response to this reality that integrates several knowledges.

We explore creativity in everyday life and carry out an immersion in our own city, specifically in the district of La Victoria in Valladolid. The objective was the regeneration of two urban settlements, which were specifically problematic for recovering the absent city, moving to the classroom a strategy of intervention in settled neighbourhoods that we had already tested in other experiences¹⁰. We call it “the absent city” because it means the idea of a city that promised the modernity but nevertheless it did not progress in many urban areas and was an unfulfilled promise.

THE SKIN OF CITY AS URBAN STORY

*“The deepest is the skin”*¹¹. A careful reading will help us to understand the internal forces, which have structured their tissues. Analysing the urban fabric, examining the footprints and the scars left by time. This will allow us to draw the map of the passage of time and to set up the topography of the facts.

There had been several reasons for the choosing La Victoria: It is a representative district that explains in a reduced form the processes of change undergoing in all the city; its development over time is like an experiment and the neighbourhood was a pioneer in the transformations from the political transition, the change in the urban model management, the renewal of relationships with the City Council, the involvement of the residents in decision-making and from the participation of citizen movements.

Description of the working place

To intervene in an intelligent way, the first thing we need to know is the field of action. The neighbourhood is the result of a complex evolution and transformation over time¹².

Placed outside one of the historical gates of the city of Valladolid, its urban structure is developed with accurate physical limits: Pisuerga River, the Hill of the Fuente del Sol, Canal de Castilla, the stream of Villanubla and the Gijón road. This brings isolation and autonomy to the neighbourhood; for this reason it is configured as a city inside the main city. The first images that neighbourhood has given for centuries underline the picturesque condition of this area outside the walls, where the river acts like a barrier and the district appears as a promenade and recreation area. Therefore, it appears in the panoramic views of the city where it is possible to appreciate the rise to the Hill of the Fuente del Sol.

The door of the city passes through the bridge of Doña Eilo, the wife of the Earl Ansúrez, founder of the city of Valladolid. The origin of the district urban structure starts in this enclave with the location of hospitals, wayside shrines and monasteries situated along different axis and roads: Villanubla road (current Gijón road), the street of Fuente del Sol (recreational way), the way of Fuensaldaña (cut by the Canal de Castilla) and the road of Cigales village (current road from Burgos). The original core of the neighbourhood remained until the construction of the Canal de Castilla (1835). The Canal generated a first industrial core that characterized the evolution and growth of the district. This development was marked in the edges and roads of its layout. The flourmill formed the broken trace of the street, which runs parallel to the Canal.

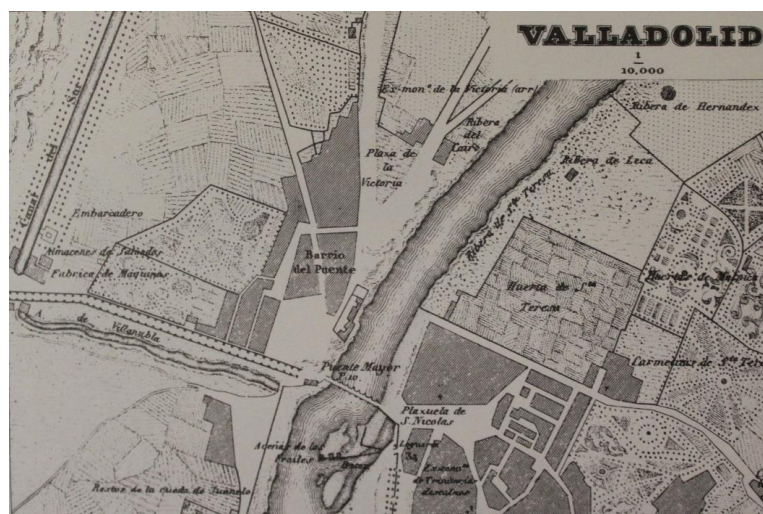


Figure 4-5. Canal de Castilla arrives to Valladolid in 1835. It starts its commercial work in 1850. Partial view of Alfred Guesdon, 1854. Plan of Coello, 1852

The original morphology was consistent with the rural character of the territory where some elements more representative and monumental stood out. The construction around the perimeter along the roads generated arable areas inside, the vegetable garden of the city. The low hamlet highlighted the perception of the monuments like urban milestones generating order and orientation. Furthermore, they were a sign of prestige and power. The urban structure was identified with the social structure. The first ordered growths emerged with the first industrial developments in the neighbourhood. The first plot that was projected as a regular trace leaned on the existing continuous structures as the Villanubla road. However, the property line (like the case of Dársena Street) was imposed on the planning. The urban structure is finally redirected to the street Fuente del Sol and was slashed by the limits of the property. Once again, the structure associated to the land property was superimposed to the planning so, this was conditioned for that one. The industrial development of the area brought about a residential development. Supported in the Canal, the first industrial core was born, around which the urban plot of working buildings was developed. The church was relocated, and the school was built in its place. Afterwards, the second uncontrolled growth took place, and it was leaned on the bridge of the Canal.

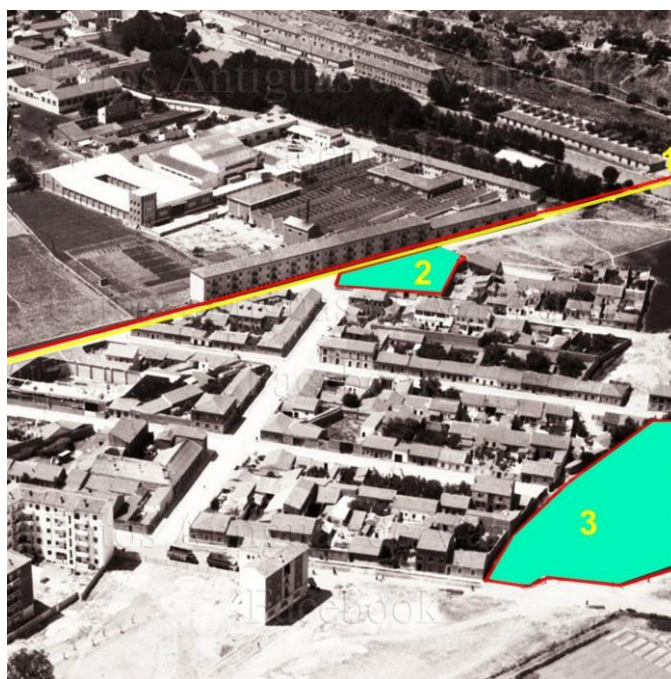


Figure 6. The working colony Textil Castilla was built in 1949. It demarcated the north side of the industrial plot with their linear blocks.

The working colony of the Textil Castilla in contrast with the self-built working houses in the projected urban plan are a paradigmatic example of the coexistence of two different urban systems, the construction of self-built houses and the planning of working neighbourhoods.

Largely, the current limits of the vacuum of the Sawmill, where we have located the different projects of housing, arise from this discordance between the ordered planning and the limits of the property. From this struggle between the speculative interest and the construction of the urban space, arose some various urban anomalies that are still present today: the confrontation of different urban structures, the discontinuity of road frames, the contrast between distribution systems and ways of occupation. The evolution of the buildability through different planning that affected the district generated unstoppable increases at each stage of its development and the increase of residual geometries in their urban planning¹³.

With the political transition from the eighties, the district improved their standards of equipment, services and public spaces. However, some situations still remain stuck and in certain mode aggravated by the constructive rage over the recent years. This was the situation that we had to deal with in terms of regeneration of the district, proposing a responsible residential project that could generate new urban and social spaces for the neighbours.

THE INCREASE AND DIVERSIFICATION OF PUBLIC SPACES, PROPOSALS

The current urban planning establishes a clear distinction between public and private space, which is exclusively defined in the floor plan. These public spaces are the residual unoccupied areas occupied by dwellings and, on the other hand, have no greater qualification.



Figure 7. The area of the old sawmill: current state and planning.

All of the works and proposals of the students, in one way or another, follow the idea that relationships between public and private space could be different, complex and flexible. Instead of understanding public space exclusively by negation, as all that is not private, we should think the public space with an attitude of purpose; public space should be a collective and social space, a space of meeting and relationship and we should talk about public spaces with different scales and characters according to the social function that they accomplish.

We have grouped the works made by them according to the different approaches of the project and design. Although some of these approaches contain characteristics of the others, all of them have in common the fact of addressing the relationships between public and private space and take advantage of the opportunity to build residential housing thinking about different alternatives for a city model with several public spaces for the community.

"Inhabiting collectively inside". These proposals work on the idea of creating different scales of relationship between the neighbours. The public space is not only what is outside the home, or what is outside from the area occupied by dwellings, so it may also be what remains between dwellings; this allows us to study the ability of public space, which can have different characters and scales, to explore the possibility of inhabiting the internal space of the plot and rescue it as public space but, also the possibility of regenerating the space inside the building treating it as a collective space. The condition of public space is not only defined in the plan, far from being on the ground floor; the section also comes into play.

"Random structures". They are proposals that avoid rigid and strong compositional mechanisms and which structure the organization of space, from the versatility and mutability of their combinatorial rules to suit the changing spatial organizations which come up from the sum of their small basic units: units of housing, elements of communication, orchards, small-scale public spaces. All of them generate a flexible shape that is adapted to the complex perimeter of its location. Actually, the geometric complexity of their limits is irrelevant because its organization grows from the cohesion of their basic parts and its logical additive of growth. The public global space is the addition of those small collective spaces of smaller scale. The vegetable gardens also work as relationship spaces. This proposal affects the creation of small-scale spaces whose sum is shared by all the neighbours.

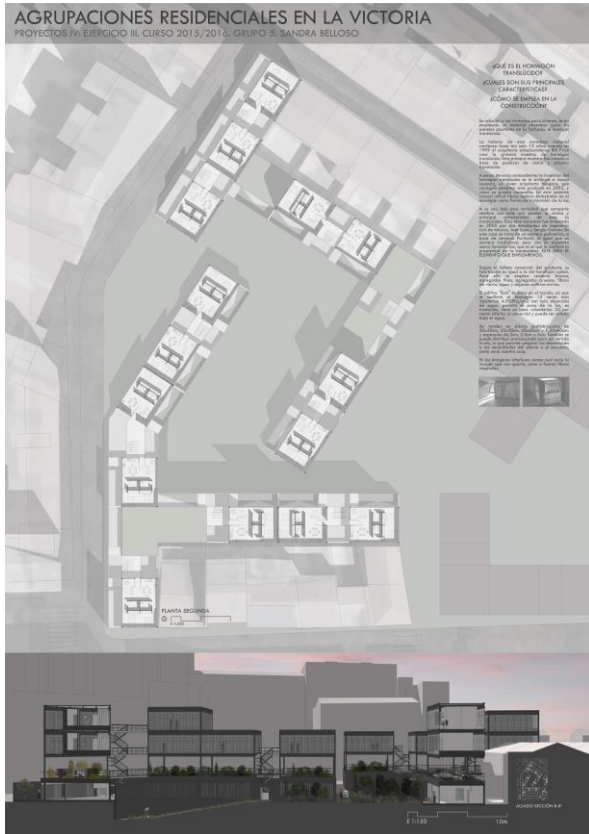


Figure 8. "Inhabiting collectively inside". Student: Sandra Beloso; tutor: José Antonio Lozano



Figure 9. "Inhabiting collectively inside". Student: Ana Lubianco; tutor: Javier Blanco



Figure 10. "Inhabiting collectively inside". Student: Carlos Martínez; tutor: Ángel Iglesias.



Figure 11. "Random structures". Students: Ylenia García, Eva Otero, Andrea Torres; tutor: José Manuel Martínez

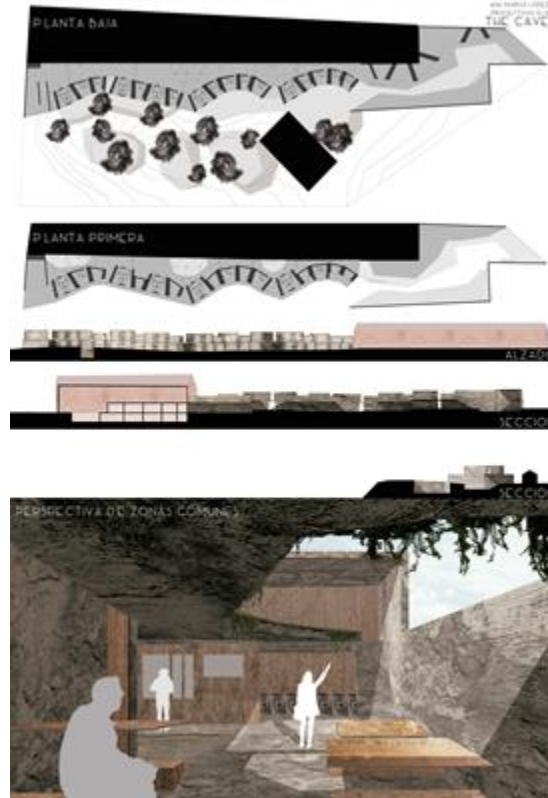


Figure 12. "Excavated topographies". Students: Ana Muñoz; tutor: Jesús de los Ojos

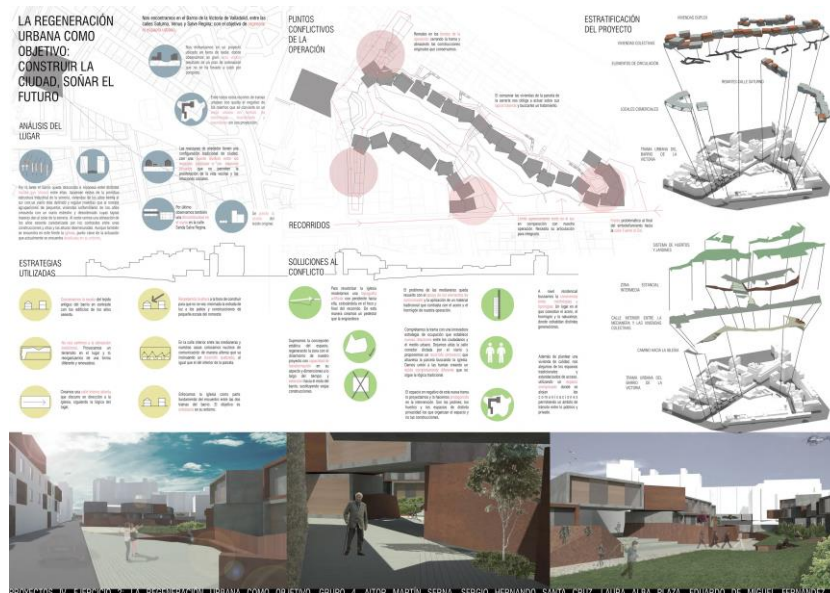


Figure 13. "Excavated topographies". Students: Aitor Martín, Sergio Hernando, Laura Alba, Eduardo de Miguel; tutor: Valeriano Sierra.

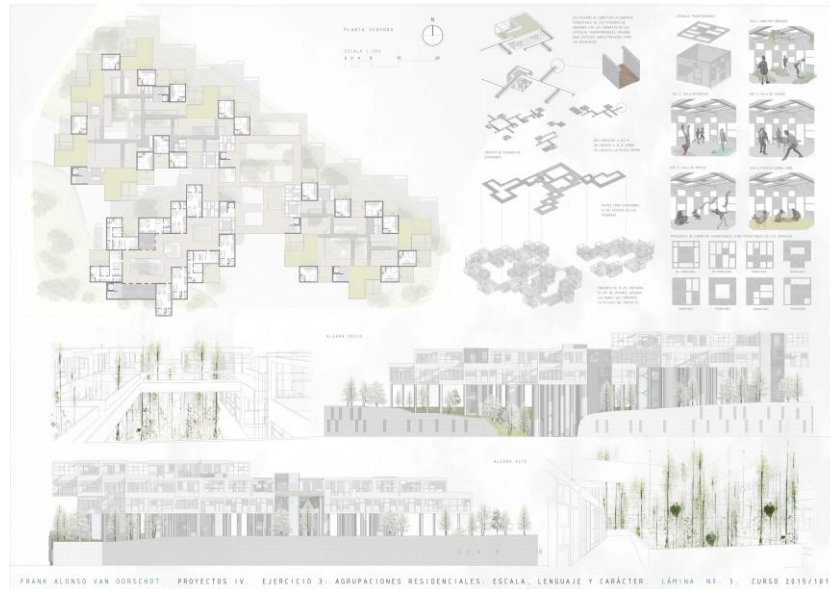


Figure 14. "Clouds". Student: Frank Alonso; tutor: Paloma Gil.



Figure 15. "Inhabited trees ". Student: Pablo Cendón; tutor: Eusebio Alonso.

"Excavated topographies and clouds". They are two proposals that paradoxically respond to the

dilemma between architecture and nature or housing and public space. In both proposals the two topics are overlapped and, through the manipulation of the section, public spaces can be set in different topographic levels. They demonstrate that we must not choose between dwellings and nature, neither public nor private space; the sum of both in the total space can give a greater result than its footprint on the ground.

In “*excavated topography*”, the new floor and the own roofs of the buildings recover the green space of the houses and the neighbourhood. This new topography brings diversity of scales for the new public spaces and creates spaces of privacy in the houses.

In the proposed “*clouds*”, the building is developed between an excavated land and another suspended on the high levels; between both parts the common green space of the new community is built up which means a new meeting space of relationship for the neighbourhood. The collective uses of the residential program are located under the new ground and build the new topography. Housings are located in higher floors; they emerge and rise up to the sky like clouds.

“*Inhabited trees*” is a proposal that looks into the idea of merging house and nature. The construction of residential buildings creates a new artificial nature, which merges with the existing one; each initial plot seems now a great park that continues growing upwards. The new neighbours will live in these technological trees, which are surrounded by yards and vegetation that work as an effective and sustainable bioclimatic system. The collective uses of the community are distributed under the ground, thanks to the excavated spaces that conform the topography and the roots of these new trees where the housings of the young people and elderly people are located.



Figure 16. Exhibition of works in the Architecture School of Valladolid, which have been shown to the neighbours.

CONCLUSION

Adriano Celentano sang in the seventies the evils of the century and, regretting that in the modern city it was not possible to breathe, he said goodbye with his song and warned us that a tree of thirty floors was rising¹⁴. It was certainly an ecological criticism of the bad constructive practices that made the new cities uninhabitable. This was due to the lack of those standards that modern architecture had defended. New architecture in times of crisis can be an opportunity to regenerate the old forms that we have inherited. Many of these neighbourhoods in our cities have their origin in ancient agricultural structures and landscapes of the urban outskirts so, now we can recover both conditions with policies,

planning and sustainable design which understands the new ecology as the rescue of a lost nature and the appropriation of a new social space that contributes to the regeneration of these neighbourhoods.

NOTES

- ¹ Miguel Ángel de la Iglesia, Paloma Gil, José Manuel Martínez, Jesús de los Ojos, José Antonio Lozano, Francisco Javier Blanco, Ángel Iglesias, Flavia Zelli, Jesús Alba and Leonardo Tamargo are the other professors of the Department of “Teoría de la Arquitectura y Proyectos Arquitectónicos” of the Architecture School of the Valladolid University.
- ² J. M, Gil Martínez, P, “¿Cómo conectar hoy con la necesidad de la arquitectura?” *Acciones ante el programa*. In VV.AA., *JIDA 2014*, (Barcelona: GILDA UPC, 2014).
- ³ Rafael Moneo. *Discurso de Aceptación de la Medalla de Oro de la Arquitectura Española*, (2006)
- ⁴ John Berger. *Modos de ver (Ways of Seeing)*. (Barcelona: GG, 2000), 5.
- ⁵ Hannah Arendt. *La condición humana (The Human Condition)*. (Barcelona: Paidós, 1993).
- ⁶ Helio Piñón. *Teoría del Proyecto*. (Barcelona: UPC, 2006).
- ⁷ Le Corbusier. *Entretien Avec les Etudiants des Écoles d'Architecture*. (París: Les editions de minuit, 1957).
- ⁸ Georges Perec. *Lo extraordinario (L'infra-ordinaire)*. (Madrid: Impedimenta, 2008).
- ⁹ Eusebio Alonso. *Alojamiento para otros modos de vida*. (Valladolid: EDUVA, 2015).
- ¹⁰ Eusebio Alonso. “Actions to recover the absent city”. Trans Graham Cairns, *Housing the Future. Alternative Approaches for Tomorrow*. (Oxfordshire: LibriPublishing, 2015), 69-80.
- ¹¹ Gilles Deleuze. *Logique du sens*. (París: Editions du Minuit, 1969), 20.
- ¹² Jose Luis Sáinz. *Cartografía y ciudad: las huellas de la ciudad en la cartografía de Valladolid hasta el siglo XIX*. (Valladolid: Ayuntamiento, 1990).
- ¹³ Pablo Gigosos. and Madrigal Saravia. *Arquitectura y Urbanismo en Valladolid en el siglo XX*. (Valladolid: Ateneo, 1997), 137-140.
- ¹⁴ Adriano Celentano. “Un albero di trenta piani”, in the album *I mali del secolo*, (1972).

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GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES FOR HOUSING IN INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

India got Independence on 15th August 1947 from the British rule. With Independence came the partition of India and Pakistan. This was an event that greatly influenced the development of both nations, at that time and in the times to come. In fact, a few historians believe Partition of India and Pakistan as a prolonged process and not a stand-off event. A large number of people migrating across the borders gave rise to an urgent and immediate demand to rehabilitate refugees in decent, livable houses. The northern part of the country including the national capital city of Delhi, states of Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh were the locations where refugees settled. An urgent need of mass housing led to the development of resettlement colonies in Delhi and other cities. From thereon, the planned system of Housing in independent India started which gradually led to the emphasis given to the housing sector in the Five Year Plans, subsequent housing policies, schemes and plans. Most of these were envisaged at the National level which was implemented at the local level via the State level. This paper is going to analyze government initiatives for housing in India in the light of its National level housing policies and programmes followed by the issues and roadblocks in the process and implementation. India is a vast nation with 29 States and 7 Union Territories. Given the scope and limit of the paper, analyzing the individual policies of each state is not taken up.

STRUCTURE OF HOUSING PROVISION IN INDIA

In India, Land and Housing are State subjects, i.e. all decisions in the context areas are taken by the respective State Governments. However, the land holding is under the State Government as well as other Central Government based organisations such as Defence, Railways, etc. Post-independence planning in India started with the establishment of the Planning Commission and subsequent Five Year Plans. The Five Year Plans are developed, executed and monitored by the Planning Commission to provide strong economic conditions and better housing facilities. With the new Central Government elected in 2014, the Planning Commission has been replaced by the Niti Ayog. Before, analyzing the current housing initiatives of the country it is important to understand the history of housing planning in post independent India.

Five Year Plans¹

The Five Year Plans are made at the Central Government stating the focus and vision in various sectors for the overall development in India. In the following paragraphs, the vision of the housing sector starting from the first plan and how it has grown over time has been stated.

The First Five Year Plan covered the period of 1951-56. It mainly emphasized on institutional building, construction of houses for Government employees and weaker sections. The Ministry of Works and Housing was constituted which is now known as the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoHUPA) and Town and Country Planning Organisation were set up. A sizable part of the plan outlay was spent for rehabilitation of the refugees from Pakistan and on building the new city of Chandigarh. An Industrial Housing Scheme was also initiated. (National Housing Bank n.d.)

The Second Plan (1956-61) expanded the scope of housing programme for the poor. The Industrial Housing Scheme was widened to cover all workers. This was because India was also going through an Industrial revolution, as after Independence many major new industries were being set up. Three new schemes, namely, Rural Housing, Slum Clearance and Sweepers Housing were introduced. Town and Country Planning Legislations were enacted in many States and necessary organizations were also set up for the preparation of Master Plans for important towns (National Housing Bank n.d.). In India, the planning of cities is primarily through twenty years perspective plans called the Master Plan. It is prepared by either the Development Authority of the city or the State level Town and Country Planning Organization.

During the period of Third Plan (1961-66), Fourth Plan (1969-74), Fifth Plan (1974-79) and Sixth Plan (1980-85), the focus was first on the lower income groups, and then to the creation of smaller towns to decongest larger cities. Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) was established to fund remunerative housing and urban development programmes. The Fifth Plan (1974-79) and Sixth Plan (1980-85) reiterated the policies of preceding plans and also a scheme called Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns (IDSMT) was launched with population below 1 lakh or 100,000. (National Housing Bank n.d.)

The Seventh Plan (1985-90) stressed on the need to entrust major responsibility of housing construction to the private sector. The public sector was assigned a three-fold role i.e. of mobilization of resources for housing, provision for subsidized housing for the poor and acquisition and development of land. The National Housing Bank (NHB) was set up to expand the base of housing finance. As a follow up of the Global Shelter Strategy (GSS), National Housing Policy (NHP) was announced in 1988. It is important to note that the role of government was conceived as a provider for the poorest and vulnerable sections and as a facilitator for other income groups and private sector by the removal of constraints and by increasing supply of land and services. (National Housing Bank n.d.)

PRIVATE SECTOR

From thereon, i.e. the Seventh Five Year Plan the advent of private sector in construction as well as supply of housing has increased manifold (National Housing Bank n.d.). Today a large percentage of housing stock in India is provided by the private sector out of the formal housing market. The majority of housing stock in the mega cities of Delhi and Mumbai is under the informal housing that includes the unauthorized colonies and slum squatter settlements. The focus of the private sector formal housing is largely on Higher Income Group and partly to the Middle Income Groups. The majority of the real estate market is captured by the private sector and there is a huge gap in the supply of

affordable housing to the Middle and Lower Income Groups. Also, private sector has a reputation of delayed delivery of projects subsequently leading to delay in possession of houses to the buyers. Till recently, there were no laws or regulations to check the loss incurred by the consumer due to delays in projects by the developer. After several years of struggle, the latest Act - The Real Estate Regulation and Development Act, 2016 is enacted with an intention to keep a check on the above mentioned issues.

NATIONAL LEVEL HOUSING POLICIES AND PLANS

The following paragraphs shall explain the recent housing policies, programmes and mission of the Central Government in India.

National Housing Policy

The policy as first announced in 1988, engulfed both urban and rural housing. Later, it was realized that housing issues need to be tackled differently for rural and urban areas due to the difference in economic and social factors. The rural economy in India depends majorly on the Primary Sector (Agriculture based) while that of urban is the Secondary (Industries) and Tertiary (Service) Sectors. The very definition of 'urban' in India states that 75% of the male population must be involved in non-agricultural activities. Later several revised versions of the policy were announced with the addition of the words 'urban' and 'habitat'. The latest is the National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy (NUHHP) announced in December 2007. This policy was announced in the light of the Census 2001, which highlighted that 23% of India's urban population lived in slums. In some cities like Mumbai this percentage is much higher to approximately 55%.² A Technical Group formed in 2012 stated that the total housing shortage in India is 24.7 million at the end of the Tenth Plan (2002-2007)³. To tackle this magnitude, the policy was framed with the aim of providing "Housing for All".

