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Location of Social Housing:
Analysing spatial patterns of social housing schemes in Vienna and Copenhagen

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Location of Social Housing:
Analysing spatial spatial patterns of social housing schemes in Vienna and Copenhagen

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