This Policy document states that "it seeks to promote various types of public-private partnerships for realizing the goal of "Affordable Housing for All" with special emphasis on the urban poor" (NUHHP, 2007). Given the magnitude of the housing shortage and budgetary constraints of both the Central and State Governments, the NUHHP-2007 focuses the spotlight on multiple stake-holders such as the Private Sector, the Cooperative Sector, the Industrial Sector for labour housing and the Services/ Institutional Sector for employee housing. The action plan states that the Central Government will encourage and support the States to prepare a State Urban Housing Policy and subsequently a State Urban Housing and Habitat Action Plan, which may include passing of specific Acts the States/Union Territories for realizing the policy objectives through the following four :-

- Legal and Regulatory reforms,
- Fiscal concessions,
- Financial sector reforms and
- Introduction of innovative instruments

The Policy envisages specific roles for the Central Government, State Governments, local bodies, banks & housing finance companies, and public/parastatal agencies. (NUHHP, 2007)

Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) under Jawahar Lal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)⁴

Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) was the Sub-Mission under the Jawahar Lal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) launched in 2005-06. The mission states that it was reforms driven, fast track, planned development of identified cities with focus on the following three :-

1. Efficiency in urban infrastructure/services delivery mechanism
2. Community participation and,
3. Accountability of Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) towards citizens.

Due to lack of resources and administrative constraints in taking up all cities and towns, only selected cities as per norms/criteria mentioned in Table 1 were taken up:-

	Category	Number
A	Cities with 4 million plus population as per 2001 census	7
B	Cities with 1 million plus but less than 4 million population	28
C	Selected Cities (of religious/historic and tourist importance)	28

Table 1: JNNURM Selected Cities

Source: JNNURM - An Overview

In total there were 63 cities selected for this Mission. The BSUP programme worked as an integrated development of Basic Services to the Urban Poor. This provision of Basic Services to Urban Poor included - Security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, Water supply, Sanitation, and Convergence of already existing services for education, health and social security. It also ensured to secure effective linkages between asset creation and asset management so that they are maintained efficiently and are self-sustaining. The programme envisaged adequate investment of funds to fulfill deficiencies in Basic Services. It also scaled up delivery of civic amenities with emphasis on universal access to urban poor. The financing pattern of this Programme is shown in Table 2.

Category of cities	Grant	
	Central Share	State/ ULB/ Parastatal share, including beneficiary contribution
4 million plus (2001 census)	50%	50%
1 million – 4 million (2001 census)	50%	50%
Cities / towns in North Eastern States and Jammu & Kashmir	90%	10%
Other Cities	80%	20%

Table 2: Financing Pattern of JNNURM cities under BSUP

Source: JNNURM - An Overview

Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)⁵

The aim envisaged by this Mission was that of “Slum Free India” with inclusive and equitable cities such that every citizen has access to basic civic infrastructure, social amenities and decent shelter. In order to achieve this aim, it tried to bring all existing slums, notified or non-notified (including recognized and identified) within the formal system and enable them to avail basic services that is available for the rest of the city. It redressed the failures of the formal system that lie behind the

creation of slums by planning for affordable housing stock for the urban poor and initiating crucial policy changes required for facilitating the same.

For the first time in this Mission a “Curative Strategy” as well as the “Preventive Strategy” approach for slums was considered. Also, it not only made a database for the notified slums but also included non-notified slums in the database. This helped in creating a complete and authentic database of slums for each city. (Rajiv Awas Yojana)

SFCPoA – Slum Free City Plan of Action

The SFCPoA under RAY details out the action plan to make a city Slum Free. The process of preparing the action plan begins with the situational analysis and environmental building followed by the planning process. The planning process is further divided into two parts viz. 1) Curative Strategy for Existing Slums, and 2) Preventive Strategy for Future Slums. Under the Curative Strategy a number of activities and surveys are carried out such as Preparation of geo-referenced city base map, tenability analysis of slums, socio-economic survey of slums, integration of spatial data, socio-economic and biometric information at slum/city level to create a GIS (Geographic Information System) based slum MIS (Management Information System), formulation of ward / zone / slum redevelopment options, investment requirements and projections and implementation modalities. The Preventive Strategy involved activities such as inventory of vacant public lands, assessment of housing need and demand, formulation of future housing supply strategy, and investment projections. Finally both the strategies are aligned with the financial strategy and institutional arrangement required for implementation. The final action plan concludes with prioritization of slums and investments. (Government of India, Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation 2013-22). A number of cities under this had conducted the Total Station Surveys which has led to a strong database of slums.

Affordable Housing in Partnership (AHP)⁶

The Government has approved the scheme of Affordable Housing in Partnership (AHP) as part of Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) on 3rd September 2013 to increase affordable housing stock, as part of the preventive strategy. Central support is provided at the rate of Rs. 75,000 (845 GBP) per Economically Weaker Sections (EWS)/Low Income Group (LIG) which accounts to approximately 70-80% of the total cost of one dwelling unit. The Dwelling Units (DUs) are of size varying from 21 to 40 sqm. in affordable housing projects taken up under various kinds of partnerships including private partnership. A project size of minimum 250 dwelling units is eligible for funding under this scheme. The Dwelling Units in the project can be a mix of EWS/LIG-A/LIG-B/Higher Categories/ Commercial of which at least 60 percent of the FAR / FSI is used for dwelling units of carpet area not more than 60 sq.m.

Housing for All (Urban) - Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana PMAY⁷

This Scheme suggests that at the slum decadal growth rate of 34% as per census 2011, the slum households are projected to go upto 18 million. Another 2 million non-slum urban poor households are proposed to be covered under this Mission. Hence, total housing shortage envisaged to be addressed through the new mission is 20 million. The Mission is being implemented during 2015-2022 and provides central assistance to Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) and other implementing agencies through States / Union Territories under the following four verticals: (Housing For All – Urban, 2016)

1. In-situ Rehabilitation of existing slum dwellers (Housing For All – Urban, 2016)

This will be executed by using land as a resource, and with private participation. Also, to make projects financially viable extra FSI/TDR/FAR may be proposed.

2. Credit Linked Subsidy (Housing For All – Urban, 2016)

The credit linked subsidy is given to provide affordable housing. It is an interest subvention subsidy for EWS (Economically weaker sections) and LIG (Lower Income Group) for new house or incremental housing. EWS are those with an annual household income upto Rs. 3 lakh (INR 300,000) and house sizes upto 30 sqmt., while LIG are those with an annual income between Rs. 3-6 lakhs (INR 300,000 – 600,000) and house sizes upto 60 sqmt.

3. Affordable Housing in Partnership (Housing For All – Urban, 2016)

The provision of affordable housing in partnership can be with private sector or public sector including parastatal agencies. The Central assistance per EWS house in affordable housing projects will be given to only those projects where 35% of constructed houses are of EWS category.

4. Subsidy for beneficiary-led individual house construction/enhancement. (Housing For All – Urban, 2016)

This subsidy is for individuals of EWS category requiring individual house. The states need to prepare a separate project for such beneficiaries, while no isolated/splintered beneficiary is to be covered in this.

The credit linked subsidy component is being implemented as a Central Sector Scheme and other three components as Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS). The scheme will cover all statutory towns as per Census 2011 and towns notified subsequently would be eligible for coverage under the Mission. Also, this mission is flexible to the States for choosing the best options amongst the four verticals of the mission to meet the demand of housing in their respective states. The States are can take independent decision in the process of project formulation and approval according to the mission Guidelines so that projects can be formulated, approved and implemented faster. (Housing For All – Urban, 2016)

A Technology Sub-Mission under this Mission has also been set up to facilitate adoption of modern, innovative, green technologies and building material for faster and quality construction of houses. It also facilitates preparation and adoption of layout designs and building plans suitable for various geo-climatic zones. It will also assist States/Cities in deploying disaster resistant and environment friendly technologies. (Housing For All – Urban, 2016)

Revising NUHHP as per PMAY

The Ministry has decided to revise the National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy, 2007 so as to adopt the changes in the recent past and taking forward the agenda of Government of India on “Housing for All” by 2022. The revised Policy will incorporate various policy sub-components as different chapters to reflect the current direction of the Government of India. These may include shelters, skill development, rental/social housing, affordable housing etc. (Housing For All – Urban, 2016)

CONCLUSIONS AND ISSUES

Being geographically and culturally diverse, the housing problem in India varies from city to city as well as from state to state. However, there are certain issues that are common to all. Land and Housing are state subjects, although not many states are independently active in providing housing through State funds. The general practice has been that a Central Government scheme trickles down to the state level with partial funding by both. Central only give grants and funds, implementation is done at the local level. Policies are framed, schemes are made, both at Central and States but implementation is slow. India has two major problems to address in the housing sector – providing affordable houses to all sections and addressing the creation, clearance and prevention of slums. With varying political

parties ruling at Central and state level, the implementation of policies suffer due to non-cooperation and political competition. Housing by public agencies is funded by government which is a political entity that influences such projects. Higher gestation period from construction to delivery, leads to increase in demand-supply gap. It is extremely important to use faster and newer technology for house construction, but those technologies need to be made affordable such that house prices don't exceed the affordable limits. Rental housing is a good option but is not yet institutionalized although a large part of population in megacities lives in rented accommodation. The rental housing is largely managed by the public themselves. Another issue to be tackled from a political perspective is that each time a new political party comes to power there is a horde of new schemes that completely replaces the previous schemes. This nullifies the efforts done during the process of implementation of the older scheme and the whole process begins again from ground zero. Therefore, newer schemes need to be an extension and improvement of the previous ones. Converging of schemes related to housing, like that of sanitation, health, education, livelihood, etc. is equally important. There are several schemes and projects for health, sanitation and livelihood but merging them together with housing by forming an apex body or plan has never been envisaged. Housing is not just a physical entity, but it has social, economic, cultural, connotations attached to it. It needs to be tackled holistically from the viewpoint of adequate standard of living. Political ambitions and agendas of ruling governments need to detach themselves; else this disparity in housing standards shall never be abolished.

NOTES

¹ The information on urban housing in the various five year plans under this section head have been reproduced and summarized from the National Housing Bank website www.nhb.org.in accessed on August 10, 2016.

² National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy, 2007

³ From the Report of Technical Group (TG -12) on Urban Housing Shortage

⁴ The information stated under this section is reproduced and summarized from the Mission document of BSUP under JNNURM.

⁵ The information stated under this section is paraphrased and summarized from the Scheme Guidelines of Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY).

⁶ Paraphrased from the document of Affordable Housing in Partnership under Rajiv Awas Yojana

⁷ The information stated under this section head is reproduced and summarized from the Scheme document of PMAY Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana – Housing For All (Urban)

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LEARNING FROM INCREMENTS: A PRESENTATION OF CASE STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

Incremental housing refers to flexible housing prototypes or ‘core’ housing, which are designed to grow, incrementally, over time. As a response to changing family structures and economies, incremental housing is a user led, adaptable mechanism that allows occupiers the freedom to enlarge the size and ameliorate the quality of housing in response to the demographic and economic changes of the households’ composition. Incremental housing has been adopted in the past in developing areas as a mechanism to deal with poverty and empowerment and to increase social capital. However, far from being a regional phenomenon, incremental construction transcends political boundaries and involves different cultures and societies, as well as economic and political systems. In view of the growing interest in incremental housing as a proactive strategy to meet housing demand, this paper considers past examples, from the 1980s to the present day, drawn from a variety of urban contexts. Illustrating their effective implementation, this paper questions how incremental processes can be used as a method to provide urban housing, rethink the relationship between building and land provision and support appropriate city growth.

INTRODUCTION

This paper, with reference to a number of case studies drawn from the Global South, explores ‘incremental housing;’ a flexible, user led, typology that allows occupiers the freedom to adapt their housing in response to their changing social and economic circumstances. Incremental housing refers to adaptable housing prototypes or ‘core’ housing (which originated from a series of philosophical debates and pilot schemes addressing self-help between 1940s and 1960s), designed to grow over time. It allows occupiers the freedom to enlarge the size and ameliorate the quality of housing in response to the demographic and economic changes of the households’ composition and lifestyle “ensuring the progressive realisation of the ‘housing desires’”.¹ The originality of this housing typology lies in the process rather than the final outcome.

Incremental housing has been adopted in developing areas as a mechanism to deal with poverty and empowerment and to increase social capital. The pilot ‘Sites and Service’ examples of the 1970s - provision of plots with essential infrastructure- served as evidence of various governmental policies that aimed to upgrade, regulate and legalise slum areas. The relatively slow development process of

such programmes and the ‘half-developed’ aspect of informal settlements has often been the reason to refer to incremental projects as slums, as opposed to formal housing establishments.

In the 1990s, ‘Incremental Housing’ replaced the previous ‘sites and service’ paradigm, shifting the emphasis from construction and servicing of affordable housing to good quality housing as part of a wider strategy that aimed to reduce urban poverty and establish social development processes. In 2011, the World Bank-UN-Habitat joint Cities Alliance highlighted the need to involve alternative approaches to housing including support to ‘non-conventional’ incremental social housing and to good quality public housing (including affordable rental accommodation). This involved different organisations including land, finance, infrastructure and services, strategic planning and building controls, as well as community organisations. Therefore, meaning that housing policies and operational strategies would be administered not by national-level authorities, but would be devolved at a local level (local governments, community-based organisations, NGOs).

Nowadays, far from being a regional phenomenon, incremental housing transcends political boundaries and involves different cultures and societies, as well as economic and political systems. The growing interest in the potential for incremental strategies to perform an enabling role in providing affordable housing led to the establishment of the Global University Consortium Exploring Incremental Housing in 2010, based at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

Compared to other approaches, the main quality of this housing typology is the capacity to develop a system built on simple rules of design and execution in phases. As a concept, incremental housing not only involves the expansion of the house, but it includes the concern of the housing’s evolution according to the site and urban context. Beyond enabling low-income households to access housing, incremental projects generate social capital. The gradual development of infrastructure, services and amenities together with the extension of individual dwellings ensure community cohesion and activate local governance in otherwise socially disparate communities. Through the physical, spatial and inter-personal dynamics of extension, presented in this paper, our aim is to investigate incremental processes as a solution to the global housing shortage, rethink the relationship between building and land provision, support appropriate city growth and establish links with contemporary debates on urban development.

INCREMENTAL HOUSING AS A PROACTIVE STRATEGY TO MEET HOUSING DEMAND: CASE STUDIES

The projects presented here testify to the potential of incremental housing as a proactive strategy to meet housing demand. The intergenerational gap between Balkrishna Doshi and Charles Correa, and Elemental (executive director: Alejandro Aravena), Tatiana Bilbao Estudio and Urban Nouveau* (Filipe Balestra and Sara Göransson) marks an evolution of approaches and processes. The architects discussed below believe in habitat, not as a product but as a process of development. Furthermore, their practice has sought, and continues to seek, links between bottom-up and top-down action.

Elemental in Chile and Tatiana Bilbao Estudio in Mexico pursue a pragmatic and efficient architecture for the masses aiming to control the growth of cities and correct social inequalities. They are disposed to confront the ‘megapolisation’ of Latin America: -dramatic urban expansion- causing multiple problems in terms of services and infrastructure, public space and housing.²

Elemental, a ‘do tank’ (as opposed to think tank), work with politicians, lawyers, researchers, residents, local authorities, and builders, and engage with socio-political problems, to develop pragmatic, effective and quick solutions to access affordable housing. For Aravena, architecture should have a social conscience responding to questions not commonly associated with its practice: poverty, segregation, violence, insecurity, education, and inequality.³

$$X = 1 \text{ city} \times 1,000,000 \text{ people} \times 1 \text{ week} \\ \$ 10,000 \times 1 \text{ family} \times 20 \text{ years}$$

This equation presents the problem Elemental endeavour to solve: “how to plan construction in a context which demands to build a city for one million people per week with [\$]10,000 [approx. 8830€] per unit?”⁴ According to Aravena, “given the magnitude of the housing shortage, we won’t solve this problem unless we add people’s own resources and building capacity to that of governments and market. [...] In that way people will be part of the solution and not part of the problem.”⁵

To tackle the scarcity of means, Elemental employ an incremental housing system (*vivienda incremental*), focusing on collaborative effort and involvement. Based on 5 principles, good location, harmonious growth in time, urban layout, final growth scenario and middle-class DNA,⁶ this approach “allows for something to be built on more expensive land closer to economic opportunity and gives residents a sense of accomplishment and personal investment”.⁷ The scenario they employ is to build ‘half-good houses’, a ‘skeleton’ of a solid structure, a roof, a kitchen, a bathroom, and networks (electricity), which acts as the ‘DNA’ of a middle class home. By leaving enough space open, this half-house can be transformed in the future according to people’s needs, taste, and financial possibilities.

In Quinta Monroy Housing, Iquique (2003-2004), a 93-house complex, Elemental worked with future occupants in a process of ‘open design’ based on community workshops. They had to accommodate 100 families living in a 30-year-old slum, without evicting them to the periphery. A government subsidy of \$7,500 (approx. 6,620€) allowed for only 36 m²: the challenge was to invent a typology that could allow for expansion. The incremental approach provided the possibility to obtain 72 m²: the increase of the property value (which tripled after a year) became a key factor for families to improve their houses. An alternative of this project was Villa Verde Housing in Constitución (2013), a 484-house complex, where the initial phase began with 57 m², able to grow up to 85 m². Elemental applied the same process in Monterrey, Mexico (2010), a 70-house complex, where the cost of the most financially accessible design was \$30,000 (approx. 26,500€). Developing an improved version of Iquique, Elemental managed to provide a scheme with housing underneath and duplex apartments on top with a beginning cost of \$20,000 (approx. 17,600€), in a neighbourhood where the average cost is \$50,000 (approx. 44,150€).

Operating in a similar context, Bilbao’s studio has developed an incremental strategy which aims to alleviate Mexico’s housing deficiency. With a total population of around 120 million, and one of the fastest population growth rates in Latin America, the shortage of homes -approximately 9 million- is one of the main concerns of the government. In 2000, the distribution of the country’s housing development among five real estate developers, resulted in hundreds of settlements, each containing “tens of thousands of perfectly identical houses with a bare minimum of both area and services [...] [,] a new form of urbanisation for the poor, hybrids of dormitory towns and gated communities”, located in the cheapest and most isolated areas.⁸ According to Tatiana Bilbao, “developers have understood social housing as a financial operation, and architects didn’t fit in the equation”.⁹ Produced by NGOs, foundations, companies, or contractors, the ‘bulk buy’ housing models, once certified by the government, were ready to be rolled out.¹⁰

Referring to her prototype housing for the 2015 Chicago Biennial, Bilbao says that “I’m excited to show a little of the story of how this model works and why it is different and special. My main message is that architects can make a difference in every sector, [...] especially in the poorest ones, where efficient, thoughtful design is much more needed.”¹¹ The house has a central core of rigid materials (concrete blocks) and further modules of lighter materials (wood pallets) can be added surrounding the core unit. According to the architect, this modular system -“where not everything is

finished with strong materials”- allows for “more space, and with very much less money”.¹² Whilst expanding the minimal federal requirement of 43m² per house, to a design that starts at 62m², this typology allows for future expansions in different phases up to 120m², according to each family budget, needs and desires.

Informed by a process of interviews and workshops with over 2,000 potential home-owners in order to understand the expectations, priorities and requirements in terms of form and function, the Studio realised that “the house absolutely had to have a pitched roof (so it looked finished!) and yet it needed to be expandable, which of course is exactly why people always built with flat roofs and exposed rebar”.¹³ To achieve this requirement, the Studio opted for interior patios and double-height spaces, enabling residents to double their space by adding partitions; thus achieving extra-space without exceeding the original footprint of the house and maintaining a traditional pitched roof. The initial phase of the house includes two bedrooms, 1 bathroom, 1 kitchen and a 5-meter height dining/living room; the final phase contemplates space for 5 additional bedrooms. Allowing for a bigger floor plan than most social housing units, people have space to build larger houses because they own land.¹⁴

Approached by a micro-financing organization (*Financiera Sustentable*), Bilbao managed to maintain the cost, excluding infrastructure, of the initial phase to under \$8,000 (approx. 7,080€), so that the government subsidises \$3,000 (approx. 2,650€) of the total amount (the rest is credit). The house model was finally commissioned by the government through a program certifying that 50% of the overall cost is subsidised. The program dealt with the need for housing in rural areas and the scarcity of the design (temporary materials), intending to give people “an opportunity to have much more of a permanent, durable structure”.¹⁵

Whilst there is much to learn from these recent projects, other case studies, such as the works of Balkrishna Doshi and Charles Correa in the 1980s in India, are today re-examined for their environmental sensitivity, the commitment to the local environment, the sense of social responsibility and the potential to improve economic conditions of communities. Doshi’s approach mediated between his original culture and his acculturation to the West. Through his observation of the development model imported from the West, which -according to the architect has not been able to adapt neither to local environments nor to local cultures- Doshi achieved a kind of architectural syncretism between ‘modern vitalism’ and the ‘vitality of Indian culture’.

Committed to introduce alternatives to industrial development, he included a social sensitivity to his projects and integrated the culture and economy of local societies. Further to the link between environment and culture, he advocated an architecture in harmony with the socio-economic conditions of the moment to express “humility and anonymity”.¹⁶ Therefore, his practice, Vastu Shilpa Foundation, values slow development, planned as a long-term process, based on local potential, economic and social independence and public participation.

The Aranya project in Madhya Pradesh, Indore (1983-today), undertaken by the Indore Development Authority (IDA) with cost assistance by the World Bank and the Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), aimed to house a total population of 60,000 in 6,500 houses, on an 85 hectare area. Designed according to an incremental logic, the project favoured “access to finance and serviced land [rather than] direct involvement in housing construction”.¹⁷ The aim was to “provide housing, community and commercial facilities, primarily for the economically weaker sections (EWS) [65%] but within a socially balanced matrix of middle and higher income groups [35%]”.¹⁸

Doshi applied several principles as the ideological basis for the project: vitality, imageability, equity, efficiency, flexibility and feasibility.¹⁹ The masterplan contained a central spine, which comprised the business district and six self-contained sectors with the required facilities to sustain community life.

Each residential cluster -comprised of ten houses- opened on to a street, and each house contained a rear courtyard. The majority of the households were provided with a plot having a water tank, sewerage connection, paved access with street lighting, and storm water drainage. The people themselves built the houses to suit their needs, using any locally available material.

Aiming to gradually improve the existing slum area, Doshi provided serviced sites for new housing development rather than complete houses. He employed a standardised system of construction within the limits of the plot and delivered optional plans. The first phase of the design was fundamental dwelling units which varied in sizes, forms and interior organisation. The so-called demonstration houses (80 models) built by Doshi aimed to show “how interesting variations can be created by house extensions, staircases, balconies and projections [using] interchangeable components which in different combinations would each time create a unique house in the same overall plot dimension and starting with the same basic core”.²⁰

Doshi considered uncertainty and constraints as features of Indian society: the spaces in Aranya encouraged meetings and are subject to constant change through the integration of natural elements (light, water, planting). The houses -where people could develop a commercial activity- were clustered in hamlets (like *mohallas* of traditional towns) and were separated by paved patios. Streets accommodated economic activities, such as small shops. Facilities were provided to enable exchange and to facilitate human interactions (terraces and balconies, interfaces between streets and houses as gathering outdoor spaces (ottas or otlos), squares arranged at intersections).

Similar to Doshi, Charles Correa’s work grew out of an appreciation of local climate, landscape and traditional techniques. His buildings respected fundamental architectural principles, an antithesis to the growing whimsical and fashionable “exotic western forms” that increasingly appropriate India’s skyline.²¹ Throughout his work, he paid great attention to the provision of affordable housing in an attempt to ameliorate India’s urban poverty and address the degrading living conditions of the poor. Correa operated across a variety of spatial scales, from the masterplan to the plot, as urban housing was, for him, inextricably linked to land provision, allocation and optimal densities. His architecture was underpinned by a concern for the end user: “maybe we do not have to go through the terrible dehumanising process of mass housing only to come back to individual houses. Maybe there is a way we can take these skills, this vocabulary, these traditions, and go straight to housing which is really a collection of houses.”²²

Direct access to the ‘nerve’ centers of cities, the provision of jobs, location of services, transport arteries and social and cultural infrastructures were, for Correa, fundamental factors in determining housing provision. Referring to vernacular typologies and local craftsmen (*mistri*), Correa considered that there was no shortage of building materials and construction skills; what was in short supply was the urban context in which the housing backlog could be accommodated. His concern for services, infrastructure and the economical use of resources gave rise to the following principles for housing: incrementality, pluralism, participation, income generation, open-to-sky space, and disaggregation.

These were fully explored at Belapur, 2km from the centre of Navi Mumbai (formally New Bombay), built to open up new land and create access to jobs. Commissioned by the City and Industrial Development Corporation (CIDCO) in 1983, the low rise, high density housing scheme covered an area of 5.4 hectares and was originally developed to house 500 people (100 households) per hectare. The overriding principle was that each family had its own plot, to allow for incremental expansion. Plots were arranged in clusters as opposed to monotonous lines, reflecting the classic pattern of old Indian habitats. Furthermore, the careful sequencing of spaces compounded Correa’s belief that cities should be developed using a spatial hierarchy ranging from the private world of the individual

dwelling (A), through the ‘doorstep’: areas that encouraged intimate contact (B), to the communal court or neighbourhood space (C), to the greater public space used by the whole city -the *medina*- the public promenade of the community.

At Belapur, the basic unit consisted of 7 plots around a courtyard of 8m x 8m (A&B). Three of these clusters combined to form a larger module of 21 houses, which defined the next scale of the courtyard, an open space of 12m x 12m (C). Three such modules then interlocked to define the next scale of community space, approximately 20m x 20m. This arrangement continued until neighbourhood spaces were formed where school and other public use facilities were located. The rich variety of these courtyards and community spaces, or more simply, ‘open-to-sky-space’ represented an additional ‘room’, intended to improve living conditions and spiritual and psychological well-being. Additionally, these spaces could be considered as potential income providers. Individual plot sizes ranged from 45 m² to 70 m².

This same philosophy underpinned Correa’s HUDCO project, when in 1986 he was commissioned to add 176 houses to an existing housing development in Jodhpur. The project followed the design principles of Belapur, grouping the dwelling units around a hierarchy of open spaces. Again, Correa created a continuum of spaces (from private to public) and elucidated a spatial balance between open and closed elements. With a variation on his earlier ‘cluster’ principle, he formulated an innovative interdependency between spaces, reinterpreting traditional layouts and relieving densities. Applying bioclimatic principles, he created environmental control through the use of courtyards, which ensured houses were naturally ventilated (important in Jodhpur’s hot and semi-arid climate). Each unit was independent from its neighbour allowing for growth, adaptability and upgrading as families become upwardly mobile.

Dealing with a similar context to Doshi and Correa, recent examples further illustrate the potential of incremental design to improve slums and legalise informal housing. In 2008, Filipe Balestra and Sonia Göransson of Urban Nouveau* were invited to work on a pilot project for a community driven programme of slum upgrading in the Yerawada neighbourhood of Pune, North West India. Initiated by the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) and the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), the project was part of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Its target was to provide housing to 1,200 families from seven high-density slum areas of Yerwada by 2012. Through a process of gradual improvements, the programme was intended to transform the informal neighbourhoods and accelerate the legalisation of homes.²³ Within the slums, a variety of dwelling types existed including permanent ‘*pucca*’ and temporary ‘*kuccha*’ houses. The former, commonly built from brick and concrete, were generally in good condition. Accordingly, Urban Nouveau’s* strategy focused on upgrading the ‘*kuccha*’ houses, shack like structures built from improvised materials, tin metal sheets and poor brick work, to reflect the standards of the ‘*pucca*’ houses.

Funded by the Indian government, each family residing in a ‘*kuccha*’ house was eligible to a grant of 300,000 rupees (approx. 4,500€). This grant, with a further 10% contribution made by the beneficiary families, was intended to fund the rebuilding of the upgraded house. Existing *kuchas* were grouped into single, double, triple and quadruple units and clusters. A central design principle retained and readjusted the cluster sizes, allowing for more space between dwelling units, opening up the narrow lanes. An important part of the ‘community’ infrastructure, Göransson described these in-between spaces as “the social spaces, these are where people meet, this is where all the problems come out and you have strong social connections between neighbours, it becomes like your social security network in a place like this”.²⁴

Wholesale clearance and demolition, paving the way for the imposition of “monotonous social housing blocks” was avoided.²⁵ The existing urban formation was used, maintaining important organic, socio-economic networks, which had been established by residents over time.²⁶ Intrinsic to the success of the project were Mahila Milan, an NGO (meaning ‘women together’ in Hindi).²⁷ Represented by Yerwada’s female residents, Mahila Milan were strategically involved to act as an interface between the design team and slum dwellers who became both ‘co-designers’ and ‘clients’: only with their consent and cooperation could the project move forward.

Three house types were formulated, each with a simple reinforced concrete frame. Frames could be grouped for units conceived as double kucchās or more, hence sharing columns, walls and associated infrastructure, thus significantly reducing costs. These costs savings would be shared with the community and redirected to improving public amenities. The plan was to provide 25m² for each household, this followed the provisions as set out in the JNNURM programme. The co-created incremental prototypes that families could choose from were: Type A – ‘Ground + One’, Type B – ‘Void + Two’ and Type C – ‘Ground + Void + One’. Due to the nature of the site, following demolition, designs were adapted to the size of each plot as site dimensions could only be measured exactly after removal of the existing kucchās.

Families who were unable to contribute 10% of their share, to supplement the government’s 340,000 rupees (approx. 4,500€), were presented with alternative options such as participating in the demolition process, installing of windows and doors, undertaking interior and exterior finishes or accessing bank loans. Indeed, all families were encouraged to take part in elements of the construction process and proceeding customisation. As part of the upgrading process, the government was committed to providing the houses with basic services including water and electricity, before construction work began, an important addition to an area with severely limited access to such services.

CONCLUSION

The cases studies discussed above highlight ongoing re-conceptualisations of political and economic approaches and evidence these as agents of collective action and social change. The architects have dealt with the renovation of informal territory by introducing collective logics based on a vibrant and circular economy. Familiar with the critical contexts and informal socio-economic conditions, they were able to think of social change from the inside: they developed housing projects, which avoid segregation, achieve density and encourage social interaction. Ultimately, they have established methodological tools to deal with challenging conditions, showing new alternatives, where, historically, renewal strategies have operated in a context of economic and political stagnation.

The importance of this architecture does not rely on aesthetics, but on the whole mechanism, from the land provision to the incremental development of the house. In considering affordability and feasibility as key criteria for the projects, the architects favour a design approach that is simple in its concept of implementation and its geometry: Jeff Link, journalist, referred to Bilbao’s work as “a raw, archetypal brutalism rooted in pragmatism as much as aesthetics”.²⁸ The cornerstone of this approach is to develop a response to a problem by using ‘common sense’, working within financial restraints, infrastructural support and the possibilities of self-development.

Nevertheless, such approaches are not without their limitations. A first critical point regards the level of incrementation that the designs actually allowed. In addition, obtaining funding for projects and the release for these funds can be a protracted process rife with unforeseen institutional challenges and consequent delays, as was the case at Yerawanda.²⁹ Furthermore, despite the initial research and

participatory workshops, the support mechanisms (especially the financial mechanisms facilitating and sustaining access to property) are commonly inadequate or non-existing.

Access to, and the provision of, affordable housing is an issue of growing concern in European contexts. Accordingly, there is an imperative duty to develop new planning strategies capable of responding more flexibly to current and future housing needs. As suggested by Pier Vittorio Aureli and Martino Tattara, academics and practitioners, who have identified an increasing gap between those who are producing new forms of cohabiting -itinerant dwellers, freelancers and single parents, and the “clichés of traditional family life [the current housing crisis] is not only a crisis of scarcity and affordability but also a crisis of subjectivisation.”³⁰ In the present context of evolving policy frameworks, incremental housing could become a sustainable design strategy and could represent a “pro-choice”³¹ to increase the diversity of our currently very limited housing options.

Furthermore, we have much to learn from the participatory processes fundamental to successful incremental approaches, both in terms of design and construction. Ideas of community and neighbourhood, evidenced by the thoughtful spatial sequencing and formation of dwelling areas, encourage us to revisit vernacular patterns and reintroduce traditional social features, important to avoid monotony, homogeneity and lack of community cohesion. Perhaps, most pressing in a time of recent ‘austerity’ and financial instability, the scarcity of resources should be considered as an opportunity enabling alternative designs, as opposed to a constraint, as demonstrated by the case studies. By adopting such incremental strategies, our housing models would operate within the realm of the “present present”, acknowledging the contingency and complexity of our urban environment and understanding housing as a process, not as a product.

NOTES

- ¹ António Baptista Coelho and António M. R. Cabrita, *Habitação evolutiva e adaptável* (2ª ed.) (Lisbon: LNEC, 2009), 11.
- ² "Global Award for Sustainable Architecture Press release, 2014," Global Award for Sustainable Architecture, Locus Foundation (2014), accessed March 15, 2016, <http://locus-foundation.org/GlobalAward/symposiumbyyears/2014/DP%20GA%20%20ANG%20BAT.pdf>.
- ³ Catherine Sabbah, "Alejandro Aravena," *LesEchos* (2016), accessed June 22, 2016, http://www.lesechos.fr/journal20160520/lec1_le_grand_entretien/021937136792-alejandro-aravena-1223232.php?rH7Uvll7B0uxOoBi.01#xtor=CS1-31.
- ⁴ Alejandro Aravena and Andrés Iacobelli, « Des maisons pour tout le monde ? L'habitat incrémenté et la conception participative, » in *Ré-enchanter le monde*, ed. Marie-Hélène Contal and coord. by Aliko-Myrto Perysinaki (Paris : Editions Alternatives, 2014), 115.
- ⁵ Philip Stevens, "Elemental makes acclaimed housing schemes available for public use," *Designboom* (2016), accessed June 4, 2016, <http://www.designboom.com/architecture/alejandro-aravena-elemental-abc-of-incremental-housing-open-source-architecture-04-06-2016/>.
- ⁶ "ELEMENTAL. ABC of Incremental Housing," *Elemental*, accessed June 8, 2016, <http://www.elementalchile.cl/en/projects/abc-of-incremental-housing/>.
- ⁷ "Media release announcing the 2016 laureate," *The Pritzker Architecture Prize* (2016), accessed May 4, 2016, http://www.pritzkerprize.com/sites/default/files/file_fields/field_files_inline/2016-pritzker-prize-media-kit_0.pdf, 2.
- ⁸ "Global Award for Sustainable Architecture Press release, 2014," *op. cit.*
- ⁹ Jeff Link, "Public housing like you've never seen: Tatiana Bilbao brings low-cost modular home to Chicago," *New city design* (2015), accessed April 22, 2016, <http://design.newcity.com/2015/09/30/PUBLIC-HOUSING-LIKE-YOUBE-NEVER-SEEN-TATIANA-BILBAO-BRINGS-LOW-COST-MODULAR-HOME-TO-CHICAGO/>.
- ¹⁰ Paul Keskeys, "Tatiana Bilbao: new paradigm for affordable housing in Mexico," *Per una nuova casa italiana* (2015), accessed April 11, 2016, <https://perunanuovacasaitaliana.wordpress.com/2016/03/18/TATIANA-BILBAO-NEW-PARADIGM-FOR-AFFORDABLE-HOUSING-IN-MEXICO/>.
- ¹¹ Jeff Link, "Public housing like you've never seen: Tatiana Bilbao brings low-cost modular home to Chicago," *op. cit.*
- ¹² Amy Frearson, "Tatiana Bilbao addresses "urgent need" for housing Mexico's poorest inhabitants," *Dezeen* (2015), accessed June 15, 2016, <http://www.dezeen.com/2015/10/06/tatiana-bilbao-low-cost-social-housing-mexico-chicago-architecture-biennial-2015/>.
- ¹³ Terence Gower, "Tatiana Bilbao," *BOMB* (2015), accessed April 3, 2016, <http://bombmagazine.org/article/206933/tatiana-bilbao>.
- ¹⁴ Amy Frearson, "Tatiana Bilbao addresses "urgent need" for housing Mexico's poorest inhabitants," *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵ Paul Keskeys, "Tatiana Bilbao: new paradigm for affordable housing in Mexico," *op. cit.*
- ¹⁶ Aliko-Myrto Perysinaki, *Evolution of Architectural Design Process confronted by the Requisiteness of Sustainable Construct. Towards a Theory on Design Process in Ecosophic Times*, (PhD Thesis) (Paris West University Nanterre La Défense, 2014), 290.
- ¹⁷ Lailun Ekram, "Technical Review Summary: Aranya Low-Cost Housing. Indore, India," *The Aga Khan Award for Architecture* (1995), accessed June 11, 2016, <http://archnet.org/system/publications/contents/1132/original/FLS1142.pdf?1384749860>, 4.
- ¹⁸ Balkrishna Vithaldas Doshi, " Aranya Township, Indore," *MIMAR 28: Architecture in Development* (1998): 25.
- ¹⁹ Balkrishna Vithaldas Doshi, "Demonstration houses and masterplan for Aranya Community," *Architexturez* (1989), accessed June 4, 2016, <http://architexturez.net/doc/az-cf-166248>.
- ²⁰ Vastu Shilpa Foundation, *Aranya: An Approach to Settlement Design* (Ahmedabad: The Vastu Shilpa Foundation for Studies and Research in Environmental Design, 1990), 70.
- ²¹ Oliver Wainwright, "Architecture has become too mundane says Charles Correa," *The Guardian* (2013), accessed May 8, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2013/may/15/charles-correa-india-greatest-architect-exhibition>.
- ²² Charles Correa, "The Architecture of Housing: Chapter Four Comments," in *The Architecture of Housing*, ed. Robert Powell (Singapore: Concept Media/Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1990), 187.
- ²³ Marcus Fairs, "Incremental Housing Strategy by Filipe Balestra & Sara Goransson," *Dezeen* (2009), accessed Mai 7, 2016, <http://www.dezeen.com/2009/05/05/incremental-housing-strategy-by-filipe-balestra-and-sara-goransson/>.

²⁴ Centre for Architecture, "Design for A Change: Informal Settlements and Low-Income Housing in India, Informal Settlements Panel - 2.12.11," Vimeo (2011), accessed April 24, 2016, <https://vimeo.com/20893127>.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ David Basulto, "Incremental Housing Strategy in India/Filipe Balestra & Sara Goransson," Archdaily (2009), accessed May 24, 2016, <http://www.archdaily.com/21465/incremental-housing-strategy-in-india-filipe-balestra-sara-goransson>.

²⁷ "Mahila Milan," SPARC (2014), accessed June 3, 2016, <http://www.sparcindia.org/aboutmm.php>.

²⁸ Jeff Link, "Public housing like you've never seen: Tatiana Bilbao brings low-cost modular home to Chicago," *op. cit.*

²⁹ "SSNS Annual report 2011-12," SPARC (2014), accessed June 3, 2016, http://www.sparcindia.org/pdf/ssns_annual_reports/SSNS%20Annual%20Report%202011-12.pdf.

³⁰ Pier Vittorio Aureli and Martino Tattara, "Production/Reproduction: Housing beyond the Family," Harvard Design Magazine (2015), accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/41/production-reproduction-housing-beyond-the-family>.

³¹ Sherry B. Ahrentzen, "Choice in Housing," *Harvard Design Magazine* (1999), accessed July 18, 2016, <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/8/choice-in-housing>, 3.

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CONFLICT SITES IN A TIME OF CRISIS: NEGOTIATING A SPACE AND PLACE FOR GYPSIES AND TRAVELLERS

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INTRODUCTION

Within the realm of the ‘politics of home’ the debate on provision and management of sites is often conflict-ridden. The result is a shortage of sites for Gypsies and Travellers to live on, poorer health, educational and employment outcomes. Also observable in the many areas with insufficient site accommodation is an increase of unauthorised encampments and, in parallel, a decline in social cohesion. Conflict arises in social and political discourse on the subject of Gypsy and Traveller sites, for example when a new site might be proposed in plans for an area. This conflict occurs particularly, but not exclusively, when Gypsies and Travellers stop on the roadside, or other public spaces, and create unauthorised encampments. However, there are examples where the complexity of the challenge is acknowledged by a range of organisations and people in one area, and where a more agile approach to problem solving is achieved to move from conflict to inclusion in accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers. This chapter argues that conflict is important in redressing power imbalances, but that better management through negotiation can move the situation on to one of inclusion and accommodation. This contribution will first set out a historical development of the conflict surrounding accommodation for Travellers, to explain the current context of conflict. It then examines a theoretical framework of different perspectives on land use for ‘home’ and the relationship with various notions of home and place; this draws particularly on explanations from Lefebvre’s discussion of perceived and conceived spaces¹ to try and understand the complex challenges and to frame the political and social struggles inherent in site delivery. Finally, the chapter will move from conflict to inclusion by examining some of the findings from a research project funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) which sought to understand the different levels of and conditions for, conflict within Gypsy and Traveller site delivery and management and delivery in order to offer principles on negotiation that may help to people and places relate to one another in a more inclusive way. Some ideas, such as negotiated stopping could achieve lower costs for local authorities and better cohesion for communities; in some cases improved outcomes can be negotiated in order to improve policy, planning, design and delivery of sites.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ACCOMMODATION CONFLICT

There is little accurate data for the population size of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers; they live in most member states of Europe and it is estimated that there are approximately ten million across the continent. The size of Britain's Traveller and Gypsy population is also an estimate, with Council of Europe figures compiled by Liegeois² putting it at between 150,000 and 300,000, with approximately two-thirds now living in settled housing (some through choice but many because there were insufficient sites and continuous evictions forced many to move into houses). Whilst the majority of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers are found in Europe, there are populations of Roma, Gypsies and Travellers throughout the world, but most particularly in the Middle East and the United States of America.

Gypsies were first recorded in British history in 1502 in Scotland and in England from 1514³. Roma populations across Europe are members of the same ethno-social group as British Gypsies, but their ancestors settled in other European countries (mainly in Central and Eastern Europe) earlier in the migration process which started in India and culminated in this population reaching the UK over five-hundred (500) years ago⁴. Gypsies were welcomed by 'commoners' who had work that needed doing and who also wanted entertaining⁵. The church objected to palmistry and fortune telling and the authorities were concerned that because they didn't live in a fixed abode then they were not easy to 'register' for details such as name and date of birth. This lack of governmental control is possibly one of the reasons for the state's treatment of Gypsies and Travellers still today; it is one of the central tensions in the relationship between both the state and Gypsies, and between non-Gypsies ('Gaujos') and Gypsies.

Appleby Fair was registered as a horse trading fair in 1685 and Gypsies from across the country continue to gather every June to trade horses and meet socially. In this aspect, Gypsy culture has been celebrated, but even in this context, to this day, there are debates on policing and crime which detract from this historic cultural event. In 1780 some of the anti-Gypsy laws, introduced in the mid-1500s by Henry V¹¹, started to be repealed, although not all. In 1822 the Turnpike Act was introduced, this meant that Gypsies camping on the roadside were fined⁶. During the Victorian era Gypsies and Travellers were certainly 'othered' in discourse⁷. 1908 saw the introduction of the Children's Act in England which made education compulsory for Gypsy children for half of the year, this was continued in the 1944 Education Act. During the Second World War the Nazis drew up a list of English Gypsies for internment and the holocaust of the Gypsies in Europe is well documented⁸.

In 1960, the *Caravan Sites (Control of Development) Act* caused the closure of many stopping-places used by Gypsies and Travellers as they moved around the country. The *1968 Caravan Sites Act* required local authorities to provide sites for Gypsies in England. Although the Act was never fully enforced and the envisaged post-war network of sites did not come to fruition, it, nevertheless, created the statutory duty of local authorities to provide accommodation on caravan sites for Gypsies residing in or resorting to their areas. In 1993 the Conservative government announced its intention to introduce legislation to reform the *Caravan Sites Act* (1968) and it is from this period in recent history that the shortcomings in legislation and policies contribute particularly to the lack of suitable accommodation today. In 1994, the *Criminal Justice and Public Order Act* repealed many of the legal duties to provide sites. The shortage of Gypsy and Traveller sites in England increased following the abolition of the duty on local authorities to provide sites contained within the Act and the replacement of this duty with *Planning Circular 1/94* which sought to privatise Traveller site provision; but the absence of a duty meant many local authorities chose to ignore this guidance.

The Labour Government, which came to power in 1997, placed a statutory duty on local authorities to assess the accommodation needs of Gypsies and Travellers in the *Housing Act 2004*. The assessment of need fed into regional spatial strategies and determined how many pitches were needed within each authority in the region. *Planning Circular 1/06* obliged local authorities to identify land in their Development Plans appropriate for Traveller sites; but there was very little oversight of the implementation of strategic planning for sites and although there were some successes in delivering Traveller site accommodation, to this day, there are very many local authorities without sites located in their plans.

The Conservative coalition government abolished regional planning bodies and there were further changes in planning legislation and guidance under the National Planning Policy Guidance and more specifically the Planning Policy for Traveller Sites. Revised planning guidance published in 2015 made drastic amendments to the very definition of Gypsies and Travellers in planning law: not recognising those who had ‘settled’ in one place through old-age or of other reasons; even though recognised under equalities legislation as ethnic groups. The Housing and Planning Act in 2016 removed the duty to undertake separate Gypsy and Traveller accommodation needs assessments and there has been concern registered since, that accommodation needs assessment figures are being downwardly revised to reflect a reduction in Gypsies and Travellers recognised under planning law, albeit not an actual reduction in real people needing site accommodation.

Visualising Gypsy and Traveller Sites

Today, Gypsies and Travellers either live in bricks and mortar housing, on private sites, on local authority/ housing association sites, or on the roadside. Some Travellers are settled well in housing and prefer this mode of accommodation, but there are Travellers who tell researchers that they would move back onto a site if sufficient appropriate sites were available. It is thought that approximately one-half to two-thirds of Gypsies and Travellers live in ‘bricks and mortar’ accommodation. The legislation related to planning defines Gypsies and Travellers now according to nomadic habit for work; but equalities legislation recognises the ethnic definition that means a Gypsy is still a Gypsy when living in a house. The conflict over accommodation and sites is inextricably linked to conflict over definitions and identity and the change to the planning definition in 2016 has resulted in great uncertainty and a perceived threat to their very identity.

A number of Gypsies and Travellers are able to provide their own sites, purchase an appropriate piece of land, obtain planning permission, design and build accommodation to suit needs and meet planning conditions. However, as with the wider population there are those who need social housing provision, and it was this particular tenure of site provision that the research analysed in this chapter focused on. Council and housing association sites vary widely in their quality of provision and indeed the JRF research (Richardson and Codona 2016) found the majority of sites were ‘ticking along’ and were adequately maintained, not causing problems for site residents, neighbours or managers. Sites vary in size with the largest site visited as part of the research with over 40 pitches. A pitch is usually a tarmac area with a utility building housing a kitchen, a bathroom and space for white goods and sometimes a seating area. Residents will then provide their own static trailers and touring caravans to house their family as appropriate to age, gender and number of children. As in wider housing stock, some social sites are poorly maintained with the result that the poor physical environment leads to feelings of social neglect by the residents. There are also sites, either new or recently refurbished that

are positively decent places to live, showcasing innovative and sustainable design features and acting as home to satisfied residents.

CONFLICT, SPACE AND IDENTITY

Different aspects of space are the source for conflict in the planning system on any planning applications whether for new homes, wind farms or indeed Gypsy and Traveller sites. Fragmented societies create challenges for planning⁹ and there is a need to recognise difference, understand past trauma and engage in participatory planning processes so that communities get to know each other better. Indeed, Forester¹⁰ makes the point that planning education and training has traditionally neglected skills to tackle conflict and tension in the planning process. Space is contested and it is represented and perceived in different ways – the construction of ‘green belt’ in the mind’s eye of people objecting to plans for new sites, for example, is particularly interesting in the examination and consideration of planning inspectors’ language in their decision making.

Porter¹¹ says:

... the structures of meaning and authorities of truth that give planning agency in the world are drenched in the colonial historiographies, and so the colonial relations of domination and oppression are ever present.

...If planning is a producer of place, what does it claim is worth producing and how is this particular view of the world continually mediated and reconstituted?

There may be an additional consideration that needs to be given particularly to planning in rural areas because of the romanticisation in discourse of ‘green belt’ and the effect that has on those who need to build homes in rural areas. Sturzaker and Shucksmith also examine planning for housing in rural areas and they argue that vested powers and interests can have an effect which increases exclusion:

...an ‘unholy alliance’ of rural elites and urban interests have wielded discursive power to define ‘sustainability’ on their own terms, which exacerbates the unaffordability of rural housing, leading to social injustice and spatial exclusion.¹²

Planning for ‘affordable’ housing is challenging enough in rural areas. When one considers Sturzaker and Shucksmith’s comments in light of the difficulties in planning for Gypsy and Traveller sites in areas particularly where the only available land is in the green belt, it could be considered that Gypsies and Travellers are spatially segregated in liminal spaces on the edge of communities.

Conflict occurs in spaces where there isn’t a common ‘language’. Places where there is no shared understanding of different histories, cultures and races living within, or on the outskirts of, can exacerbate the feeling of strangeness and difference and lead to a lack of empathy which can lead to further conflict. Zygmunt Bauman¹³ recognised how, when neighbours were made to seem ‘other’ and different, that it was easier to acquiesce to discrimination and subsequent horror. Miles Hewstone¹⁴ also demonstrates the need for proximity in his study of ‘contact theory’ as a method to explore better relations between different ethnic groups in a school that was in an area where racial tension had been high. In the context of Gypsy and Traveller accommodation the problems of ‘othering’ and construction of strangeness is at its most stark where land such as the green belt is held by the wider community as ‘sacred’ and that is seen as being under threat when it is used for stopping places or even for permanent sites. A particular ‘them’ and ‘us’ scenario can take hold when there is a wider shortage of affordable housing and where general housing development particularly in urban areas is increasing in density. It can then feel like there is seen to be a fight over dwindling resources, which is exacerbated by the current financial crisis¹⁵. Where communities are struggling to provide sufficient housing that can be accessed by people generally, anything that is seen to be different or provided in a

special case and fuel feelings of resentment and further fuel latent conflict. Local authority councillors can feel trapped in these spaces of conflict and are clearly concerned about the impact of residents' opinions on their ability to retain political power too in some cases. Understanding the motivation behind 'no' to allowing an informal stopping arrangement, or 'no' to supporting a planning application for a new permanent site where it is needed is important to unlocking a less conflicting approach to local planning debates for Gypsy/Traveller sites. 'No' may be explained through a lack of understanding of different groups' claims and aspirations for space and place; tensions in differing perceptions of place and links with cultural histories creates an incoherent conversation in future planning.

Lefebvre¹⁶ examines perceived realms in space. He discusses the need for interconnectedness between 'lived, real and perceived realms' and makes very clear that this concept should not be viewed in the abstract, if its importance is to be retained:

*That the lived, conceived and perceived realms should be interconnected, so that the 'subject', the individual member of a given social group may move from one to another without confusion – so much is a logical necessity. Whether they constitute a coherent whole is another matter. They probably do in favourable circumstances, when a common language, a consensus and a code can be established.*¹⁷

Favourable circumstances for interconnectedness between these realms certainly do not exist in the process and debate surrounding planning policy for Gypsy and Traveller sites. One cannot see evidence of a common language, code or consensus between different groups and individuals living in a particular geographical area and therefore it is unlikely that Lefebvre's conceptual triad can be anything but abstract in the realm of planning policy and decision-making for the use of space in relation to Gypsy and Traveller site provision. Indeed, the language surrounding debate on providing sites is divided and divisive as previous research on the use of discourse to control Gypsy and Traveller issues has shown¹⁸.

These different aspects of space are the source for conflict in the planning system on many planning applications whether for new homes, wind farms or indeed Gypsy and Traveller sites; Lefebvre's analysis of 'contradictory space' touches on the emotional connectedness with space as lived experience, rather than abstract planning policy. He says:

*'Human beings' do not stand before, or amidst, social space; they do not relate to the space of society as they might to a picture, a show, or a mirror. They know that they have a space and that they are in this space. They do not merely enjoy a vision, a contemplation, a spectacle – for they act and situate themselves in space as active participants*¹⁹.

If the lived, real and perceived realms of local residents, councillors and Gypsy/Travellers in an area could find a connected discourse, a shared language, then there is a greater possibility of sharing understandings of the history and culture of places and the people who live there or travel through on a habitual basis. Debates on location in space for Gypsy/Traveller sites can range from the blatantly hostile 'we don't want them anywhere – ever' to more reasoned arguments in 'fairness' of having a site in a particular area. However, 'fairness' of location rarely includes the preferences of Gypsies and Travellers, but rather focuses on discussion of locations that might cause least impact on the wider community. As a result, sites have typically been built in liminal spaces of least resistance, next to railway sidings, rubbish dumps, near sewerage works and under fly-overs – often on the edge of towns, reflecting the perceived otherness in the physical separation.

The perception of space itself is also an emotional consideration. Lefebvre's work shows the connection between human beings and space which prohibits the view of space in an abstract form, because it is lived experience. So, as important as it is to consider reasoning and objective criteria in

conflict resolution approaches, as suggested by Fisher and Ury²⁰, it is also necessary to consider emotions such as fear, in the debate on planning for sites. Forester²¹ challenges: ‘When interests clash, we bargain and negotiate. But when our values conflict, then what?’

Deep conflict goes beyond a single issue such as planning accommodation in an area and starts to delve into strongly held values. Such values may be linked to, for example, the belief that Green Belt is sacrosanct, or they may be linked to perceptions of what other people (for whom the accommodation is planned for) represent. So, for Gypsies and Travellers, there are perceptions that they represent ‘cost and mess’²² when in fact, this is not universally true. There can also be perceptions based on erroneous media representations of the character of Gypsy and Traveller people that fuels fears. There is a viscous circle at work here, because Gypsies and Travellers are seen to be different and strange they are at best afforded sites on the edge of communities and at worst moved on from place to place. Then, because of the exclusion and lack of contact, there is little opportunity for them to be seen as ‘neighbours’ and when new sites are proposed to meet need there is objection because ‘they’re not like us’ and so the distance in space and perceived values grows.

Forester²³ suggests that “... as we differ on basic beliefs... we might still come to agree upon specific practical actions...” Healey²⁴ adds that through mediation and discursive practices people come to understand different points of view, reflect on their own view, and that “... a store of mutual understanding is built up...”. This mutual understanding has yet to manifest in many Gypsy/Traveller planning decisions though, either at strategic or individual planning application level. Kaufman and Smith²⁵ propose that, in conflict over land use, issues are framed and reframed as part of the reconciliation of differences. Reframing the debate, recognising differences in emotional attachment to place and identity, is vital if conflict is to be negotiated and site accommodation provided in the future where necessary.

FROM CONFLICT TO NEGOTIATION

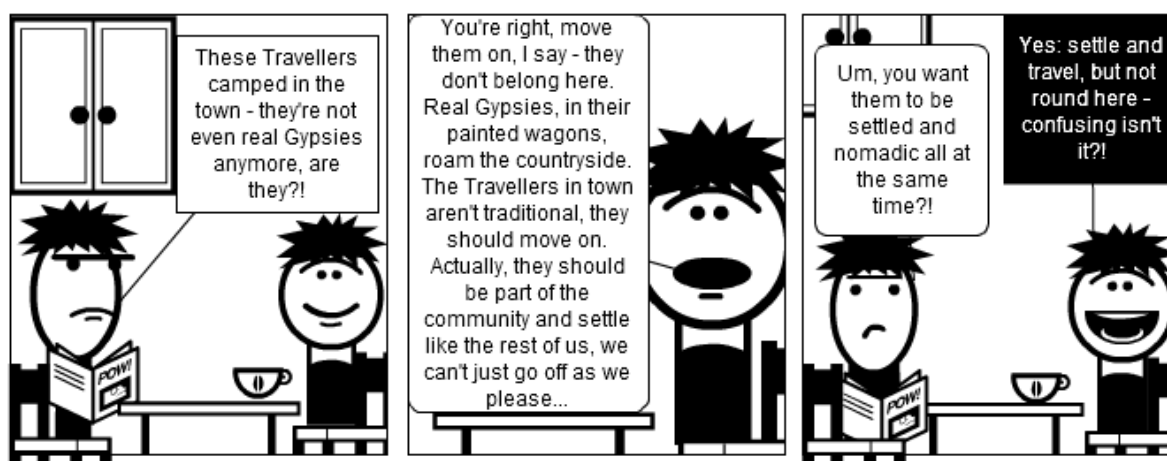
A research project, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, was undertaken by Richardson and Codona²⁶ from 2014 to 2016 to look at site management and delivery and the negotiation of conflict inherent in this. The project included visits to 54 Traveller sites across the UK, interviews with 122 Gypsies and Travellers and with 95 professionals including housing, planning, health, education and police staff. The project found that planning for and managing Gypsy and Traveller sites in the UK is certainly a ‘complex’ challenge, as there are a number of interconnecting strands and multiple places of resistance. There were a number of examples of internal conflict, between different departments of the same council, or between agencies that would normally work together; and this impeded sound management and delivery of Gypsy and Traveller sites. In addition to this there was evidence in some areas of external conflict and objection to plans for new sites from wider community members, neighbours and politicians. The multiple layers of conflict needed identifying first before plans were put in place to communicate, negotiate and resolve management and delivery issues.

The need for communication and negotiation differs according to the type of conflict issue. The word ‘conflict’ was used in the research to encompass a range of actions and emotions – the majority of which is low-level, everyday disagreement. During the course of the 18 months of data collection, the research team came to use the term ‘everyday grind’ for this low-level conflict and indeed when this was reflected back to interviewees as part of the sense-making process there were nods and grumbles that this encapsulated the feeling very well. The research found a number of areas where conflict was evident and the report²⁷ includes examples related to management of social sites, but the key moments in terms of understanding the relationship between people and place, and the perceptions of identity

and place discussed by Lefebvre were (1) planning for new sites and (2) managing existing sites and unauthorised encampments.

Planning for new sites – a political and media battlezone

There is negative media representation of Gypsies and Travellers, not only apparent in programmes like *Big Fat Gypsy Weddings* and articles in the popular press; but also in soft media hostility and marginalisation through ‘under-the-line’ comments on web-based news articles and social media web pages; viral vilification is rife. This exclusion and vilification has been compounded by poor access to services, a lack of political power and exclusion of Gypsies and Travellers from decision-making processes. Alongside this is wider confusion in media and political debate on who Gypsies and Travellers are. This has not been helped by changes to definitions under the 2015 *Planning Policy for Traveller Sites* which does not recognise Gypsies and Travellers who have ceased their nomadic life for health or educational reasons; but who still define as Gypsy or Traveller as their ethnic status under Equalities legislation. This confusion on definition is seen in planning debates amongst professionals, but is also reflected in wider media and public discourse on the issue and which can feed conflict and objection to new site proposals.



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Figure 1: Confusion on definitions

It takes determined political will to support site delivery in the face of hegemonic negative discourse; but there are strong leaders willing to show the way. In research interviews for the project, in an area in the South West, Conservative and Liberal Democrat councillors, who helped to deliver a new site in their area, said of their councillor colleagues in the planning decision making process: ‘Members did what was right rather than what was easy’. The evidence of need was there, the imperative to provide for the residents on the long-standing unauthorised site was there; and the local politicians realised this was the right thing to do. There was a need though for a conflict to exist – in this area there was an unauthorised encampment which caused complaints from local people to councilors; so there was a ‘problem’ and a conflict that needed resolving and the provision of a new site, although the process itself was full of conflict and complaint, was a way of resolving the tension. It is harder to argue for a new site to be delivered when there is not a visible or tangible problem to resolve.

Planning for sites anywhere is challenging, but the objection to plans can be amplified when ‘green belt’ is mentioned. Taking on mythical proportions, communities see this as in need of ‘protection’

adding perceived moral weight to arguments. However, there is a need to untangle the emotional discussions of what green belt means to different parts of communities and to recognise that before abstract and structured designations of land in plans, Travellers have for centuries stopped on common land and green space as part of their nomadic culture. There are emotional connections to historic stopping places that if Gypsies and Travellers were able to safely share their ideas and memories of their conceived and lived space (Lefebvre) this would allow a more meaningful debate for the purposes of perceiving space and planning places for the future.

Managing existing sites

The physical environment, quality of design, and maintenance of infrastructure is important to all housing development, including Gypsy and Traveller sites. Wilson and Kelling²⁸ tell of the impact of ‘broken windows’ to the feeling of community safety and the hazards of leaving breakages unrepaired. The JRF study found that where conflict and dissatisfaction were voiced by site residents, these were more likely to be from sites that were ill-repaired and where residents felt ‘neglected’. There was one particular site in case study one of the study, based on the outskirts of a city with some parts of the site refurbished, but other parts with poor repair, there was a ‘pothole of doom’ which was not repaired for years which became the emblem of neglect for residents and the cause of some low-level conflict and fear. However, there are examples of well-conceived and designed sites where the architects have included green space, environmentally sustainable features and communal areas planned with families in mind. One such new site in the Midlands demonstrated the visual impact of good design, as can be seen in figure 2 below.



Photo taken by Jo Richardson (2016)

Figure 2: Design of new site

Policy designed conflict – unauthorised encampments

One of the most evident spaces of designed-in conflict is in policies on unauthorised encampments and this was found in the JRF study. Insufficient number of sites combined with a policy of bunding-off common land and deep verges that were traditional stopping places leads to unauthorised encampments. Government policy puts a squeeze on more informal transitory stopping on traditional cultural or trade routes and there is an expectation to ‘settle’ whether on authorised sites or in houses. The objection to encampments in green belt areas takes on the feel of a battle for a mythical space which must be protected from settlement, even where this is on an informal and temporary basis, and where this may have been a traditional pattern of travel in an area of centuries.

The traditional model of dealing with unauthorised encampments sees enforcement, eviction and move-on as the norm; and this can create conflict between Gypsy Travellers, police, local authorities and settled residents in a community.

There are different methods of responding to unauthorised encampments (UEs). One is an approach of ‘toleration’ or better: ‘negotiation’; where encampments are in appropriate places and where they are only going to reside for a short period of time. Police guidance on unauthorised encampments sets out how powers should be used, and in the preface, there is an echo of the idea that provision is the best way to reduce UEs. In her preface to the guidance, the lead of the ACPO Gypsy and Traveller Portfolio wrote:

The purpose of the police is to protect people from harm. To this end, this Portfolio will encourage the provision of sufficient accommodation on small, properly managed sites, with access to health, education and all services, which we will police according to need²⁹.

Much of the government guidance has made clear that the best way of preventing UEs and keeping costs down is by being proactive and providing accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers to reside in or stop on for a period of time; however other policies on planning, for example on protecting the green belt conflict with this and create a divisive context for decision making on delivery. Providing an appropriate mix of permanent and transit sites in an area is by far the most expedient method of preventing unauthorised encampments; and negotiation is a more agile and flexible approach to dealing with encampments that do arise in order to ease conflicts.

Where there is not sufficient site accommodation, there will undoubtedly be higher costs associated with UEs – either in cost of clearing after a site if rubbish collection has not been made available, or in legal costs of bringing a case. In areas which engage with residents in UEs and where a period of ‘toleration’ is given, costs can be further reduced to the council if rubbish collection and toilet facilities can be arranged, with a fee payable by the UE residents by negotiation.

There are clearly costs associated with UEs – these are social costs (to the Gypsy and Traveller families themselves and to cohesion with the ‘settled’ community) and financial costs. Morris and Clements³⁰ said:

It is probably safe to assume that the actual figure of £6 million derived from this research could be multiplied a number of times before the real annual cost of managing unauthorised encampments is reached.

The JRF research project examined a policy of ‘Negotiated Stopping’ in one city which, through using negotiation rather than eviction, where appropriate on unauthorised encampments, means there are better social outcomes for Gypsies and Travellers and economic savings made for the public purse. This approach required a great deal of political will and engagement of council staff and Gypsy/Traveller advocates; however more recently this will seems to have diminished because of a harsher political and ideological standpoint, which has interrupted the amplification of this approach

both within and beyond the city. Negotiated Stopping is an approach taken by the police and the council agreeing that where an encampment arises there will be an assessment of whether, if it is in an area that is not hazardous or doing undue harm, that there will be a short period of ‘toleration’ rather than eviction straight away. In adopting an approach that allows real listening and two-way communication there are social and economic benefits. The study team looked at this initiative further and asked for costs from the Traveller team and police, it found a clear business case for a negotiated approach. More importantly, there was a clear social benefit to providing a negotiated approach, offering accommodation in the broadest sense of the term to Travellers and stepping back from conflict to show the possibility of allowing informal use of spaces where it causes no harm. In not moving on and evicting, there is then opportunity for living alongside one another, hearing each other’s connection with places in the locality and accepting and accommodating difference. The potential for this approach to save local authorities money and improve community cohesion could go a long way to redressing some of the resulting from the shortcomings in government policy.

CONDITIONS NECESSARY AND TOOLS FOR NEGOTIATION

The identity of Gypsies and Travellers is wrapped up in the place they live; accommodation on a site, rather than in a house, is inextricably linked to Traveller identity and this has been tested in planning decisions and in the courts. As Lawrence Susskind³¹ remarks, on value conflicts: ‘Compromise... means abandoning deeply held beliefs, values or ideals. To negotiate away values is to risk giving up one’s identity’. So, if Gypsies and Travellers are no longer allowed to travel and use traditional informal stopping places along the way, and if developing an authorised site is blocked by public objection and planning constraints – conflict between travelling and settled people seems inevitable; this is especially true in a new era where the planning definition of Gypsy or Traveller requires nomadism, but where existing legislation, policy and lack of sites prevent travel. John Forester³² suggested not mystifying value differences, “... even in the face of deep value differences, many practical resolutions may be possible, even if – or indeed because – asking parties to change their fundamental beliefs is often *neither* necessary nor relevant to settling the dispute at hand”. Indeed in previous research³³ Richardson found that practical cases could be made to gain political support for site delivery through economic and legal arguments, rather than moral/social (more value-laden) arguments. Nevertheless, experience since that research, a better understanding of the literature and a reading of theorists like Lefebvre suggest that both practical issues and emotional values are both important. Whilst many negotiation approaches suggest separating the issues and values to make practical progress, it is vital first to understand and listen to emotions and values that connect people, identity and place, before we can move on to working through the issues.

The research found a number of conditions present in areas where there was particularly noticeable conflict, two key amongst these were:

1. A crisis or ‘tipping point’;
2. Residents collectively voicing and demonstrating dissatisfaction.

Looking at condition one – the need for a tipping point - the widely reported story of local residents blocking access to a temporary site for Travellers who had recently lost many members of their family in a fire on their site, is one particularly stark example which the research team followed up with a visit to the area and discussed with an advocacy group working with Travellers. The objection of neighbours to the proposed temporary site to house survivors of the Carrickmines site in Ireland, horrified many observers. In addition to the human tragedy, this action seemed at odds with good neighbourliness and understanding from settled residents. It is suggested by those working in the area that part of the hostility stemmed from the fact that Carrickmines itself was supposed to be a

temporary site to house the family following a previous tragedy, but that it had been in place for seven years. Therefore, when the council, following the fire, told neighbouring residents that the proposed site to house families would be a temporary measure, there was a sense of disbelief. Following the blockade of the first proposed temporary site, instead of forcing residents to move their vehicles and let the Travellers move there, the council found an alternative location, away from residential areas, 'near a dump, of course' as one person told the research team. The permanent site which will house the families is, according to the local Traveller Forum, due for completion towards the end of 2017.

In relation to condition two – voiced dissatisfaction - residents demonstrating dissatisfaction, through anti-social behaviour or escalated disagreements manifesting in violence were particularly prevalent in areas where lines of communication weren't open between site managers and residents on existing sites. The 'everyday grind' can build up and dissatisfaction with a site can cause residents to argue with one another over scarce resources which may result in anti-social behaviour, or there can be disagreements and breakdown in working relationships between residents and site managers. In relation to the 'everyday grind' conflict resulting from poor design and process opacity, the tool of 'truth and reconciliation' resonated particularly with one senior officer in one of the case studies when it was mentioned as a conflict resolution method during an interview (perhaps because of the respondent's experience of working in South Africa previously) and he could see how it might be important in this research context re Gypsy and Traveller issues. This would require acknowledgement at least of previous grievances and issues. Where condition two was particularly effective was in areas the collectively voiced dissatisfaction either through a constituted representative group, or through sheer number of complaints on a single issue.

The research team also noted conditions then necessary to engage in negotiation to lead out of conflict. Key amongst these, were:

1. Evidence that adversarial processes cost more than negotiation on unauthorised encampments, such as with the example of negotiated stopping where large annual savings are made. This must also be matched with elected members demonstrating political leadership and being open to evidence along with a willingness to resolve problems, as was seen in Leeds.
2. Strong resident voice, not only through advocacy organisations in an area, but residents on a site taking positive and co-operative action to voice dissatisfaction; but this must also be matched with site resident willingness to work with councils and housing associations, talk with neighbours and offer to be part of a solution.

Conflict resolution and negotiation approaches are useful methods to make headway in the management of existing sites and the delivery of new sites. The methods employ real listening techniques, with an open mind, to all parties, based on issues rather than historic positions; this links to understanding people's perception of space (Lefebvre) and notions of their own identity. This process is not typical currently, with many debates, particularly on new site delivery, being position-based and with patchy consultation and communication.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted some of the key conflicts inherent in the public and political debate on land use, particularly problematic for 'outsider' groups such as Gypsies and Travellers. Through reflection on a theoretical framework focusing on key thinkers such as Lefebvre, it is argued that in order to move on from conflict, the emotional attachment to identity and place must be acknowledged: rational, criteria-based planning debates alone will not work. The key to approaching this is through listening and use of conflict resolution tools which could acknowledge the impact of existing planning policy shortcomings and set the stage for a more negotiated approach to relating people and places to one another in a more cohesive way. Challenges and conflicts tend to occur at all stages of

Gypsy/Traveller related policy, planning for sites and site delivery and management. The study found that conflict can be ‘designed in’ either through ill-conceived policy and legislation or through everyday practices of not repairing existing sites thereby exacerbating a ‘broken windows’ type feeling of neglect. There are particular conditions, found in the research, that need to be present for successful negotiation of conflict and makes some recommendations for policy, planning, design and delivery of Gypsy/Traveller sites; but it can be done. The example of ‘Negotiated Stopping’ is an approach ripe for adaptation across Britain; such new principles of listening and liaising should be integrated into existing policies and actions by local authorities in order to achieve lower costs, better negotiation procedures for talking with Gypsies and Travellers and more cohesive communities. The theoretical framework suggests that before it can be successful and sustainable there must be local debates which recognise the emotional attachments to place and share the histories of people who have travelled through and settled in locations for better shared understanding which will accommodate different attachments to and uses of space.

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ARCHITECTURE OF BIGNESS AND THE CONTEMPORARY HOUSING PROVISION POLICIES IN ISTANBUL

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INTRODUCTION

Housing provision represents one of the major problems almost in all countries due to its importance in establishing a sustainable future. Although political, economical, social and demographic aspects have been always discussed at large, architectural aspects are the least discussed dimension beyond providing the necessary numbers in housing provision. Constructing in large numbers, on the other hand, brings about new architectural problems. With the growing demand, the housing projects become part of large-scale building complexes defined as urban transformation projects. Last decade of housing provision in Turkey accepted as an important part of the construction industry that triggers the economic growth by the ruling governments. This article will try to depict the contemporary housing provision examples of “Big” -or as they are called in Turkey, “mega projects” within the context of urban transformation approaches in İstanbul, evaluating them with Koolhaas' the 'Theory of Bigness'. Also, the consequences on urban environment and housing design in the discipline of architecture will be discussed.

GLOBALISATION IN ARCHITECTURE

The relationship between architecture and power has always become the legitimating of the changing social and economic policies combined with the political realities. The developments parallel to the emerging changes after 90's, like the end of the cold war, advances in digital technologies and communications, change in economic policies have resulted in transformations both in Turkey and the World. Economic boom and expansion have influenced almost all the metropolitan cities, whether close or distant, under the new power relations' network named as 'Globalization'. Interchangeably used with the word neo-liberalism or market economy, 'Globalization' fosters the free flow of capital beyond the national borders and accumulation in selected metropolitan centres with the help of instant exchange of data. Increasing magnitudes in all sectors of life, parallel to the globalization, were the general characteristic of the World in 90's. As Antony Giddens claims, globalization can be defined as: 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa'.¹ Therefore, the embodiment of the accumulated capital in physical space has showed no diversification regarding

context and culture, furthermore, created sameness in urban environments with their large-scale building complexes almost in all metropolitan cities of the World.

The effects of 'Globalisation' was also discussed in Robert J. Shiller's book, "Irrational Exuberance," named after a speech given in 1995 by Alan Greenspan, The Chairman of Federal Reserve Board. Shiller summarized the characteristic of the 90's about the bigness in stock markets. Almost at the same time, in a similar approach as in "Irrational Exuberance," Rem Koolhaas, published his book SMLXL, based on his previous mythic book "Delirious New York" on the architecture of Manhattan. Influenced by the skyscrapers of Manhattan, Koolhaas claimed that globalization, besides many opportunities, redefines both the way architecture is produced, and that which architecture produces. Koolhaas, excepting Manhattan as 'the Rosetta Stone of the 20th Century', defined the city as: 'a product of an unformulated theory- Manhattanism- has come to embody the urbanistic ideology that has fed on the splendours and miseries of the metropolitan condition-hyper density- without losing its faith in modern culture'.²

According to Koolhaas, this hyper density in the Metropolis, needs/deserves its specialized architecture³. Therefore, 'Bigness' is an unavoidable situation in contemporary metropolitan cities and beyond a certain scale architecture acquires the properties of Bigness. Theorizing "the Bigness or the Problem of Large" in his book, Koolhaas has paved the way for significant object- buildings as mainstream in the 90's.

The word 'Bigness' became one of the key concepts in architectural agenda parallel to economic developments of Nations towards the end of 20th Century. The architectural designs of Bigness in the form of glass towers, gated communities, hotels with many stars, the shopping centres and building complexes with functional complexities have spread out, almost in a similar way in all metropolitan cities from London to Dubai, from Beijing to Paris.

As in other globalizing cities, integrating to transnational networks, İstanbul has also lived a building boom after 90's. After Justice and Development Party (AKP) won parliamentary elections in 2002, a new process of reconstructing of the space and financialization of real estate has begun. Since it has been thought to play a pivotal role in the growth of the economy, ruling governments have directly involved in the construction industry with the new legislative arrangements that have vastly influenced the architecture and urban design practices in Turkey. Especially after 2003, a new era of construction boom started with the enhancements of legislative arrangements facilitated by the neo-liberal economic policies of the Government claiming to lessen the damage after a possible prospective earthquake in İstanbul. After 2004, 'Bigness' has become the common characteristic in architectural design of the buildings constructed for the purpose of housing provision.

TOKI: HOUSING PROVISION AGENCY IN TURKEY

Turkey, with a young population (about 77.7 million inhabitants with a median age of 30.7 years at end-2014), is a rapidly urbanizing country. While the rate of those residing in urban centres was 77,3% in 2012, today 91,3% of the total population resides in city centres with the significant effect of the establishment of metropolitan municipalities.⁴ The construction sector's importance comes from the increasing need and demand for housing in a rapidly urbanizing country.

TOKİ - (Housing Development Administration) which is the leader official institution of Turkey in terms of dealing with housing and settlement issues has been effective in developing housing technology and housing finance from 1984 on. The establishment of TOKI coincides with the neo-liberal restructuring of the economy in Turkey which has started as early as the mid- 1980's, as one of the earliest cases of neo-liberal restructuring associated with the rise of the 'Washington Consensus'.

After 2003, with the aim of starting a planned urbanization and housing leap, new regulations have been organized gathering several related mechanisms under a single roof. The duties and authorities of TOKİ have been increased in regard to housing production and decision-making mechanism. Therefore, TOKİ has become one of the significant actors in the construction industry. Extremely empowered with the new regulations, TOKİ's share in housing provision, which had been only 0.6 % between 1984 and 2002, rapidly rose to 24.7% in the year 2004.⁵

Five challenges have been defined for housing provision among the duties of TOKİ.

1. Housing demand for increasing population,
2. Housing projects for the betterment of conditions of the existing gecekondu areas created illegally at the peripheries of urban centres as a result of the rapid urbanization process in the 1950s'.
3. The social housing provision due to the housing need of the middle and low-income groups and the poor citizens.
4. The reconstruction of existing housing stock in structurally safe conditions since Turkey has been a disaster-prone area.
5. The necessity of new housing due to the age and quality of the existing housing stock.
6. According to the data of Turkish Statistical Institute, the total number of buildings throughout Turkey is approximately 20 million, and 40% of these buildings are shanty, and 67% lack settlement permit.⁶ It is estimated that within the prospective 20 years approximately 6,7 million housing units shall be demolished and reconstructed throughout the country.⁷

As a result, besides the empowerment of TOKİ as an important agent of the public sector in housing provision, the private developers have also been encouraged to participate in the construction sector.

HOUSING PROVISION POLICIES AND URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECTS

Although being one of 'the hottest destinations for property investors in Turkey'; and the 'rising star' of the entire Middle East for real-estate and property investors towards the end of 20th century, İstanbul entered 21st century with a very limited number of mega projects for housing provision.. On the other hand, several legal arrangements made after 2004, parallel to the neo-liberalist policies of the ruling government and the belief in the pivotal role of construction industry in economic development, have paved the way for private developers to initiate the 'mega projects'.. Due to these legal arrangements making the construction sector advantageous for private developers, the increasing pace of construction investments resulted in the extensive development of large-scale high-rise building complexes beyond small scale private enterprises in housing provision after the year 2004. Subsequently, almost every day a new mega project, named as urban transformation project, added to the urban environment on both sides of Bosphorus. Although all these mega projects are named as the 'urban transformation' projects, not all of them are the same in terms of the issues of the urban development and urban change in urbanization processes. An apparent difference comes out from the contextual differences and the related interpretations of the concept of urban transformation.

The urban transformation can be defined as the concept of comprehensive vision and action that resolves urban problems, and attempts to provide a permanent solution for economic, physical, social, environmental of an area that has undergone a number of changes.⁸ The concept also includes to bring permanent improvement to the areas creating problems like the derelict industrial areas, evacuated central city areas, or as in İstanbul, illegally developed squatter settlements. On the other hand, the approaches in the urban transformation projects show a variety of differences according to the urban problems which needs improvement within the agenda of urban planning. The urban transformation projects in İstanbul can be classified basically under two headings according to the context they are

realized: Regeneration-based Urban Transformation and (Re) Development-based Urban Transformation.⁹

Regeneration-based Urban Transformation Projects

In this type of urban transformation projects, existing urban areas having economic and functional potential, like derelict industrial areas at city centres, docklands, inner city stadiums and even the publicly owned green areas have been either allocated or sold to private investors with changes in the category of plan notes to construct mega housing projects. These promotion based profit -oriented mega projects resulting in privatization of public land, have generally constructed as 'image- oriented', 'luxurious', 'high exchange value' buildings. Together with the increased construction area per sq m or increase in allowable number of storeys based on legal changes, the buildings become out of scale and disproportionate with the surrounding urban pattern and particularly, in relation to the human scale. Despite the oversized massing of these towers and the increase in number of the units, the floor area of housing units in these mega projects are getting smaller, therefore the number of households and the densities per area increase.

Regeneration-based Urban Transformation Projects concentrate on urban regeneration as well as reconstruction, redevelopment, restructuring and land-use change in areas where the preference and affordability is higher by the high-income groups. This, on the other hand, creates a polarization and disintegration between the social groups within the City.

One of the earliest examples of these type of regeneration-based urban transformation projects (but the most debated one today) is Four Winds Residence¹⁰ in İstanbul. The project designed on a very prestigious site (with an area of 44.000 m²) owned by the Regional Directorate of Meteorology in Göztepe, Kadıköy, sold to a private construction agency on a *flat-for-land* basis by the Ministry of Finance. Disclosed in 2004, the project was constructed with the permissions of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality against the objections of the District Municipality of Kadıköy (Anatolian side of İstanbul). The permission also includes the increase in height and the ratio of floor-area therefore having a 49 storey high blocks of four towers overlooking other buildings.

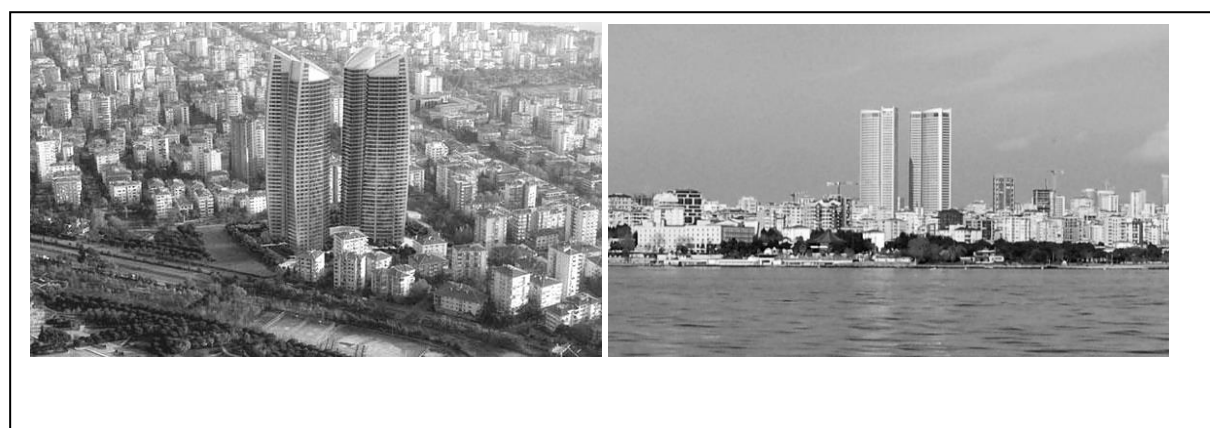


Figure 1. Four Winds Residence: Architecture of Bigness and Regeneration-based Urban Transformation with 'Mega Projects'

Second example of the Regeneration-based Urban Transformation Projects is Zorlu Center disclosed in 2007. .This project realized on a public land that was sold to private developers by a process of competitive bidding. The project includes commercial and cultural spaces as well as the Residence. In

terms of Koolhaas' 'theory of bigness', Zorlu Center is the first example to have the complexity of programs with the total construction area of 102.000 m². It is composed of a base structure consisting of shopping mall and cultural centre, and four tower buildings comprising residence, hotel and offices of 25 storey high.. As a high density, high rise building complex, this is the biggest privatization project of an invaluable public land through selling the flats to private owners for high prices even beyond the affordability of upper middle -income families.

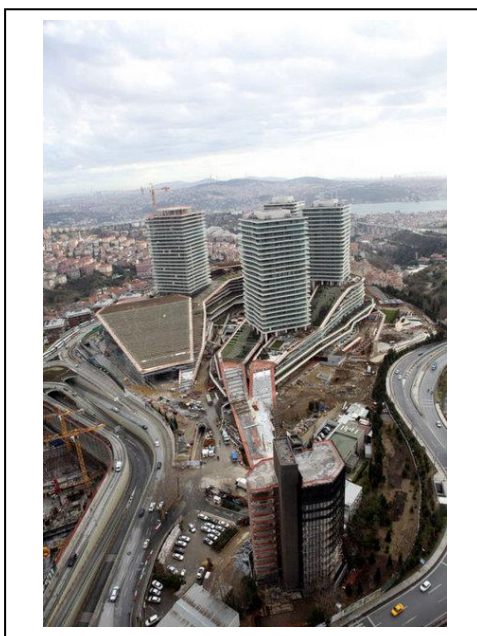


Figure 2. Zorlu Center, Architecture of Bigness and Regeneration-based Urban Transformation with 'Mega Projects'

The third example of this group is Torun Center and Quasar which are again privatization projects through the change of plan codes of publicly owned sites. Together with a derelict historical liqueur factory, a football stadium is sold to private developers by TOKİ on the basis of shared profit with a flat-for-land. This site, despite being one of the most crowded and densely populated area with the problems of accessibility and parking, created a real profit for the developers and TOKİ, again due to the changes in height and permitted floor area ratios in plan codes.



Figure 3. Torun Center and Quasar Buildings: Regeneration through Privatization of Public Lands on the Basis of Shared Profit of TOKİ and the Municipality.

Basically, being a restructuring, deregulating and privatization process on high-exchange value sites, these urban transformation projects have been developed as the triggering engine to the economy parallel to the neo-liberal policies of the ruling government by the private developing agencies. On the other hand, the empowered public agent TOKİ's contribution to public housing has been in the form of mass housing for middle income groups at the periphery of the City with the consequences of unplanned urban sprawl on green public lands. ¹¹

(Re)Development-based Urban Transformation

This type of urban transformation projects have been developed mostly for the processes of the legalization of illegally developed squatter/gecekondu areas or devastated and/or deteriorated urban spaces in the city. Illegally-owned public lands in gecekondu areas have been either sold to occupiers or developed through the housing projects with the legal arrangements like the change of land-use plans. When the land has been sold to private developers for housing, the occupiers, if they cannot afford buying the newly built houses, are asked to move to other places.

The first example of (Re)Development-based Urban Transformation is Ayazma project. Disclosed to public in 2004 with the introduction by the Mayor of İstanbul as 'the greatest of the world', the project covers an area of 1.378.000 m² illegally settled area with shanty dwellings. Project is again a privatization of a public land (illegally occupied) through a shared profit base of District Municipality, Greater Metropolitan Area Municipality, TOKİ and the private developers.

The second example is the one of the latest urban transformation projects disclosed in 2010. Fikirtepe is an urban transformation project for the squatter settlement/ gece-kondu area. The settlement, developed at the periphery of the city once, now occupies the most precious site very near to central housing areas in Anatolian site. Covering an area of 1.310.000 m² is without a coherent plan, divided to plots and similar to regeneration-based urban transformation projects, each plot was sold to different private developer. Instead of transforming the environment through a rehabilitation and restructuring process for the legalization of the existing ownerships, settlers who are mostly of low income group, either sold their lands (although some of the settlers reacted at the beginning) or proposed to move to other cheaper houses built by TOKİ. Therefore, a profit oriented approach with increased ratios of built- area on each parcel, Fikirtepe become the new arena for the private developers of the neo-liberal policies.



Figure 4. Ayazma: (Re) Development of Gecekondu settlement through 'Mega Projects' of İstanbul.



Figure 5. Fikirtepe: (Re) Development of Gecekondu settlement through 'Mega Projects' of İstanbul.

Focusing on urban upgrading and socio-economic restructuring, (Re)Development-based Urban Transformation become mostly gentrification projects instead of being renewal, revitalization, rehabilitation projects.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that with the numbers given by TOKI, real estate investments and construction of large-scale projects in housing are a crucial necessity, not only for the economic importance of construction industry, but also for the well-being of urban settlers. Nevertheless, their adverse spatial, environmental and social effects have to be taken into consideration since they are also of crucial importance.

When they are analyzed in terms of their common architectural characteristics, especially in terms of Koolhaas's 'Theory of Bigness', their 'monumentality', 'hybridity', 'self-sufficiency' are the most important issues. These issues have to be taken into consideration since housing provision is not only providing houses in large amounts but also a sustainable housing environments for the coming generations.

Common Architectural Characteristics and the Consequences of Mega Housing Projects

Monumentality: Since these mega projects are mostly an accumulation of the large number of housing units stacked tightly to increase the rent, they are getting higher and higher with larger massive geometries creating an alienation with their environment within the existing fabric.. Competing with each other with their sizes they have adverse effects not only on the spatial structure of the City of İstanbul, but also they disturb the skyline, therefore, the age-old identity of the City. These large-scale buildings terrorize their environment by size, even suppressing the scale of minarets. Once the city of sacred towers like minarets, İstanbul became the city of towers representing the economic policies not the architectural tastes. If 'Bigness' is indispensable, these big buildings do not have to be dispersed in the urban pattern of the City. Therefore, the role of contextual characteristics must be taken into consideration in urban transformation projects.

Hybridity: All of these 'image- oriented', 'luxurious', 'high exchange value' buildings have complex programmatic contents, including shopping malls, sports facilities, offices, housing, etc.. Since the architects have less power and become less active in the realization process of these large scale buildings, the designs of them are mostly questionable. Hence, most of these buildings are "creating an artificial strangeness as a strategy for architectural attention from the public".¹² with their exaggerated features or hybridity, they become Frankensteins of architecture.

Self-Sufficiency: Although Koolhaas appoints the big buildings as a social condenser, 'a machine to generate and intensify desirable forms of human intercourse'¹³ unfortunately, it's hard to think of these new mountains and densities as 'congestion of culture'. These are the mountains of rent opportunities of capitalist investment policies and they are the spots of consumption.

These large-scale building complexes in İstanbul limits the life into the buildings and destroy the life in-between spaces of the buildings. In a way, they assert a control over social life as Panopticon that also fosters the segregation in society. They prevent the mobility and communication of the urban bodies (humans, cars,etc.) delimiting the social spaces, their connections and communications with the existing urban pattern.

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HOUSING NARRATIVES OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN ISTANBUL

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INTRODUCTION

Syrians in Turkey experience a limbo situation due to their legal status and ambivalent trajectory of the state's integration policy. Having been perceived and claimed as 'guests' since the beginning of the crisis in 2011, Syrians who fled to Turkey have been granted temporary protection in 2014, after the enactment of Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) and related directorate.¹ Following the new legislative framework, the perception of Syrians as 'guests' by the host community has partially changed, and contentious integration attempts and policies have come to the agenda of the government. They have been granted some rights in the fields of health, education, and working; however, settlement policy and housing conditions of Syrians have never laid on the table by the authorities. At present Syrians are vulnerable in the housing market, and they are exposed to various means of emotional and economic exploitation.

This paper is structured twofold. In the first part, I will (re)frame the context. Within this scope, first I will give an overview of the legal perspective of refugee status in Turkey, their rights and political agenda that have an effect on refugees' state of precarity. Then I will address the Syrian crisis concerning the perception of refugees by the host community and finally draw on Turkish housing policy for refugees and their sheltering conditions in Istanbul particularly. In the second part, I will share the findings of an ongoing qualitative inquiry carried out with Syrian refugees from different socio-economic strata who dwell in various neighborhoods of Istanbul, with the aim of unfolding their experiences about housing access and revealing their survival tactics.

Refugee Status in Turkey: Legal Perspective

Turkey signed 1951 Refugee Convention, with both geographical and time limitation as indicated in Article B(1)A and then in 1967 while signing its Protocol on the legal status of refugees, removed time limitation but retained geographical limitation.² After relying on secondary legislations to deal with migration for a long time, Turkey drafted a comprehensive law and approved Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) (6548) in the parliament in April 2013 which still maintains geographical limitation to the 1951 UN Convention and its 1967 Protocol.³ Geographical limitation policy provides that only refugees from the European countries can be recognized refugee status. Yet Turkey is the only country that applies this restriction and make a difference between European and

non-European refugees.⁴ Syrian refugees, on the other hand, have been provided temporary protection status in 2014⁵ based on the law no 6458 (Law on Foreigners and International Protection) (LFIP) entitling them certain rights regarding health, education, and access to working. LFIP also included the establishment of Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) as the central authority in charge of all aspects of the refugee crisis.⁶ LFIP was an important step in terms of formalizing the ‘ad hoc protection regime’⁷ as defined by Hoffmann and Samuk, which took place between 2011 and 2014, and furthermore paved the way for rethinking about the future of refugees in Turkey and community response.

Besides, temporary protection regime had brought with it some restrictions on the side of the refugees. Under temporary protection, they don’t have the right to claim international protection or to become ‘mandate refugees’ and seek resettlement in third countries. They are not ‘full-fledged refugees’ due to Turkey’s commentary of geographical limitation and may not expect to obtain citizenship, even to reside in the country in the long term.⁸ LFIP and following directorate has been criticized for falling short in terms of granting refugees their legal rights and for ascribing unlimited freedom to government agencies about lives and future of refugees.⁹ It has not removed the ambiguity of future for Syrians and the prevalent ‘precarity of place’¹⁰ which also affects their sense of belonging.

Refugee Rights and Political Condition in Turkey

Turkey organized an efficient disaster management system and wanted to keep a close control over all aspects of crisis without sharing the responsibility with international actors. Registration of refugees was a significant and challenging task for this aim. They have been registered in various centers (especially in the borders) with an electronic system using biometric registration data and only registered refugees were provided services offered by the state.¹¹ But still, some refugees prefer to stay in the gray zone and avoid registration. They cannot claim for rights and services provided by the state.

Registered refugees are given Identity Cards. Once they have it, Syrians have free access to health services in their registration areas.¹² Since September 2014 Syrians have also access to all levels of education in Turkey¹³ but the schooling ratio of children of Syrians especially girls is yet very limited (37 % in 2015-16 academic year).¹⁴ On 2016 a new regulation entitled ‘Regulation on Provision of Work Permits for People Under Temporary Protection’ have been enacted according to which ‘registered refugees who lived in Turkey for at least six months can apply for work permit in the province they are registered.’¹⁵ Apparently, after the provision of emergency services in the first place - that would help refugees to survive, such as the supply of camps, food, cash, and free health services - Turkey is now focusing on education and labor in the next phase for the initial steps of integration.

The method of integration and its potential consequences is a sensitive matter for Turkish society. Turkey has been an emigrant country for years; starting from 1961 onwards had sent guest workers to Germany and other European countries. Thus, Turkey has been a side of the debates on the relationship between ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ and criticized European Union Countries, mainly German authorities for the scope of their ‘integration policies.’¹⁶ Within that context, article 96 of LFIP intentionally uses the term ‘harmonization’ instead of ‘integration.’¹⁷ Apparently, this conscious choice for terminology addresses the sensitivity and determination of Turkey in respecting the cultural identity of Syrian refugees. Moreover, it is consistent with the approach embraced by the Turkish government in policy making that offers flexibility to Turkish authorities at the local and regional level in the application of laws, such as turning a blind eye to the informal inclusion of Syrians to the labor market. Hoffmann and Samuk name this flexible approach as ‘unplanned pragmatism.’¹⁸ The

spontaneous acts of the government in responding to crisis and unexpected problems in the emergency phase might have worked efficiently. Moreover, it might have helped the capacity building¹⁹, of Turkey to cope with immigration. However, in this new phase of the migration crisis, this flexible channel should be supported with deliberate, decisive and participatory approaches for developing integrative policies in the long term including the settlement and housing of refugees.

Syrian Crisis and Perception of Syrian Refugees by the Host Community

Turkey from the beginning of Syrian crisis sustained an open-border policy.²⁰ Officially this system still continues, however starting from spring 2015, Turkey began closing the borders intermittently due to security reasons.²¹ According to AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management Authority of the Republic of Turkey) since the first Syrian influx to Turkey in April 2011, the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey has reached to 3 million.²²

Syrian refugees have been considered as 'guests' both by policy makers and by the public until 2014. Apart from traditional hospitality reflex and humanitarian support, they were almost treated invisible by the people, academics, and authorities. This perception partially sustains. However, yet on the grounds of prolonged conflict/war in Syria, contingent problems Turkey may face in the future surrounding the refugee integration have come into question.

Turkish people so far did not have a significant conflict with Syrians and did not develop xenophobic attitudes towards them mostly because they considered Syrians as 'guests.'²³ Besides, public opinion surveys reveal that Turkish people are not very content about granting citizenship to Syrians; they are not keen on coming across with Syrians in their immediate living environments,²⁴ and they are not willing to rent their properties to refugees.²⁵ Despite the appreciation of Turkey's open border policy due to humanitarian reasons, most Turks prefer refugees to be kept in the camps or provision of special places for them to live.²⁶ Syrians, on the other hand, choose to live in cities for job opportunities and to begin a new life, to settle and survive.²⁷ The changing apprehension of the Syrian refugee crisis from temporary to permanent might create more tension on the side of the host community, especially in urban areas, unless sensitive and comprehensive integration policies are developed.

Sheltering Conditions of Refugees in Turkey

At the moment, there are 26 camps in 10 provinces²⁸ of Turkey run by The Turkish Disaster Response Agency (AFAD) which host approximately 10 % of refugees in the frontier regions.²⁹ Since 2015 in tandem with the restriction of access from the borders, AFAD is involved in the building of camps on the Syrian and Iraqi side of the frontier which implies the creation of a safe zone that had repeatedly been declared by Turkish authorities.³⁰ Currently, 90 % of the Syrian refugees live out of camps. Among the cities that host a maximum number of refugees, Istanbul holds the second place hosting 394.556 Syrians.³¹

Syrian refugees are vulnerable in the housing market, and they are exposed to severe neoliberal urban renewal policies. The local officials (mukhtars) in neighborhoods are involved in food distribution and cash assistance, however, there are no welfare provisions with regards to the housing. Hence Syrians are dependent on their savings³² or mostly informal incomes. Depending on their financial situation, some are temporarily accommodating in abandoned houses to be demolished in urban renewal areas in crowded numbers, some gather in comparatively cheaper neighbourhoods in search for solidarity also creating the risk of ghettoization, and some are considered as novel actors/potential buyers that would stimulate the construction market in Turkey as the impetus for economic growth. According to Baban

et al., interviews with refugees in Istanbul and Kilis reveal that ‘most Syrians live in overcrowded houses, flats, and makeshift arrangements, such as tents, decayed buildings, wedding halls, barns or abandoned prison sites.’ Moreover, they spend almost all their income for rent, and they pay more than local tenants.³³ Syrian refugees enter the market without any official briefing and desperately seek appropriate places to live. Lack of instructive support as well as disregard of housing assistance from social welfare policies, cause an increase in rents and scarcity of accommodation, especially in the frontier cities.³⁴ Arı asserts that Syrians in relatively better economic conditions prefer Istanbul³⁵ and in the absence of an organized and official settlement policy, they aim at creating and making use of their solidarity mechanisms. Hence, we witness the clues of ghettoization of Syrians in Istanbul. Majority of Syrians in Istanbul live in Fatih (İskenderpaşa and Sulukule neighborhoods), followed by Başakşehir (Başakşehir and Kayabaşı neighborhoods), Küçükçekmece (Halkalı neighborhood), Esenyurt, Sultangazi, Bağcılar and Sultanbeyli, each hosting more than 20.000 Syrian refugees.³⁶

An Overview of Refugee Housing in Turkey

A Refugee Housing Service (Göçmen Konutları Koordinatörlüğü) was established in Turkey in 1990 following the massive migration wave from Bulgaria for sheltering and housing families of Turkish origin, and its duty was transferred to TOKI (Mass Housing Administration) in 2004.³⁷ Between 1989-1990 more than 300.000 refugees of Turkish origin had migrated to the country and Turkey granted them citizenship immediately.³⁸ On the need, 23.495 housing units had been completed in 17 provinces and 23 towns in Turkey. TOKI conducted the coordination and delegation of housing units³⁹; arranged and pursued the mortgage contracts, payments, and assignment of title deeds.⁴⁰ Apart from Bulgarian Turks, TOKI had also provided housing for Ahıska Turks in various cities upon enactment of law on acceptance and sheltering of Ahıska Turks in 1992.⁴¹ The general legislative framework for granting permanent settlement to persons of ‘Turkish descent and culture’ was enacted in 2006.⁴² In line with that, TOKI so far provided refugee housing for only refugees of Turkish origin. However on July 11th, 2016, President of Turkey, Erdoğan indicated the studies about the itinerary of allocating citizenship to demanding Syrians and made a statement such as ‘let’s settle Syrians to some locations in our country, TOKI has empty housing units.’⁴³ The part of his speech about harsh living conditions of refugees proved that state authorities were aware of the housing problems of Syrians in Turkey.⁴⁴ However, Erdoğan did not give any details about how to provide or allocate these units to refugees. His statement has launched a debate in the media about the itinerary of settling refugees to TOKI houses; either through a mortgage system by debiting them or giving these units for free within the framework of Housing Code (İskan Kanunu) and followed by confronting declarations from various actors.⁴⁵ Erdoğan’s statement has been strongly criticized by the opposition parties especially Republican People’s Party (RPP). RPP accused Erdoğan and Justice and Development Party (JDP), for creating a new channel to sell the unsold units of TOKI, stimulating the construction sector that appears to be the backbone of the Turkish economy and making room for advocate contractors of the ruling party.⁴⁶ It is important to state that government and local municipalities do not take a role in the rental housing market in Turkey and there is no social housing policy devoted to its citizens as recognized in Europe. TOKI produces comparatively affordable housing units (mostly in the outskirts of cities) for lower income groups upon reasonable prices but does not provide rental units. Hence, such a promise as well as the prospect of granting citizenship to Syrians have drawn the reaction of Turkish people and created the risk of rising xenophobia. The discussion remained in suspense due to the coup attempt just four days after president’s statement.

AN INQUIRY ON HOUSING NARRATIVES OF REFUGEES IN ISTANBUL

In this second part of the paper, after explaining the methodology and limitations of the research, I will share the findings of an on-going inquiry which aims at unfolding the problems, survival tactics, and expectations of Syrian refugees about housing access, mobility, housing futures and policy making.

Methodology

The findings of the inquiry are based on two focus group interviews each composed of 5 participants except for the researcher, a Syrian translator and a Syrian architect competent in Arabic and English who helped in technical and professional terminology. Syrian translator has also participated the research as an interviewee in the first group. The presence of translators from the same nationality who went through similar experiences stimulated the discussions and made the interaction among the participants of the group more interactive and fluid. The interviews have been carried out in their workplaces.

In total 10 Syrian refugees from various educational backgrounds aged between 20-40 participated the research. Participants live in different neighborhoods of Istanbul; Beylikdüzü, Esenyurt, Fatih, Bayrampaşa, Ümraniye, Gaziosmanpaşa, and Kocamustafapaşa. All the participants were from a media company owned by a Syrian entrepreneur and broadcasting in Arabic for Syrians. Hence, they were all very updated about political developments regarding Syrian refugees in Turkey, their legal status, rights and were relatively well informed about housing problems of Syrian people. On the other hand, this ongoing research has some limitations at present. First, findings of the qualitative inquiry – so far conducted focus group interviews- are based on a limited sample of people who work in the same company, hence share similar experiences. Second, only one of the participants was female which makes the findings falling short concerning the experiences of the woman, especially singles/single parents about housing access. Harsh working and living conditions of Syrians and language barrier which necessitates component translators make arranging focus group interviews rather difficult. Thus, the next phase of the research will continue with individual interviews with various stakeholders (Syrian refugees, real estates, local municipality officers).

Findings

Given the limitation of space, this paper does not cover all findings but addresses the themes such as housing access, mobility, housing futures and policy making that would stimulate the discussion on the housing problems of Syrian refugees and their integration to host community.

Housing Access

The findings of focus group interviews manifest that there are many problems that Syrians encounter regarding housing access. First, interviews reveal the risk of getting laid and be subject to a collaborative fraud of brokers and real estates while looking for a house. Apparently, some actors (landowners, real estates, mediators) in the market profit over Syrians and exploit their situation like doubling the price of rentals and non-refunding the insurance. The most frequently stated problem in housing access appeared as being Syrian, namely the perception and discrimination of Syrian refugees. They suffer from being treated as 'guests,' 'tourists,' transient people in the country. Sometimes they encounter with sudden rent increases; homeowners ask double or more insurance for the house and 3 to 6 months' rent in advance. On the other hand, some Syrian refugees claimed that they have a bad reputation as tenants on the side of Turkish homeowners and real estates due to some conflicts experienced in time like the early abandonment of the house and maintenance problems. Some

participants said that they encountered with reactions of locals in some neighborhoods in the renting process and treated rudely. According to observations of some participants, even the homeowners due to reactions of neighbors give up renting their houses to Syrians because they do not want to deal with such problems. I believe these challenges give way to the ghettoization of Syrians in particular districts in Istanbul where they start building up solidarity mechanisms.

Participants also mentioned about the imbalance between the quality/conditions of the house and the rents. Another problem declared regarding housing access is the lack of legal papers. Those who do not have legal documents ask the help of their relatives and friends to be able to rent a house. One common problem claimed by the participants of both meetings is the lack/deficiency of law protecting the tenants (mainly Syrian tenants). It is worth mentioning here that even though, the clauses of Turkish Obligations code about tenants have been improved for the benefit of tenants in 2012, the execution of those clauses have been canceled to 2020 with a last-minute decision. One participant said that technical description of the house for rent is essential to overcome conflicts in the process. Even after renting the house Syrian refugees come up with some problems. One issue that came up in both focus group meetings is putting out the Syrian tenant in the short term due to some familial excuses such as 'my son is getting married, and he is going to live in this house.' Concerning security, the female participant whose house has been robbed claimed about the ignorance of police officers towards refugees. Under these circumstances, it might be significant to infer that some Syrian tenants feel unprotected by law and security forces.

Mobility

It is evident that in the first months following their arrival, Syrian refugees' mobility is quite high. Most of the participants declared that they stayed in the houses of friends and relatives and meanwhile gathered information about how to proceed. Some addressed their psychological need for feeling settled, and that's why they don't want to move. Also, few participants associated the decision of changing house with new risks of exploitation, such as the risk of coming across with people who profit over Syrians.

Housing Futures

Regarding housing futures, the participants were not very hopeful. On account of excessive prices of properties, most of them think it is impossible to own a house in Turkey, and some declared that it is not a priority in these circumstances. Some claimed that they would not prefer to own a house on account of contingencies, due to the necessity of replacement or risk of displacement. Apparently, the ambiguity of the future and their situation as people under temporary protection prevent them making long-term plans for housing. The initial expectation of participants concerning housing access seems to be equal treatment. They agreed on the fact that the most important reason that makes Syrians risk their lives to reach European countries is that limbo situation they experience in Turkey, the uncertainty of their future and legal status. Some participants mentioned the belief among Syrians that even though they would go through some challenging/compelling processes, at the end there is the possibility of a resident permit and citizenship in the long term which would also pave the way for access to decent housing.

Policy Making

Regarding policy making, the participants made some suggestions. First of all, in both meetings, the necessity of state control has been the focus of discussion for protecting the rights of Syrian people as

tenants. Such state control would be at least deterrent and prevent profit making over Syrians and decrease the cases of frauds. Another common advice was the provision of an administrative service that would guide Syrians in their arrival, give information and advice about housing opportunities and provide support in their search for decent housing. One participant proposed provision of camps/compounds within the city for newcomers and people would move from the in-city camps/compounds as soon as they find better housing opportunities. However, this proposal has not been supported by the other participants. They also addressed the crucial role of language education that would stimulate the dialogue between the tenants and homeowners and eliminate mediators who profit from the situation. Also, the necessity of juridical revisions has been discussed. Participants declared the need for the review of the law that protects the rights of tenants (mainly Syrian tenants) and law about property sales to foreigners. Some claimed that the government is aware of the existing problems, but authorities are reluctant to solve them.

CONCLUSION

Turkey seems to move towards integration in this second phase of the refugee crisis. Evidently, after the emergency phase, the authorities are focusing on integrating Syrians to labor market and education system. Housing/dwelling conditions of Syrians which is a crucial aspect of social welfare is not on the agenda for now. However, it is impossible to consider labor policies independent of settlement and housing policies. Extensive research shall be conducted to find out regions and provinces where refugee workforce is required and where real estate market might respond efficiently to refugees. If Turkey is willing to actualize a rights-based approach, developing a settlement and housing policy seems compulsory for the ‘harmonization’ of Syrians in the long-term. Turkey urgently needs a social housing policy, particularly tenancy alternatives addressing both refugees and low-income Turkish citizens so as to prevent racist and exclusionary public response. Besides, the respectful attitude towards cultural identity brought forward with the use of ‘harmonization’ instead of ‘integration’ in official documents could also be materialized by allowing refugees participate decision-making processes about their living environments.

Current policies in Turkey give the hints of refugee consideration as being new actors in the housing market that would stimulate the construction sector both as tenants, buyers, and cheap working force; and ensure the growth of the construction industry which operates as the backbone of the Turkish economy. At present, in the absence of refugee settlement and housing policy, local authorities and NGO’s should even take more responsibility to eradicate the prejudices of Syrians and host community, to initiate and foster dialogue and to prevent exploitation of refugees. Apparently, to cope with ongoing neoliberal housing policies and to improve housing/living conditions of Syrian refugees, Istanbul and the other host cities need more initiatives and social innovation ideas/operations to enable dialogue oriented regional and provincial mechanisms.

NOTES

¹ Even though they cannot be referred to as registered refugees according to existing legal framework in Turkey, they will be called as 'refugees' in that paper since there is no consensus in existing literature for the use of an alternative (terminology) that define their particular status. Escapes, asylum seekers, refugees are among the terms used by a variety of scholars and refugee is the most common term also preferred by institutions including UNHCR.

² Burak Gümüş and Deniz Eroğlu, "Partial Integration of Syrian 'Escapes' Under the Rule of Turkey's Justice and Development Party (JDP)," *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 8:4 (2015):470, accessed June 22, 2016, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17550912.2015.1080965>.

³ Gümüş and Eroğlu, "Partial Integration of Syrian 'Escapes'," 471.

⁴ Mehmet Atakan Foça, "Turkey Sticks to 'Limited' Application of the Geneva Convention," *BIA News Center*, August 01, 2011 accessed February 26, 2017, <http://bianet.org/english/world/131856-turkey-sticks-to-limited-application-of-the-geneva-convention>.

⁵ "Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği," *Resmî Gazete*, accessed August 8, 2016, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/10/20141022-15-1.pdf>. Please see also Gümüş and Eroğlu, "Partial Integration of Syrian 'Escapes'," 471. Temporary protection status consists of three major elements which are: an open-door policy for all Syrians, nonrefoulement and unlimited duration of stay in Turkey.

⁶ Sophia Hoffmann and Sahizer Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics and the Syrian Refugee Crisis," *Working Paper Research Division Global Issues*, (Berlin: SWP (Stiftung Wissenschaft un Politic), 2016) 6, accessed February 19, 2017, https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/arbeitspapiere/Working_paper_Hoffmann_Turkish_immigration_policy.pdf;

Kılıç Buğra Kanat and Kadir Üstün, "Turkey's Syrian Refugees Toward Integration," *SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research Report*, (Ankara: SETA Publications 49, 2015) 29, accessed February 19, 2017, http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20150428153844_turkey%E2%80%99s-syrian-refugees-pdf.pdf

⁷ Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 20.

⁸ Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 20.-21.

⁹ Gümüş and Eroğlu, "Partial Integration of Syrian 'Escapes'," 476; Baban, Ilcan and Rygiel, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey," 6.

¹⁰ Feyzi Baban, Suzan Ilcan and Kim Ryigel, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Pathways to Precarity, Differential Inclusion, and Negotiated Citizenship Rights," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2016):3, accessed June 22, 2016, DOI:10.1080/1369183X.2016.1192996

¹¹ Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 13.

¹² Kanat and Üstün, "Turkey's Syrian Refugees Toward Integration," 26.

¹³ Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 14.

¹⁴ "Suriyeli Çocukların Yıllara Göre Eğitim Verileri ve Okullaşma Oranlar", SETA, accessed February 25 2017, <http://www.setav.org/suriyeli-cocuklari-yillara-gore-egitim-verileri-ve-okullasma-oranlari/>.

¹⁵ Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 16.

¹⁶ Ishak Alaton, "Azınlık Acı Çekiyor, Demokrasi Tam Değildir?," *Milliyet*, March 23, 1995, accessed February 25, 2017, http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/GununYayinlari/o26TpTotav2RtCVtwpMx7g_x3D__x3D_; Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 6.

¹⁷ Ahmet İçduygu and Doğu Şimşek, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Towards Integration Policies," *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 15:3 (2016), 62, accessed February 19, 2017, <http://turkishpolicy.com/article/828/syrian-refugees-in-turkey-towards-integration-policies>.

¹⁸ Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 4.

¹⁹ Kanat and Üstün, "Turkey's Syrian Refugees Toward Integration," 39.

²⁰ "Syria Regional Refugee Response," Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal, accessed August 6, 2016, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>

²¹ Kanat and Üstün, "Turkey's Syrian Refugees Toward Integration," 12.

²² "Giriş," AFAD TC Başbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı, accessed October 25, 2016, <https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2373/Giris>.

²³ Murat Erdoğan, *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler. Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2015), 179-182. Please see also Gümüş and Eroğlu, "Partial Integration of Syrian 'Escapes'," 472-3 for deciphering the meanings associated with the use of the term 'guest' by the political authority.

- ²⁴ Erdoğan, *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler. Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum*, 140-141; 146-147.
- ²⁵ Suriyeli'nin Ev Kiralaması Zor," August 6, 2014, *Al Jazeera Turk*, accessed October 30, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/suriyelinin-ev-kiralamasi-zor;>
- ²⁶ Ayşelin Yıldız and Elif Uzgören, "Limits to Temporary Protection: Non-camp Syrian Refugees in İzmir, Turkey," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16:2 (2016): 205, accessed June 22, 2016, DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2016.1165492. Erdoğan, *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler. Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum*, 137-138.
- ²⁷ Auween Woods, "Urban Refugees: The Experience of Syrians in Istanbul," *Sabancı University Istanbul Policy Center Report*, Istanbul Policy Center Sabancı University, February, 2016, accessed October 30, 2016. <http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/en/wpcontent/uploads/2016/02/UrbanRaporuWeb.10.02.16.pdf>.
- ²⁸ "Giriş," AFAD TC Başbakanlık Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı, accessed November 1, 2016, <https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2373/Giris>.
- ²⁹ "Syria Regional Refugee Response," Inter-Agency Information Sharing Portal, accessed August 6, 2016, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>
- ³⁰ Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 4, 8.
- ³¹ "İşte Türkiye'de Şehirlere Göre Suriyeli Sayısı," *Aktifhaber.com*, April 9, 2016, accessed August 6, 2016, <http://www.aktifhaber.com/iste-turkiyede-sehirlere-gore-suriyeli-sayisi-1329316h.htm>.
- ³² Hoffmann and Samuk, "Turkish Immigration Politics," 14.
- ³³ Baban, Ilcan and Rygiel, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey," 10. Focus group interviews carried out within the scope of this research also verifies this statement.
- ³⁴ Gümüş and Eroğlu, "Partial Integration of Syrian 'Escapes'," p. 481; Erdoğan, *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler. Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum*, 163; "Suriyeliler Sınır illerde Kira ve Emlak Fiyatlarını Uçurdu," *Milliyet*, March 4, 2014, accessed October 30, 2016, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/suriyeliler-sinir-illerinde-kira/gundem/detay/1846010/default.htm>.
- ³⁵ Okan Arı. "Suriyeliler Kiralık Daire Fiyatlarını Fırlattı," *Emlakjet*, December 24, 2013, accessed October 30, 2016, http://www.emlakjet.com/haber/detay/suriyeliler-kiralik-daire-fiyatlarini-patlatti_9489.html
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EXCESS PRODUCTION, RISING PRICES, AND DECLINING AFFORDABILITY: TURKISH HOUSING EXPERIENCE

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INTRODUCTION

This study examines the trends in housing affordability in the Turkish cities over the past two decades in relation to the country's housing production performance and house price changes. For many years, housing affordability has been a major topic of interest both for researchers and policy makers in many countries. Particularly, the subprime mortgage crises of 2008 and the subsequent developments experienced in many housing markets increased the attention to household's ability to afford housing. Currently, housing affordability is a relevant topic of research in Turkey, due to the policies and strategies adopted since 2002 which have direct and indirect effects on housing markets. Though, the body of knowledge on housing affordability is scant in the Turkish case.

Turkish housing system has been characterized by privately owned rental and owner-occupied housing stock, lack of public housing, domination of high-rise apartment buildings, a lately developed housing finance system, and high levels of housing production. In this system, housing affordability issues have never been a major concern of Turkish governments. Furthermore, until the beginnings of the 2000s state intervention into the housing market remained very limited. After the elections of 2002, the public sector in Turkey has become a direct actor in housing production and government in office initiated a country-wide housing program which basically aimed at increasing owner-occupied housing provision for low-income families through new housing construction. Furthermore, during this period, subsequent governments have adopted property-led economic growth strategies. As a result, the country has displayed significantly high levels of housing production since 2002. However, the evidence displays that despite the housing production performance, house prices continuously increase deteriorating affordability for lowest and low-income households.

Turkish Housing Experience

Before examining the housing affordability trends in Turkey, Turkish housing experience worth mentioning briefly to present an overview of the housing system and the conditions which help the country to display high housing performance. The housing stock has been formed fundamentally through private investments, almost 98.5% of the urban housing stock (both owner-occupied and rented) is privately owned.¹ Public housing similar to European examples never existed, and public intervention in the housing sector has been negligible until the very recent years. Homeownership has

always been encouraged by governments. Households also prefer to be homeowners since homeownership provides protection for their investments against high inflation and unstable macro-economic conditions in the country. Furthermore, homeownership is a way of appropriating urban rent increases which are quite significant in highly speculative Turkish housing market. The rental sector, on the other hand, has been almost entirely ignored by the public policy, yet a large private rental sector has been formed in urban housing.² During 2000-2014 rate of tenants in private rental sector remained nearly 25-30%. Despite the limited state intervention into the housing market and a lately developed housing finance system (after 2007), the country has displayed significantly high levels of housing production (Figure 1).

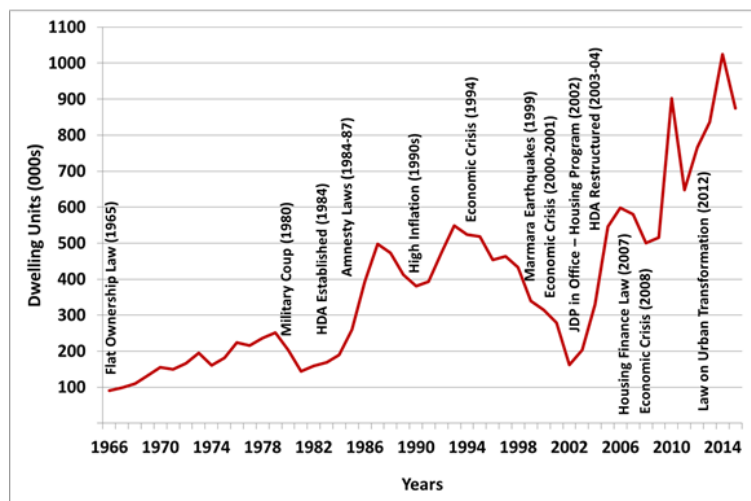


Figure 1. Annual Housing Production and Moments of Policy/Economic Changes.^{3,4}

In Turkey, until the 2000s, the major factor which contributed to the high performance displayed in housing production was the invention of ‘Flat Ownership’ relations beginnings of which goes back to the late 1940s that gave rise to the construction of multi-unit structures in urban sites.⁵ In the early decades of the Turkish Republic, increased population mobility from rural to urban areas increased the immediate housing demand; yet, administrative intervention in the market for the provision of infrastructure, land and housing were far from a sufficient level. Supply of urban sites was constrained which led to the high land values. Under such circumstances, it was not possible to undertake individual construction activities on single urban plots. Consequently, two major processes emerged in the free market environment to meet the immediate housing demand; squatter housing construction and construction of multi-unit and multi-owned physical structures. Multi-unit structures became predominant in the country in a short span of time leading to its formal recognition in 1965 with the “Flat Ownership Law.” Currently, almost 70% of the urban households live in these flats.⁶

After the 2000s, the pace of the housing production in the country continued to rise due to the macroeconomic policy and housing strategies adopted by the government in office. In this period, construction was seen as the leading sector in economic growth. After the elections of 2002, in contrary to the trends seen in many other countries, the public sector in Turkey has become a direct actor in housing production.⁷ The government in office initiated a country-wide housing program called “Planned Urbanization and Housing Production” the target of which was declared as (1) to prevent squatter housing construction and to demolish the existing ones for a planned urbanization, (2) to increase owner-occupied housing provision for low-income families through extensive housing

construction.⁸ In this process, Housing Development Agency (HDA) was made responsible for producing 500,000 new dwelling units, a target which was achieved by HDA until 2011. HDA is expected to produce 700,000 additional dwelling units as a new target for the year 2023.⁹ By August 2016, HDA's housing production has reached more than 730,000 housing units, 43% of which is for low and middle-income households, 21% for low and lowest income households, and further 15% as urban regeneration projects.¹⁰

Throughout the 2002-2014 period, private sector's housing production has also been triggered. In the recent years, the numbers of annual housing starts have significantly exceeded the increases in the number of households.¹¹ In 2014, annual new housing starts exceeded one million dwelling units. International examples of affordability policy interventions are known to promote housing supply in general and promote the supply of affordable units in particular.¹² Considering this fact, examining the housing affordability trends in an excess production environment could be a valid and valuable contribution to the existing literature on housing affordability.

HOUSING AFFORDABILITY: DEFINITION AND ITS MEASURES

There is a vast amount of literature on housing affordability particularly originate in the UK, Australia, and the US. A single agreed definition of the term does not exist since housing affordability brings a number of different topics together, such as the income distribution, housing costs, households' ability to borrow, housing policies, housing supply, and households' demand and preferences. At a very simple level, housing affordability is related partly to the cost of housing and partly to household income.¹³ Availability of multiple definitions for housing affordability eventually results in multiple types of housing affordability measures. Adopting different affordability measures produce different results depending on who employs each measure and for what reasons.¹⁴ Existing literature suggest different measures of housing affordability such as the 'ratio approach', 'residual income approach', 'housing induced poverty approach', etc. all of which provide some sort of opportunities and constraints. Yet, it is usually the available data for researchers which determines what type of a measure to employ in housing affordability studies.

Measuring Housing Affordability in the Turkish Case

In this study, housing affordability is defined on the basis of household expenditures and household income, thereby two different measures of affordability are generated. The first index represents housing expenditures as a proportion of net household income. Households spending more than 30% of the net disposable household income on housing are considered problematic regarding housing affordability. The second index represents housing and transportation expenditures as a proportion of net household income. In this case, households spending more than 45% of the net disposable household income on housing and transportation are considered to have affordability problems. In the analysis of housing affordability in Turkey, Household Budget Survey Data (HBS), provided by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) is employed. This is a micro-data set providing information at the household level. Although, the major focus of HBS is consumption expenditures it also provides information about the household characteristics such as mode of tenure, income and household size. Consumption expenditure for housing covers expenditures for rent, repairs and maintenance, and running costs. Transport expenditures represent purchase of vehicles, operation of personal transport equipment, and purchased transport services. The major constraint of this data is the unavailability of geographical references for end-users regarding regions or provinces. This makes it impossible to

compare whether the housing affordability trends observed for the overall country apply to all cities or not.

For the purposes of this study, first, disposable household income data in the HBS is converted to equivalised disposable income to consider the effects of household size and age of the household members on household consumption. Households are then sorted with respect to their equivalised incomes to create income quintiles for comparison. In examining the housing affordability trends, basically these income categories and mode of tenure are employed.

Housing Affordability Trends in Turkey: 1994-2014

As mentioned above, policies and strategies adopted since 2002 have resulted in the formation of an excess housing stock in Turkey. Figure 2 displays the changes in housing affordability, with respect to housing production, during 2004-2014. It is clearly seen from the figure that percentage of households who experience affordability problem do not decline with increasing housing production. Rather, urban spatial expansion supported by the policy has resulted in the high transportation costs thus worsened housing affordability of households with respect to the second index. It could be argued that promoting housing supply and formation of an excess housing stock is not sufficient alone to solve housing affordability problem of households, at least in the Turkish case.

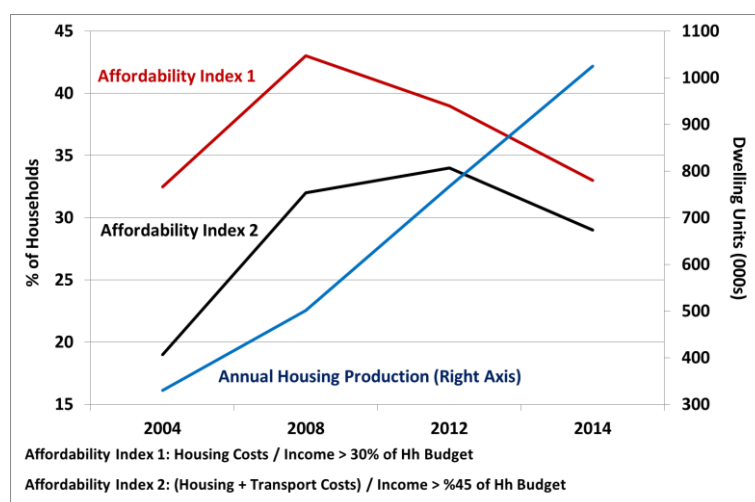


Figure 2. Changing Housing Affordability with respect to Increasing Housing Production (2004-2014).

Figure 3 and 4 display housing affordability conditions of owner-occupiers and tenants on income quintiles during 1994-2014 for two affordability indexes. In Figure 3, it is clearly seen that according to the first index, housing affordability has become a problem for larger sections of the low and lowest income owner-occupiers. By 2014, almost 50% of the lowest income owner-occupiers and 40% of the low income owner-occupiers spend more than 30% of their budget for housing. The second index displays that, when transport costs are also considered along with housing costs, all income quintiles' affordability is negatively affected by the location choices for new housing construction. Urban spatial expansion experienced in the Turkish cities since 2002 has increased transport cost burden of households significantly.

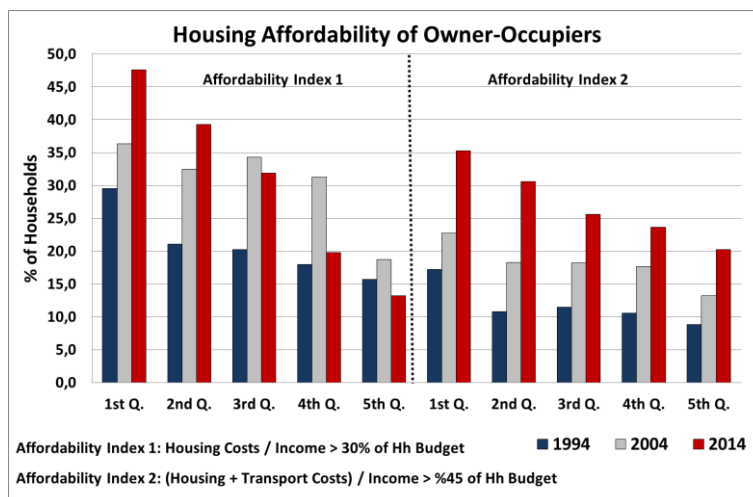


Figure 3. Housing Affordability – Owner-occupiers (1994-2014).

Figure 4 displays that, for tenant households, it is again lowest and low income households who suffer from the housing affordability problem. Yet, the problem seems to be severe for tenants compared to owner-occupiers. According to the first index, nearly 70% of lowest income tenants and 55% of low income tenants are devoting more than 30% of their budget for housing expenditure by 2014. The second index displays that all income groups are suffering from increased transport costs and wider sections of the tenant households are affected when 1994, 2004 and 2014 values are compared.

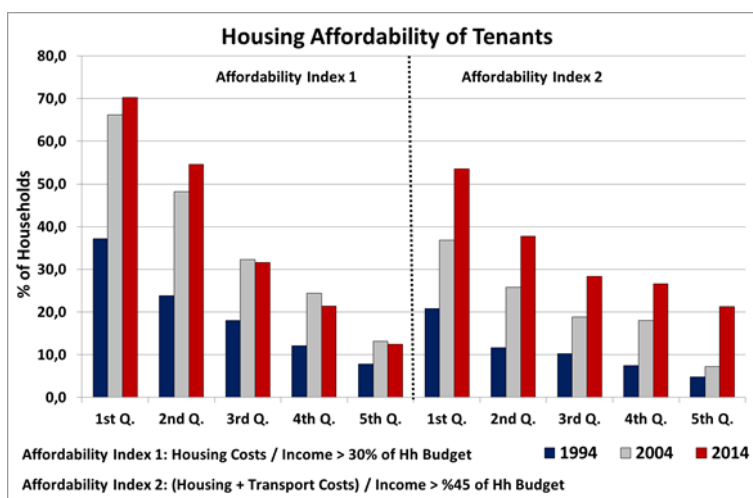


Figure 4. Housing Affordability – Tenants (1994-2014).

EXCESS PRODUCTION AND RISING HOUSING PRICES

Currently, existing housing stock in urban areas is almost 30 per cent in excess of existing households. This excess rate was known to be nearly 20-25% in the year 2006 (Figure 5).¹⁵ As discussed above, this surplus production does not contribute to housing affordability of low income families. The basic reason of this lies in the multiple homeownership rate observed in the society. Clearly, Turkish housing stock is accumulated in the hands of a few households. Multiple homeownership rate which was 1.72 in the year 2006 has reached to 1.86 by 2013.

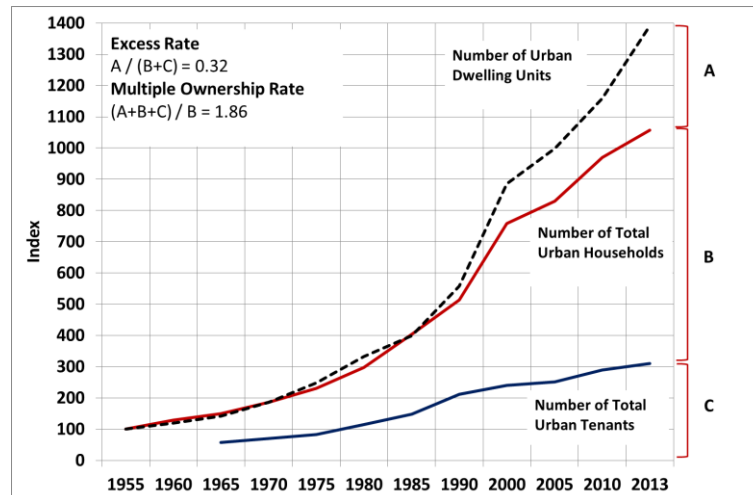


Figure 5. Housing Production Compared to Households.

Excess housing production is usually expected to slow down construction activities since it is accompanied by increasing vacancy rates and declining housing prices. Contrary to the expectations, excess housing production has been accompanied by rising house prices in Turkey (Figure 6).

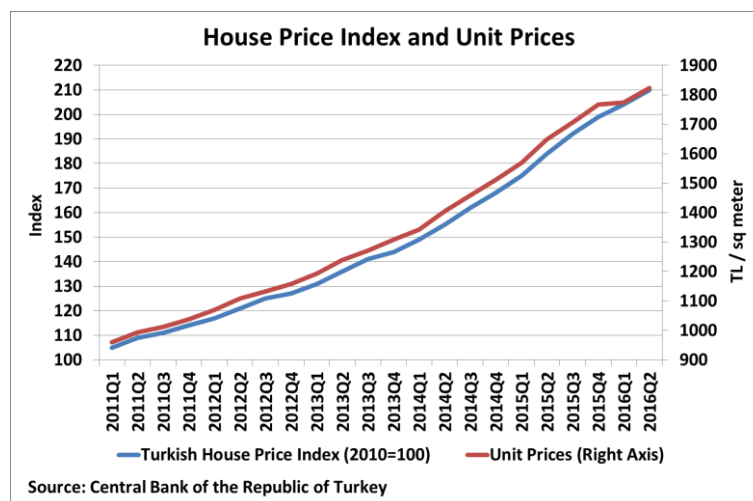


Figure 6. House Price Index and Unit Prices.

The major factors responsible for the house price increases observed in Turkey are on the demand side, the potential for appropriating urban rent increases through housing investments, and on the supply side production targeting predominantly high income households. Although this excess production has increased vacancy rates considerably, some of the surplus stock is employed to accommodate the family members of homeowners. Thus, in recent years a particular tenant category (privileged tenants) living in their parents'/relatives' dwellings, paying rents below market levels or no rent at all, is on the rise (Figure 7).

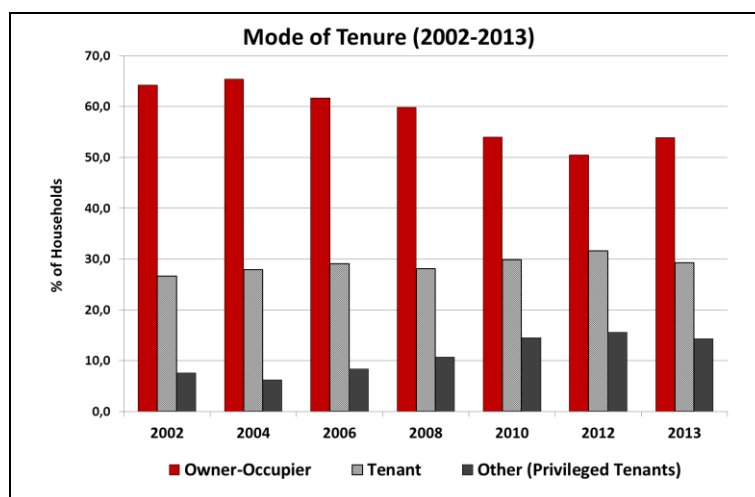


Figure 7. Changing Mode of Tenure (2002-2013).

In other words, housing policy adopted in 2002 to increase owner-occupation of low income households has resulted in owner-occupation rates to decrease from 65% in 2002 to 54% in 2013. Increasing numbers of privileged tenants imply that actual levels of households who experience housing affordability problem would have been much higher in Turkey if family support mechanism had not been developed in the society.

CONCLUSION

In this study, housing affordability trends in the Turkish case are examined over the past two decades in relation to the housing production and house price dynamics. Excess housing production in the country become highly significant after the 2000s. Contrary to the expectations, house prices continue to increase. The major reason underlying this price increases is the speculative investment benefits provided by the housing. Investment in housing has become a profitable investment tool for high income households as a way to appropriate urban rent increases. The wealth inequality among income groups based on housing has been increased with the policies and strategies adopted. Since 2002, housing affordability has become a problem for wider sections of the society. Particularly, low and lowest income households' housing affordability have been impaired in this process. Moreover, lack of restrictions in urban development resulted in urban spatial expansion, and this has increased the transport cost burden of households. Furthermore, new housing construction did not contribute to increase owner-occupation, rather privileged tenants who live in their parents'/relatives' dwellings has increased. In other words, housing policy adopted since 2002 has neither increased the rate of owner-occupation nor solved the affordability problem of low and lowest income households.

Considering the international discussion which usually underlines the necessity of new housing supply to solve housing affordability problems, the Turkish case is an interesting example which displays severe housing affordability problems despite the formation of an excess housing stock. Since the main cause of housing affordability problem in Turkey is the rising inequality among income groups which is deepening further by housing wealth, the solution apparently is not the supply of new housing. Then, policy measures are required to reduce the income and wealth gap in the society to improve housing affordability. As Leishman and Rowley underlines, it is also necessary to identify whether it is the characteristics of lowest or highest end of the income distribution affecting housing affordability negatively.¹⁶ In the Turkish case, housing affordability problem arises not only due to the

income constraints of the lowest end of the income bracket but also due to the investment trends of the highest end which contribute to the increase in house prices. Then, as suggested by Leishman and Rowley, improving the income conditions of poorest households and applying a redistributive taxation could both work well to improve housing affordability of households in Turkey.

Acknowledgement

In this study, Household Budget Survey data of the TURKSTAT is employed. This data is accessed through a research project entitled 'Housing Affordability and Measurement Methods' funded under the Scientific Research Projects of Middle East Technical University.

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THE IMPACT OF HIGH-RISE HOUSING ENVIRONMENT AND METROPOLITAN CONTEXT ON PSYCHOLOGICAL STATUS OF DWELLERS: A CASE STUDY OF BANGKOK, THAILAND

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INTRODUCTION

The evolution of high-rise housing in Thailand began in 1975 after the end of the economic recession during the Second Indochina War (Vietnam War). In the early years, the high-rise housing was a new kind of habitat that did not gain popularity and confidence from homebuyers in Bangkok until the enactment of the Condominium Act in 1979 for resolving the conflicts of law provision¹. Afterwards, the high-rise housing as known as “condominium” or “condo” has become more attractive and played its important role in the Thai real estate market.

For almost four decades, Thai high-rise housing development has coped with major economic crises and impacts of political and social shifting. Nevertheless, the demand and supply of residential high-rise housing, especially in Bangkok, are still gradually increasing due to the characteristics of the extreme primate city, which generates an influx of people seeking economic opportunities plus a behindhand development of infrastructure in other parts of the country. The land value in Bangkok urban area has been continually increasing so much that the majority of the urban population cannot afford to buy their piece of land. In consequence, the typical low-rise housing in Bangkok has transformed into high-rise residential buildings. Between 2013 and 2015, the condominium supply in Bangkok metropolitan and peripheral areas shared the largest proportion of housing types available in the market followed by single house and semi-detached house consecutively². At the end of June 2015, the supply of condominium available in the market was more than 362,697 units³.

Despite the rapid growth of the Thai condominium market, the research involving spatial behaviour and consequences of living in a high-rise environment in the context of urban Bangkok is still out of focus. Instead of psychological and behavioural research or participatory design approach, most of the condominiums operated by the private developers in Bangkok were designed and built based on a typical construction practice plus a market-oriented development, all for achieving the highest investment returns. Regardless of the business aspect, this empirical research aimed to reinforce a research-based strategy for stakeholders of high-rise housing. The principal objective of this field survey was to reveal the psychological status of the dwellers that lived in the high-rise buildings

located in the six different zones of Bangkok. Also, it aimed to investigate how the physical environmental features of high-rises and the personal factors of occupants influenced the three fundamental psychological senses of a home composed of 1) safety concern, 2) privacy satisfaction, and 3) a sense of community.

THEORETICAL CONCEPT AND FRAMEWORK

Owing to the critical lack of dwelling space in urban areas plus severe traffic congestion, the expansion of vertical housing seems to be an inevitable pathway for the people of Bangkok. Nowadays, the residents of condominiums in Bangkok metropolitan area can gain advantages from their high-rise environment, for example, the tall buildings can provide residents with a great aerial view, a high level of privacy, less noise and pollution from the traffic at ground level, great location in the city centre, which is close to workplace, amenities, public transportation, time saving for home facilities, garden maintenance, and so on. Notwithstanding, in terms of environmental psychology, the vulnerability and limitations of a high-rise housing environment lead to a reservation about the quality of being an absolutely proper home for human being. The arguments found from the literature review revealed that people living in high-rises have a higher level of security risks for their residents than other housing forms. This may be caused due to several reasons, for example, their physical features make it not optimal for children and social relations. It is more impersonal, there is a lower rate of a helping behaviour, a greater crime rate and fear of crime amongst the dwellers, and an environment that may independently account for some suicides. The literature also noted that residents in high rises had a fear of falling or jumping from a high window, a fear of being trapped inside the building during a fire, a fear of the building collapsing due to an earthquake, a fear of being attacked by terrorists, a fear of strangers which in turn leads to a fear of crime, a felt lack of social support and the absence of community, and fear of becoming ill from communicable diseases generated by others such as air/touch-borne flu and cold⁴. In Southeast Asia, high-rise residents also showed their concerns about lacking in neighbourhood facilities, the fear of being trapped and being victims of crime in an elevator⁵.

The meaning of a home has been consistently discussed amongst housing researchers and has never converged to a static resolution. The psychological definition of home adopted in this research was that the most elementary function of a home is to provide a physical security and health. Spatial quality supports the psychological need for privacy involving the desire of property control. A further level of psychological needs is social recognition and empowerment, which can be partially fulfilled by the transmittance from home to the outside world⁶. This theoretical concept conforms to the classic Maslow's theory of personality in terms of functioning of fulfilling a hierarchy of human needs and the global housing goals addressed by the United Nations (UN) and World Health Organization (WHO) in 2011 that housing should ensure privacy, safety and security for the occupants. Beside the aspects of privacy and safety, WHO also stated that housing should provide access to economic and social opportunities, which positively have an impact on the dwellers' health related to the physical movement and the psychological and social benefits of social interconnectedness⁷. The last mentioned social opportunity and community connectedness seem to be problematic issues for the gated residential high-rises where surveillance and communal space are naturally scarce. Regarding the literature review and the psychological definition of home, there were three fundamental psychological domains accentuated in this research, namely the feelings of safety, privacy, and a sense of community.

The feeling of safety is the fundamental human psyche required for making a dwelling into a home. This sounds simple and basal yet the dimension of feeling safe is quite intricate. The feeling of safety involves two dimensions, 1) psychological safety, and 2) actual safety. At a certain time, one might feel secure even if in reality s/he is not, and vice versa⁸. Individually, each person possesses a different cognitive bias and heuristics. A person's experience can create different levels of safety concerns and multiple models of reactions to threats meanwhile the environments of home and neighbourhood are also jigsaw pieces of his or her cognition. Therefore, in this study, the dweller's experience of threats and the defensible characteristics of a high-rise complex were taken into account for the furtherance of constructing the indicators measuring safety concerns. In 1972, the American architect, Oscar Newman proposed the concept of defensible space, which revealed the relationship between a feeling of safety and residential building environments. Based on crime data analysis, he conducted empirical studies and criticised American public housing projects in terms of the architectural and design features. According to Newman's work, there are four components that create defensible space: access control; territoriality; natural surveillance; and image and milieu⁹, which later had an influence on the public housing design in the United States and all over the world¹⁰. For modern-day security, the concern of high-rise buildings has been expanded beyond the border of crime concern. The recent threats can be categorised into the following three broad groups: 1) crimes, 2) behavioural disorder, and 3) emergencies both natural disasters, and human-caused emergencies.

The psychological need for privacy is the feeling intertwined with the vulnerability of safety and the desire of controlling intrusions from other persons⁸. Privacy may be viewed as a boundary control process in which the individual regulates with whom s/he has contact. It occurs and depends on how much and what type of interaction is desired. Nevertheless, a person may not always be satisfied in obtaining the preferred amount of interaction. According to the four dimensions of privacy proposed by Judee K. Burgoon (1989), this research focused on measuring high-rise dwellers' satisfaction in managing the four privacy aspects, which were 1) physical privacy satisfaction, 2) social/ interactional privacy satisfaction, 3) psychological privacy satisfaction, and 4) informational privacy satisfaction.¹¹ Meanwhile, the degree of need involving six types of privacy: 1) solitude; 2) isolation; 3) anonymity; 4) reserve; 5) intimacy with friends; and 6) intimacy with family¹² of the respondents were evaluated as the personal factor.

Participation within a community is considered critically important for strengthening society and individual reinforcement due to the fact that it helps people to be socially identified in their neighbourhood, where they can possess and feel responsible for it as well as reduce their alienation in the new environment¹³. One of the psychological processes behind social participation is a sense of community. In terms of psychology, the psychologists proposed a model in which four components of sense of community could be comprehended as follows: 1) membership, 2) influence, 3) integration and fulfilment of needs (reinforcement), and 4) shared emotional connection¹⁴. Based on these four components, the Sense of Community (SCI) Index I and II invented in 1986 and 2008 consecutively have been broadly applied in order to measure the sense of community and associated with predicted relations across different types of communities, age, groups, and cultures¹⁵. Another significant driving force of a great sense of community and social participation is social capital. In terms of urban planning and behavioural psychology, the empirical research and discussion confirmed that social capital was significantly related to citizen's behaviour, for instance, community participation and absence, political activities, crime rates etc.^{16 17}. Therefore, the social capital and participation are considered to be one of the most personal factors influencing a sense of community.

All the above-mentioned theoretical concepts were considerably included in the conceptual framework

and the variables construct of this study which is illustrated in Figure 1.

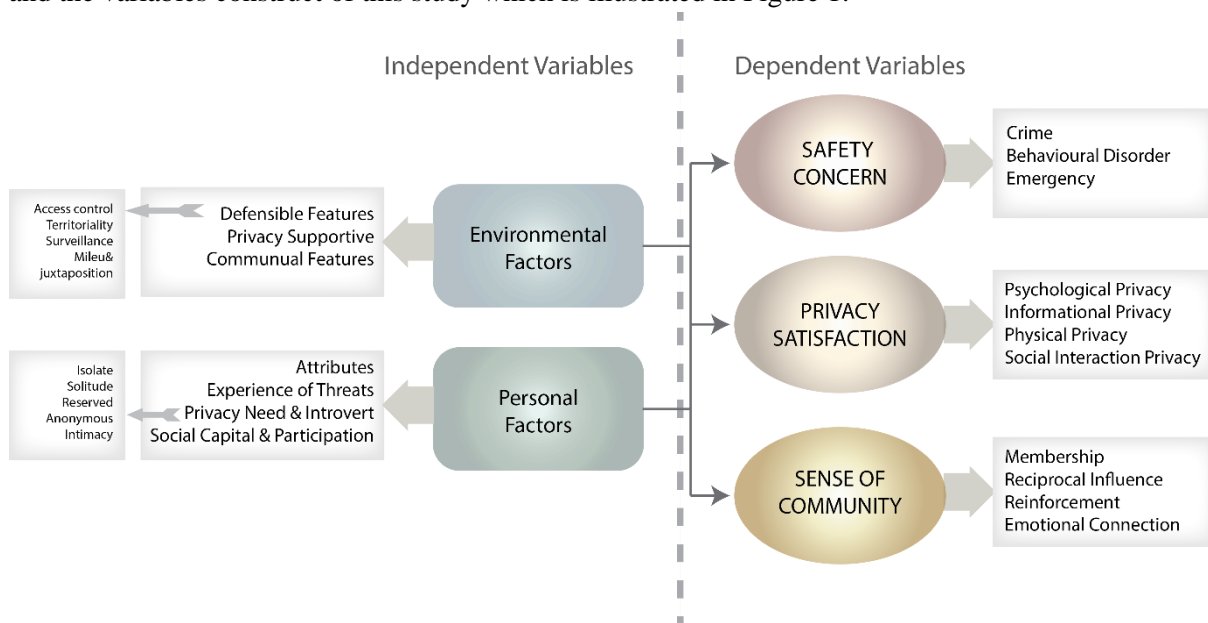


Figure 1. Research variables construct developed from theoretical concepts and a literature review

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND INSTRUMENTS

This cross-sectional research was conducted based on a quantitative approach. The multi-stage sampling technique was applied for recruiting 1,206 participants living in eighteen high-rises located in six different zones of Bangkok. The multi-stages comprised of 1) a cluster sampling technique, 2) a purposive sampling technique, and 3) a random sampling technique.

The two interdisciplinary instruments applied in this research are as follows:

- 1) **Physical-Environmental Assessment (PE)**, which was designed to collect the environmental-physical data during the non-participant observation by the research team. The items of assessment were theoretically predefined in order to evaluate the physical environment of the selected buildings including their surroundings context,
- 2) **Personal and Environmental-Psychological Questionnaire (PEP)**, which was designed to collect the personal information and allowed respondents to self-report their psychological status in the context of high-rise housing. The PEP questionnaire was divided into the following five parts: 1) personal attributes, 2) dwelling unit and living behaviour, 3) personality and experience, 4) environmental-psychological status, and 5) suggestion and expectation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research was conducted in the area of Bangkok, the metropolitan city of Thailand, which has a population of 8,305,218 or 12.6% of the Thai population, and approximately 5,800 persons / sq.km density of population¹⁸. The sampling group was comprised of 1,206 participants who were living in the selected eighteen condominiums located in six different zones of the city clustered by Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) as mentioned earlier. Regarding the results of the survey, the 523 respondents (43.4 %) were male and 683 respondents (56.6%) were female. The average age of the respondents was 32.8 years old, and the mode and median of household income was 50,000 Baht (approximately 1,280 Euro) per month. Regarding the geographical and economical clusters sampling

technique, there were 215, 200, 195, 178, 207, and 211 respondents (17.8%, 16.6%, 16.2%, 14.8%, 17.2%, and 17.5%), who were living in Zone 1 to Zone 6 consecutively as well as there were 404, 425, and 377 respondents (33.5%, 35.2%, and 31.3%), who were living in the low, middle, and high selling-price condominiums consecutively.

In the field survey, the following three physical-environmental indicators were applied as the independent variables contained in the PE assessment: 1) defensible characteristics, 2) privacy supportive characteristics, and 3) communal characteristics; the results of observation were converted into a score of 1 to 5. Meanwhile, the three psychological domains 1) safety concern, 2) privacy satisfaction, and 3) sense of community, were defined as the dependent variables contained in the PEP questionnaire and measured with the Likert-type scale (1 to 5). The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient value of all 24 psychological question items was 0.84, suggesting that this section had an acceptable internal consistency.

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that the effect of the urban zoning regarding the level of safety concern mainly the concern of behavioural disorder was significant ($F(5,1200) = 3.899$, $p = .002$). Post hoc analyses using the Scheffé post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the degree of concern about behavioural disorder in the western bank of Chao Phraya River was significantly greater than the eastern bank. According to the observations and literature review, besides the natural boundary that separates this area from the city centre, the western bank of Chao Phraya River, which is known as Thonburee region, is still facing difficulties to access the public amenities and infrastructures. More than that there is also the major ratio of derelict lands, flooding along the riverside areas, drug dealers¹⁹, teenage motorcycle gangs (known as Dek Vans)²⁰, etc. These are some of the reasons that could provoke the negative perceptions of safety amongst the dwellers.

Moreover, the Post hoc analyses indicated that the degree of sense of community of the respondents from Zone 2, Central Bangkok, was significantly lower than the other zones. It is publicly known that Zone 2 is the central business district of the city and of the country. Although it is the hub of amenities, infrastructure, and convenience, the people who live in Zone 2 have to confront several dilemmas, for example, a high cost of living compared to salary rates, severe traffic congestion, air and noise pollution etc. This struggling urban lifestyle can cause them exhaustive conditions, and lack of vitality to get involved with the community.

In relation to the urban context mentioned above, the effect of the density of population in each district on the dependent variables was further calculated by means of a simple linear regression. The finding indicated that the density of the population had a slightly significant effect on the sense of community, whereas the respondents' predicted sense of community decreased 0.000044 for each person/ km² density. (See Table1) Likewise, the density of population had significant effect on safety concern, especially the concern of behavioural disorders in such a way that the predicted behavioural disorder concern increased by 0.000021 for each person/ km² density. (See Table 1)

The above-mentioned results were consistent with several researches which have indicated that the disadvantaged urban life including size, density, and heterogeneity of population can cause overloads of people's cognitive functions, which leads to a withdrawal behaviour and taking less interest in the community. The results from this field survey have added more specific issues of density of population affecting behavioural disorder concerns. Especially amongst the high-rise dwellers, those whose buildings are located in the crowded neighbourhoods of Bangkok tended to have a higher concern about someone jumping off the building, drug abuse, domestic violence and drunken people, and touched/ airborne infection when sharing the common facilities.

(N = 1,206)

Predictors	Predictive Model for Behavioural Disorder Concern (Enter Method)					Predictive Model for Sense of Community Score (Enter Method)				
	B	S.E.	β	t	p	B	S.E.	β	t	p
Density of population	2.103E-5	.000	.0688	-7.331	.000	-4.390E-5	.000	-.207	2.393	.017
	R^2 .005					.043				

Note: All predictive regression models were under the conditions that all variables were measured with the defined units of PE assessment and PEP questionnaire.

Table 2. Summary of simple regression models for Behavioural Disorder Concern Score, and Sense of Community Score predicted by the predictor, Density of Population by District

Considering the architectural factors, an independent sample t-test was performed in order to compare the means of psychological dependent variables between two groups of respondents 1) respondents living in the gated condominiums, and 2) respondents living in the semi/ non-gated condominiums. The results indicated that the respondents living in the gated condominiums significantly had a lower total sense of community than respondents living in the semi/ non-gated condominiums at the significant level of 0.05. Due to the fact that the semi-gated territoriality allows non-residents to share some facilities of the building, for example retail shops, clubhouse etc., this can increase the chances for dwellers to interact with their neighbours and link themselves to the outside world. Meanwhile, the gated condominiums focus on access control and keep non-residents out of the properties, which decrease chances of interpersonal contact, and to even a lesser extent in the condominiums that do not provide a variety of recreational space for their residents.

To find the impact of buildings' existing conditions namely defensible, privacy supportive, and communal characteristics, on the psychological status of the dwellers, a multiple linear regression analysis was further performed. The analysis showed that the defensible and privacy supportive score could predict the value of safety concern. In other words, the buildings that earned the higher defensible characteristics score (access control, surveillance, clear territoriality, ease of reaching help in an emergency, and safe neighbourhood), and the higher privacy supportive score (number of units per floor, and type of floor plan) can create a better perception of safety and alleviate the residents' safety concerns (See Table 2). Moreover, the equation implied that the residents' privacy satisfaction increased by 0.117 for each point of privacy supportive score, whereas the respondents' degree of sense of community decreased by 0.076 for each point of the privacy supportive score (See Table 2).

The communal characteristics of the building's variety of recreational facilities, and ease of accessibility, significantly was also found affecting the sense of community in the way that respondents' predicted sense of community increased by 0.054 for each communal score point.

(N = 1,206)

Predictors	Collinearity Statistics		Predictive Model for Safety Concern Score (Enter Method)			Predictive Model for Privacy Satisfaction Score (Enter Method)			Predictive Model for Sense of Community Score (Enter Method)		
	Tol.	VIF	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β
Defensible Characteristic	.990	1.010	-.102	.033	-.088**	.024	.026	.026	-.043	.025	-.049
Privacy Supportive	.949	1.054	-.091	.045	-.059*	.117	.036	.096**	-.076	.034	-.065*
Communal Characteristic	.946	1.057	.013	.034	.012	-.009	.027	-.010	.038	.025	.045
		R^2	.013			.011			.011		
		P	.002			.005			.004		

*p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .005

Note: All predictive regression models were under the conditions that all variables were measured with the defined units of PE assessment and PEP questionnaire, and the collinearity diagnostic showed that the multicollinearity between regressors was not found. (There were no independent variables that owned Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) greater than 4 as well as

Table 3. Summary of multiple linear regression models for Safety Concern Score, Privacy Satisfaction Score, and Sense of Community Score predicted by the predictors: Defensible Characteristic Score, Privacy Supportive Score, and Communal Characteristic Score of the buildings

Additionally, the physical features of the buildings such as floor level, and number of units per floor were also found affected to the respondents’ psychological status. Regarding the equation, the respondents’ predicted emergency concern score increased 0.011 for each floor level. (See Table 3) Likewise, the predicted behavioural disorder concern increased by 0.008 for each unit of density/ floor as well as the predicted satisfaction of psychological privacy decreased by 0.007 for each unit/ floor. (See Table 3)

(N = 1,206)

Predictors	Predictive Model for Emergency Concern (Enter Method)					Predictive Model for Behavioural Disorder Concern (Enter Method)					Predictive Model for Psychological Privacy Satisfaction (Enter Method)				
	B	S.E.	β	t	p	B	S.E.	β	t	p	B	S.E.	β	t	p
Floor Level	.011	.005	.065	2.16	.031										
Unit per Floor						.008	.003	.07	2.45	.014	-.007	.003	-.072	-2.49	.013
	R^2	.004				.005					.005				

Note: All predictive regression models were under the conditions that all variables were measured with the defined units of PE assessment and PEP questionnaire.

Table 4. Summary of simple regression models for Emergency Concern Score, Behavioural Disorder Concern Score, and Psychological Privacy Satisfaction Score predicted by the predictors Floor Level, and Number of Unit per Floor

Considering the respondents’ personal psychological background, the indicators applied in the PE questionnaire were 1) Personal experience of threats score, 2) Personal privacy needs (introvert personality) score, and 3) Social capital and participation score. The multiple linear regression analysis indicated that the respondents’ safety concern increased by 0.147 for each point of experience of threats, 0.172 for each point of privacy need, and 0.077 for each point of social capital and participation. The findings also imply that the respondents, who had an introvert personality, tended to

have a low satisfaction of privacy while living in the buildings. Their privacy satisfaction decreased by 0.1 for each score of privacy need. The respondents' level of sense of community was significantly affected by their privacy need and social capital and participation. The regression equation indicated that the sense of community decreased by 0.202 for each point of privacy need score but increased by 0.272 for each point of social capital and participation score. (See Table 4)

(N = 1,206)

Predictors	Collinearity Statistics		Predictive Model for Safety Concern Score (Enter Method)			Predictive Model for Privacy Satisfaction Score (Enter Method)			Predictive Model for Sense of Community Score (Enter Method)		
	Tol.	VIF	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β	B	S.E.	β
Experience of Threats	.987	1.013	.147	.044	.096**	.035	.035	.029	-.025	.031	-.021
Privacy Need/ Introvert	.960	1.042	.172	.050	.101**	-.100	.040	-.074*	-.261	.035	-.202**
Social Cap / Participation	.952	1.050	.077	.036	.062*	.016	.029	-.016	.253	.026	.272**
	R^2		.023			.007			.136		
	P		.000			.040			.000		

* $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .005$

Note: All predictive regression models were under the conditions that all variables were measured with the defined units of PE assessment and PEP questionnaire, and the collinearity diagnostic showed that the multicollinearity between regressors was not found. (There were no independent variable that owned Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) greater than 4 as well as the

Table 5. Summary of multiple linear regression models for Safety Concern Score, Privacy Satisfaction Score, and Sense of Community Score predicted by the predictors: Experience of Threats Score, Privacy Need/ Introvert Personality Score, and Social Capital and Participation Score of the respondents

The effects of personal attributes on the psychological status of the respondents were also investigated during the process of multiple linear regression analysis. The respondents' sense of community was significantly predicted by age, the amount of time spent at home, and the amount of time that the person lived in the building. The statistical coefficients indicated that the predicted sense of community increased by 0.002 for each month of increased period of dwelling in a certain high rise, it increased by 0.006 for each year of age, and it increased by 0.049 for each point of spending time at home score. In terms of gender, the independent sample t-test led to the finding that female respondents significantly had a stronger degree of safety concern than the male respondents ($t = 3.151$, $p = .002$). Likewise, it appeared that female respondents significantly had a higher mean score of privacy satisfaction ($t = 2.076$, $p = .038$), and a greater emotional sense of community ($t = 2.010$, $p = .045$) than male respondents.

The relationship between dependent variables was examined by a Pearson product-moment correlation for calculating the correlation coefficient (r) - as shown in Table 5. The correlation table below demonstrated congruency and strength of the relationships amongst sub-variables within the same psychological domains (the correlation coefficients were more than 0.6). Meanwhile, all three major elements: safety concern, privacy satisfaction, and sense of community were independent of each other. This result indicated that there was no multicollinearity condition, and the Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) was allowed to perform based on this dataset.

(N = 1,206)

Variables	Crime Concern	Behavioural Disorder Concern	Emergency Concern	Safety Concern	Psychological Privacy Satisfaction	Informational Privacy Satisfaction	Physical Privacy Satisfaction	Social Interactional Privacy Satisfaction	Privacy Satisfaction	Membership Sense of Community	Influence Sense of Community	Reinforcement Sense of Community	Emotional Sense of Community	Sense of Community
Crime Concern	1													
Behaviour Concern	.69**	1												
Emergency Concern	.61**	.67**	1											
Safety Concern	.89**	.90**	.84**	1										
Psy Privacy Stfn	-.01	-.04	-.03	-.03	1									
Info Privacy Stfn	-.06*	-.08**	-.08**	-.08**	.74**	1								
Phy Privacy Stfn	-.09**	-.08**	-.06	-.09**	.57**	.61**	1							
Soc Privacy Stfn	-.05	-.07*	-.04	-.06*	.46**	.53**	.63**	1						
Privacy Satisfaction	-.07*	-.08**	-.06*	-.08**	.84**	.87**	.84**	.79**	1					
Membership SoC	-.09**	-.11**	-.12**	-.12**	.21**	.26**	.28**	.31**	.32**	1				
Influence SoC	-.01	-.04	-.08**	-.05	.11**	.17**	.17**	.26**	.21**	.65**	1			
Reinforcement SOC	-.03	-.05	-.05	-.05	.08**	.13**	.12**	.22**	.16**	.58**	.66**	1		
Emotional SoC	-.06*	-.09**	-.10**	-.09**	.21**	.24**	.23**	.26**	.28**	.57**	.52**	.63**	1	
Sense of Community	-.06*	-.08**	-.10**	-.09**	.18**	.24**	.24**	.31**	.29**	.83**	.85**	.86**	.82**	1
Mean	2.626	2.499	2.864	2.638	3.986	3.953	4.237	3.827	4.000	3.427	3.213	3.232	3.406	3.320
Std. Deviation	1.098	1.062	1.201	.978	.968	.937	.860	.965	.775	.834	.879	.914	.897	.738

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5. Pearson product-moment correlation table calculating the correlation coefficient (r) of the dependent variables

To test the hypothetical model of the research as shown in Figure 1, a structural equation modelling was performed. It was assumed that the casual model of the high-rise residents’ psychological status consisted of five latent variables: Environmental factors; personal factors; safety concerns; privacy satisfaction; and a sense of community. An initial model was constructed based on the literature and theoretical concept. Then the model was modified to obtain the proper Goodness of Fit Statistics. During optimisation of the model, each version of the model was adjusted by a trial and error approach according to the literature and the suggested modification indices of the output. The final model was found to be $\chi^2 = 589.12$, $df = 110$, $P\text{-value} = 0.00$, $RMSEA=0.06$, $CFI = 0.93$ $GFI = 0.95$, and $AGFI = 0.92$, which was considered to be a good fitting model with the conditions of a large sample size (N=1206), and the initial research hypotheses. The numeric value located with single-arrows is an estimate of standardised regression weight (standardised maximum likelihood parameter). All values were found at the $p\text{-value} < 0.001$ except the relationships represented by the grey lines and numbers that were found to have a $p\text{-value} > 0.05$. The estimates of standardised regression weight from errors to variables were removed from this path diagram in order to clear the relationship between the variables, which has been illustrated in Figure 2.

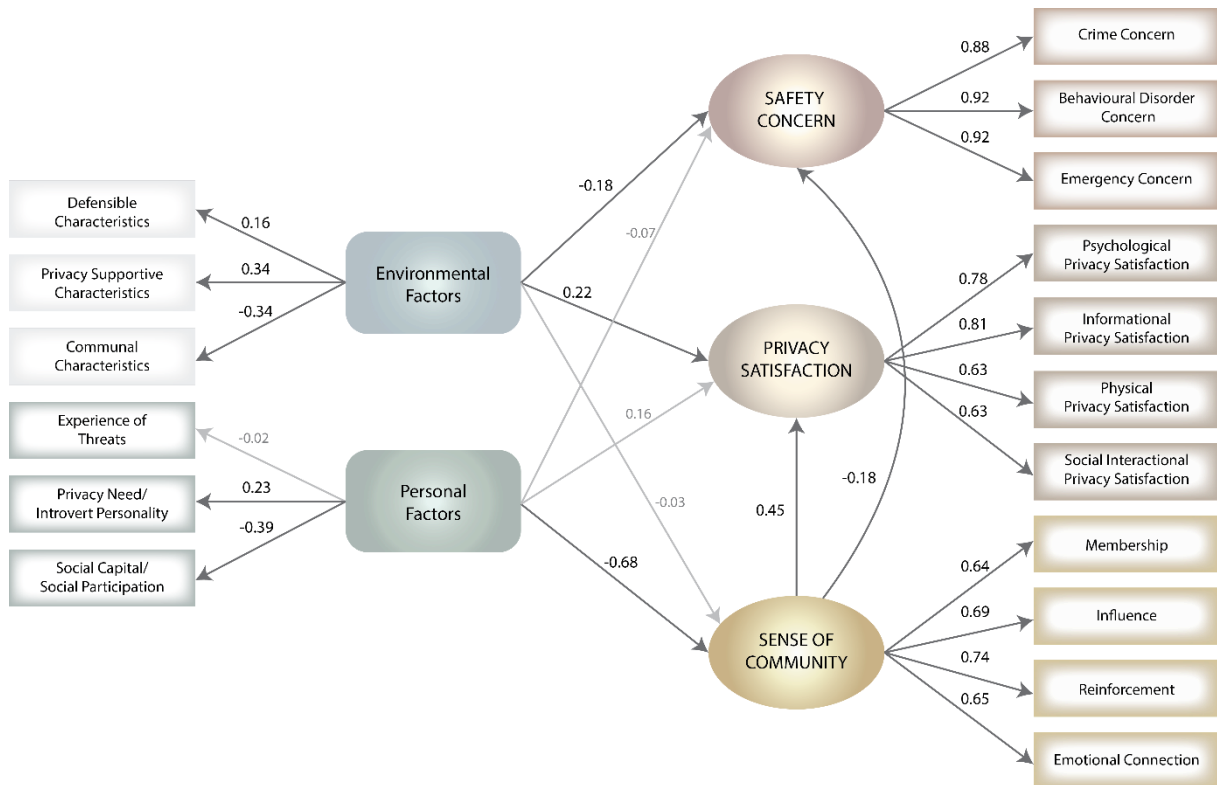


Figure 2. Path diagram of structural equation modelling depicting the relationships between the variables: Environmental Factors, Personal Factors, Safety Concern, Privacy Satisfaction, and Sense of Community

CONCLUSION

The research findings statistically confirmed the prior assumptions that the environment of high-rise housing and the urban context of Bangkok influenced the mental status of the inhabitants in variety and diversity. Summarily, at the urban scale, the essential environmental factors affecting the respondents' safety concern, in particular, the concern about the behavioural disorder as well as their sense of community were 1) the heterogeneity of urban area and 2) the density of population by district. The respondents living in the western side of the Chao Phraya River, which was the fringe area and the newly urbanised area of Bangkok, reported a higher level of behavioural disorder concern than the respondents from other zones. Meanwhile, the respondents living in the central business district significantly had a weaker sense of community than others. The density of population was also one of the significant predictors to the increase of behavioural disorder concern and the decreases of feelings of community.

Concerning the architectural scale, the territorial features of the building exposed their impact on the sense of community of the residents. For instance, the respondents of gated condominiums significantly had a lower total sense of community than the semi and non-gated condominiums. The regression equation also showed that the higher floor level, the higher emergency concern amongst respondents was reported. As well the more units per floor, the more behavioural concern and the less psychological privacy satisfaction was found.

Furthermore, the architectural indicators namely defensible characteristic, privacy-supportive characteristic, and communal characteristic of the buildings, significantly impacted all three psychological dependent variables in several ways as previously outlined.

Considering the personal psychological background: 1) experience of threats, 2) privacy needs, and 3) social capital and participation, and the personal attributes of the respondents namely age, gender, length of occupancy), the effect sizes of these variables were larger and better explained the variances of the three psychological domains than the environmental assessment scores.

The final structural equation model suggested that the conceptual model assumed at the beginning of the study fit with the data that derived from the field survey. The model additionally indicated that the three dependent variables associated with each other. The particular internal effects were 1) the positive effect of sense of community on privacy satisfaction and 2) the negative effect of sense of community on safety concern. By adding these two internal regression paths, the Goodness of Fit Statistics of the model became more efficient than the initial version model, in which the interdependent effects were not specified.

In other words, promoting the sense of community amongst the vertical housing community was paramount and recommended due to its capacity of suppressing the concern about safety and its capability of enhancing the satisfaction of privacy amongst high-rise population was confirmed statistically and achieved the standardised reliability.

Conclusively, the findings of this empirical research revealed the intertwining bonds between environmental determinants and psychological wellbeing as well as confirmed that the fundamental senses of home: safety, privacy, and sense of community were the substrates of each other. To better high-rise housing environment, maintaining the equilibrium of these feelings requires more attention and becomes more and more challenging to the Thai housing authority and private stakeholders as long as the vertical housing is still on demand.

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THE PROVISION OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING BY 25% RULE IN COPENHAGEN, DENMARK

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INTRODUCTION

In most European countries there has been a decline in the financial support for affordable rental housing production once provided by national governments.¹ The growing demand for affordable accommodation and the lack of capacity for social housing has increased. According to Kristensen², “recent years have been characterized by continuous worsening of social and ethnical segregation problems in the social housing sector and by increasing demand for owner-occupied dwellings in and around major cities”. Affordable housing provisions have been under pressure from free market trends for the last two decades³ because market oriented policy interventions and regulations promote new forms of public housing transformations that combine various actors, activities, strategies, and negotiations.⁴ This helps to create what Sassen refers to as “platforms”,⁵ which are characteristics of global cities that serve as vehicles of continued influence, or domination, of globalization effects on cities. The effects are related to the changing roles of municipalities, transformations of infrastructure, and designs of cities that serve as platforms for a “rapidly growing range of globalized activities and flows, from economic to political”.⁶ Sassen explains that globalization has triggered social structuring in cities.⁷ Furthermore, Andersen, Andersen, and Ærø⁸, in common with Sassen⁹, explain that there is no direct correlation between globalization and the social structure of cities. However, each of these studies claims that global economic influence has transformed institutions through alterations in welfare regimes that affect new affordable housing provision.

The social democratic controlled welfare states were known for state-oriented decision making and management; however, the decentralization of government has been observed in welfare states with two distinct types of local governance.¹⁰ The decentralized local government has responsibility to provide welfare services such as schools, hospitals, jobs and affordable housing and generates revenue from high taxes that is used for social projects that support the community in eliminating disadvantages such as spatial segregation problems.¹¹ Denmark has been under pressure from new dynamics related to global economic forces since the financial crisis of 1980, when privatization and decentralization began. These dynamics have been adopted with institutional links between central government, local government and private organizations; the dynamics were then reorganized by the Danish political leaders who maintain control over the economy.¹² Since the 1990s, Copenhagen has been regarded as the “growth locomotive” of Denmark in achieving economic and physical

infrastructure expansion. The municipality switched its planning approach by developing housing for high and middle incomes while regenerating the inner city and developing large scale,¹³ which led to an increase in real estate prices at the beginning of 2000.^{14,15} Urban planning strategies became more and more market based instead of welfare oriented.¹⁶ Urban planning policies have become more dualist in structure and more market oriented¹⁷ since they have been supported by mortgage lending from various associations¹⁸ contrary to Denmark's unitary housing market that maintains a high amount of affordable housing (public rental housing) at 22%.¹⁹

As in Denmark, problems such as spatial segregation have been observed in other countries and are the subjects of OECD reports. Until the end of the 1980s, OECD countries were supporters of market oriented policies; these countries interpreted welfare as a barrier to economic growth. Then alarm bells began to ring in the 1990s with the appearance of problems such as spatial segregation due to economic restructuring in the cities.²⁰ OECD reports have suggested solutions including policy adjustments to create social cohesion in which housing is an important element. This can be achieved by creating socially mixed communities through the implementation of spatial mixing in planning methods.²¹ The spatial mix concept balances low and middle income housing in the same area by placing low income housing not only in the suburbs but also in city centres. It is achieved through an agreement or law attached to land use plans to reserve land, capital or a specific proportion of a private development for affordable housing units.²²

In Copenhagen, the spatial segregation problem started before 1980 when some local governments produced only new private housing without any affordable homes while other municipalities concentrated on the provision of new affordable housing.²³ This is also the result of local government reform before 1980, which authorized local governments to arrange their finances using local tax revenues making municipalities the primary welfare providers from their local budgets. Then, municipalities targeted the financing of housing resources at high tax payers to increase their budgets.²⁴ As a result, residential segregation started with an accumulation of low income residents in affordable housing and old private housing stock while those with middle and high incomes lived in owner occupied or private-rented housing.^{25,26} The Municipality of Copenhagen developed a strategy to achieve a mix in the city to dissolve clusters of people with the same socioeconomic status by analysing the socioeconomic map of Copenhagen (figure 1).

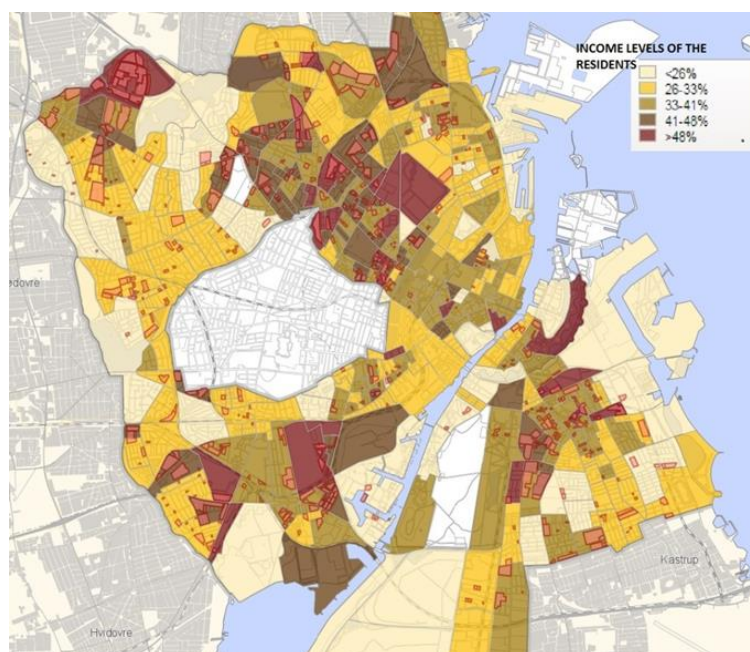


Figure 1: Socioeconomic structure and affordable housing stock of Copenhagen (KøbenhavnsKommun 2016).

The socioeconomic map of Copenhagen includes a growing gap in income and employment differentiation between districts. As a solution, a social mix strategy was introduced through a new affordable housing act in 2015 that has been a catalyst for new developments.²⁷ The act includes zoning areas that have a maximum of 25% plot area on the ground reserved for affordable housing. According to the strategy, each zone should include different types of tenure and housing opportunities consisting of different price levels in order to provide a mix. The municipality targets production of a maximum of 5,000 new affordable housing units each year by 2025 to keep the proportion of affordable housing stock the same, or 20% in Copenhagen. To achieve this, supplement no. 44 has been added to the city plan.²⁸ The main concept is translated into English as follows: “The Planning Act promotes the development of a coherent city where there are mixed housing types in Copenhagen and gives the possibility of mixed households in neighbourhoods”.²⁹

This study aims to inquire into how the spatial mix strategy is implemented by the Copenhagen municipality that is the primary welfare provider, and whether a new method of 25% rule of new affordable housing provision was a solution to the spatial segregation problem. This qualitative case study gathers information from primary data sources such as planning policies, legislation and public announcements, and interviews with the municipality, housing association and academics. Secondary sources consist of a review of scientific articles and thesis materials that discuss recent developments in affordable housing production in Copenhagen. The first and second part of this article includes a background literature review of affordable housing and spatial mix in Copenhagen. It is followed by the explanation of 25% rule supported by affordable housing law of 2015 and a new type of affordable housing is developed by municipality referring “billige boliger” and is supported by municipal plan of 2015. The following sections explain the contribution of the state-municipal owned company to affordable housing and the result of 25% rule with the contribution of the municipal company to implement a project in case area which is Enghave Brygge in Copenhagen. The last part consists of discussion and conclusion.

AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN COPENHAGEN

The term of affordable housing is referred to non-profit housing, or in Danish “almene boliger”, has been used in the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs (MHURA) report by referring to affordable housing acts.³⁰ The acts, the Consolidated Act on Public Housing and the Consolidated Act on the Rent of Public Dwellings, define affordable housing as three types of rental units; those for families, the young and elderly people are produced by non-profit associations. Affordable housing comprises 20% of the total housing stock in Denmark; 82% of the affordable housing stock is for family dwellings, 12% is for the elderly, and 6% is for young people. Approximately 800 associations consisting of 8,000 estates in various areas of Denmark manage the stock.³¹ The affordable housing stock is owned by associations that can apply for state guaranteed loans and municipal subsidies for new affordable housing production or the renovation of old affordable housing.³² Non-profit housing associations apply Copenhagen Municipality to get allowance for new construction of affordable housing and if the municipality accepts, non-profit housing associations have also get financial support from the municipality that is 10 % of construction costs in 2016. Tenants of affordable housing are also contributing financially to new production which is 2 %.

Affordable housing production costs are exempt from income and real-estate taxes. The finance of affordable housing units has been supported by the municipality with 10% of construction and land purchase costs.³³ 2% is from tenants` deposits and the remainder is provided by mortgages.³⁴ Meanwhile, construction cost per square meter was 21 696 DKK (€ 2 913) in 2012. In particular, the inner parts of Copenhagen have high land prices that have been an obstacle to financing the land; housing for families, the young, the elderly and care homes can be produced on reserved land³⁵ with the support of the municipal budget.³⁶ In 2014, the population of the metropolitan area of Copenhagen was 570 000³⁷ including a low income community of 5 519 people in households with a monthly gross income of around 4 170 DKK (€ 560, 84).³⁸ The rents are high for low income citizens which were approximately 595 DKK (80 Euros) per square meter in 2005.³⁹

Local governments have an active role in the management of financial distribution and welfare provision in a way that aims to avoid inequalities in the cities of Denmark.⁴⁰ Decentralization of governance from central to local makes local governments the primary welfare providers by giving them authority to provide education, healthcare facilities and employment.⁴¹ Many of the local government programs have attempted to create a social mix in Copenhagen with the renovation of old affordable housing or by conducting social programs to increase social capital.⁴² Local governments have also been authorized to manage their finances using local tax revenue making them the authority that provides welfare support from the local level budget since the 1980s.⁴³ Since the 1990s, this policy has been used to support affordable housing production by providing 7-14% of construction costs from the municipal budget until 2015. Affordable housing production has become a problem when City of Copenhagen is bankrupted and state enacted a new law to sell municipal rental houses to tenants. This situation is followed by restrictions of activities of non-profit housing associations by disallowing construction permits at the end of 1990s. In an interview with a professor in Danish Building Research Institute of Aalborg University explained how and why affordable housing in Copenhagen become problematic as:

“In mid 1990s... I think it was in 1995, the former mayor simply stop all affordable housing for low income people in Copenhagen. This is because each time you make new affordable housing in Copenhagen, you can see an inflow of non-labour market active people probably who are immigrants,

low income people demanding public benefits and paying lower taxes. Production of every single affordable housing is just another leakage in municipal economy.

From 1995 until recently, non-profit housing associations have not been allowed to construct affordable housing to very low income people. Associations cannot get a license to build. It has been loosened but still there is a regulation that they can produce only larger flats consist of 95 square meters, the reason for this simply because of the overwhelming number of one or two room flats in Copenhagen. Also, the city population has middle income families who demand, of course, large flats more than 2 room flats'' (Interview with a professor from Danish Building Research Institute of Aalborg University, April 2016).

As it was explained in the interview, the production of new affordable housing has been restricted since the 1990s, also because of the support of home-ownership with new mortgage lending, privatization of municipal affordable housing and an increase in financial contribution of municipality to affordable housing provision. Firstly, promotions for mortgage lending which was followed by housing booms led to an increase in property prices in Copenhagen. Since 1992, the repayment period of mortgage loans has been increased from 20 years to 30 years and in 2003, a new loan, interest only loan has been run in Denmark that followed by a reduction of taxes from real property.⁴⁴ Andersen,⁴⁵ in his article on the economic policies of Denmark explained the situation as follows:

“Following the introduction of interest-only loans, prices went up by additional 60 per cent on average in 2004–2006. From the take-off in 1995 to the burst of the bubble in the end of 2006, prices tripled for houses and quadrupled for owner-occupied apartments”.

Secondly, the municipal affordable housing stock was sold in 1995 to tenants and the housing stock became cooperative housing in Copenhagen.⁴⁶ This situation reduced the amount of available affordable housing units. Thirdly, the municipal contribution to afford the affordable housing construction costs increased in 2007 from 7% to 14%. As a result, municipality of Copenhagen became reluctant to generate new affordable housing provision.⁴⁷ This reluctance is also linked to high land prices, particularly the ones that are close to central locations of the city, the land price constitutes 14 – 20% rate of the whole project costs.⁴⁸ Therefore, many of the affordable housing has been constructed in the periphery of Copenhagen since 2000s (figure 2).

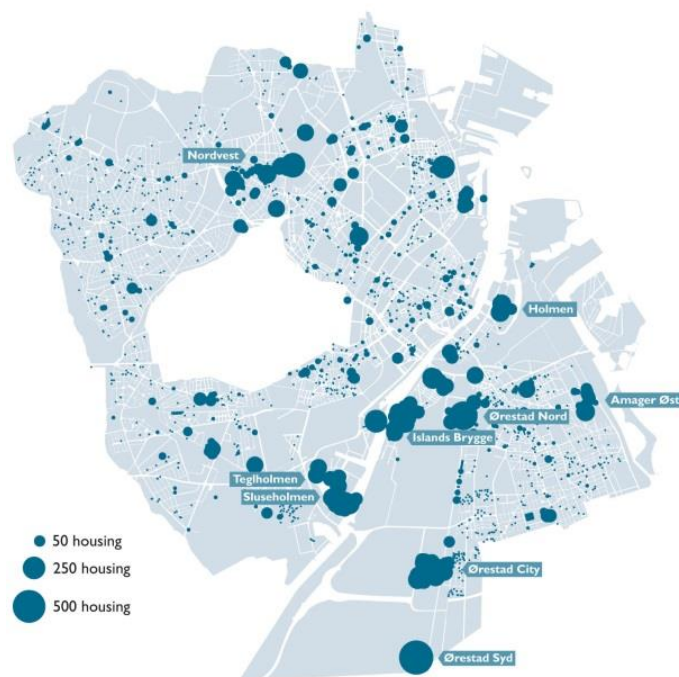


Figure 2: The production of affordable housing in local municipalities Copenhagen between 2000-2012 (KøbenhavnsKommun, 2014).

The municipality of Copenhagen has developed a new method of production of affordable housing to create spatial mix in the city to dissolve the clusters of people having same socioeconomic status by municipal plan of 2015.⁴⁹

Spatial mix in Copenhagen

Global economic forces have been observed as creating remarkable problems of spatial form in cities.⁵⁰ A way to tackle the problems is to strengthen social issues through national government actions⁵¹ by development of a spatial mix strategy.⁵² In England, the strategy is provided by adapting low income groups into England's market-rate private development, infill or brown field sites. There is no long term research reveals the results led to gentrification⁵³; on the contrary, according to short term studies, this method increases the affordable housing supply in city centres.⁵⁴ The transfer of low income residents from high clusters of low income groups to accommodate them in areas that consist of weak clusters of low income groups or into more affluent residential areas⁵⁵ is the main principle of the spatial mix strategy.

Spatial mix has been adapted to land use plan of Copenhagen in 2015 and authorized local municipalities an option to reserve land for new affordable housing. The land use plans include zones having a maximum of 25% of an area should be designated for new affordable housing production. The Danish Parliament authorization of the act is called 'Almenboligloven',⁵⁶ promotes the development of new residential areas and provides opportunities to transform locally planned industrial, business and commercial areas or public spaces into residential.⁵⁷ Accordingly, a new type of housing has been developed by Copenhagen municipality for low income citizens. According to the recent municipal plan of 2015, Copenhagen municipality decided to support cheap small housing and homes for young people that consist of a maximum of 25-30 square meters (called "Billige Boliger")

in Danish) to be rented for a maximum of 3,200 DKK (€ 430,48).⁵⁸ An interview with an agent of the urban planning department from the Municipality of Copenhagen reveals:

“The municipality uses the 25% rule in all possible areas if current affordable housing is less than 20% in the school district. If current affordable housing is between 20 and 30%, then the composition of housing types is considered to determine whether to use the rule. So far, the municipality has been using this rule for new development areas under urban regeneration, such as transformation of port areas of Copenhagen.

The people who have lowest income, those are the people on welfare benefits; we have a definition about what is the limit they can pay, that is the mostly find when we have affordable housing; that is monthly rent that can pay is approximately 3.200 DKK (€ 430, 48). These houses should be built between 25 m²- 30 m²“(Interview with planning department of Copenhagen Municipality, May 2016).

The municipal plan and municipal budget support non-profit housing associations to provide land and construct new affordable housing by housing Act No-221. A budget is used for purchasing land in city centres for the provision of affordable housing was announced by the City Council of Copenhagen in March of 2015. According to interviews with the municipality, the money will be used to buy lands in urban regeneration areas which have been owned and managed by the state-municipality company of Copenhagen, called By & Havn. Therefore, finding plots and reserving the quota with funding through municipal subsidies is easier for non-profit housing associations through negotiation processes with By & Havn.

The Contribution of the State-Municipal Owned Company to Affordable Housing

By & Havn is an urban development company that has the authority to sale land, lease commercial areas, develop and consult on plans, and implement infrastructure projects in port areas since the 2007 according to the law of `Metroselskabet and City Development Corporation`.⁵⁹ In 2007, Copenhagen Municipality increased its share in company from 45% to 95% while the state's share is 5%. Today the company has the majority of land in port areas of Copenhagen and became one of the main actors. The property prices consisting of new housing units in port areas are high and the area addresses to middle and high income population.

The recent law has facilitated non-profit housing associations finding plots with municipal subsidies.⁶⁰ Non-profit housing associations prefer to develop affordable housing in new development areas that include empty plots owned by By & Havn. The land stock owned by By & Havn in the city is shown in figure 3. The reason for choosing the plots where non-profit housing associations are willing to produce affordable housing has been explained in an interview with a representative from one of the non-profit housing associations:

“There are two major reasons for the preference for production in new development areas; the first is there are quite a few plots in older parts of Copenhagen. The second is the new development areas such as port areas and the land linked to water which are more attractive for people and private developers who want to construct expensive new flats. The tendency of the Copenhagen Municipality is to create a social mix. Therefore, we and other non-profit housing associations are trying to negotiate with the municipality for land and funding for new construction in these areas to achieve the social cohesion target by using the recent act” (Interview with one of the non-profit housing associations, May, 2016).



Figure 3: The land owned by By & Havn in Copenhagen (By & Havn 2016).

Even though By & Havn is publicly owned but acts as a private company according to a decision by the High-Court of Denmark.⁶¹ The company is an important actor for ensuring compliance with the implementation of the 25% quota rule. This is because the municipality does not obligate private companies reserving land for affordable housing. Associations have usually constructed on the land that is owned by By & Havn and private companies can voluntarily accept reservation of part of their land for affordable housing after the negotiations. The negotiations are among By & Havn, private company and municipality if the land is sold to private company by By & Havn which is a case example of this paper is discussed in following paragraphs.

Enghave Brygge Project Including the 25% Rule in Sydhavnen, Copenhagen

Sluseholmen is located in the southern part of Copenhagen and is used for industry associated with the port. The heavy industry sector in Teglholmen and Sluseholmen has been transformed into the business sector over the last ten years. This transformation has resulted in major changes in the social structure of the area particularly after Aalborg University opened a campus there in 2012, which attracted 3,500 new students and 500 new employees to the area. The housing in this area attracts middle and high income population, the area has affordable housing stock; however, the rents are high particularly low income people who earn around 4,170 DKK (€560, 84). The rents vary between 9000 (€1210, 55) and 11000 DKK (€1479, 77) in 2016.⁶² Affordable housing stock is 10% of whole and is managed by a non-profit housing association.⁶³

A new project has developed which uses the 25% rule and implemented by a local level partnership among a non-profit housing association, cooperative and a private company. The project developed on a land where the business function has been transformed to residential by negotiation with the landowner, By & Havn, and the municipality. The partnership has constructed 6,500 square meters of housing consisting of both affordable and “Billige Boliger” units which consist of a maximum monthly rents of 3200 DKK (€430.48) in a mixed tenant building. The mixed tenant building include owner occupied, cooperative and rental affordable housing. The rental affordable housing is designed as two types by considering municipal plan and recent law of 2015, where 10% of the units are “Billige Boliger”, and the remaining houses out of 25% are affordable family homes. The location of building is shown in figure 4.⁶⁴ The affordable family homes are supposed to be rented with the similar prices to existing affordable housing stock which are rented between 9,000 (€1210,55) and 11,000 DKK (€1479,77).



Figure 4: The location of mixed use housing in Sydhavnen, Copenhagen (KøbenhavnsKommune 2016)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper analysed the implementation of the 25% quota rule that aims a social mix. According to the findings of this study, the recent housing act⁶⁵ (Act No. 221 2015) and municipal plan of 2015 are increasing the affordable housing supply by the contribution of municipality with two new tools. These are municipal contribution to land purchase costs and the municipal request of land reservation from developers to achieve spatial mix in Copenhagen. According to interviews and the local plan, a new affordable housing project has been constructed on the private land with land reservation and financial contribution of municipality.

The case study showed that, Copenhagen Municipality negotiated with the private company about reservation of land for affordable housing production. The company purchased the land from By & Havn and after the negotiations with the municipality, the usage of the land converted to residential function from business. Regeneration of port area has still going on and it resides middle and high income groups. The rent levels of recent affordable housing are high, and it is assumed that, the new affordable houses by 25% rule could request similar rents. Even though, 10% of the housing units are planned to reside low income groups to achieve spatial mix, the number of planned affordable housing are few.

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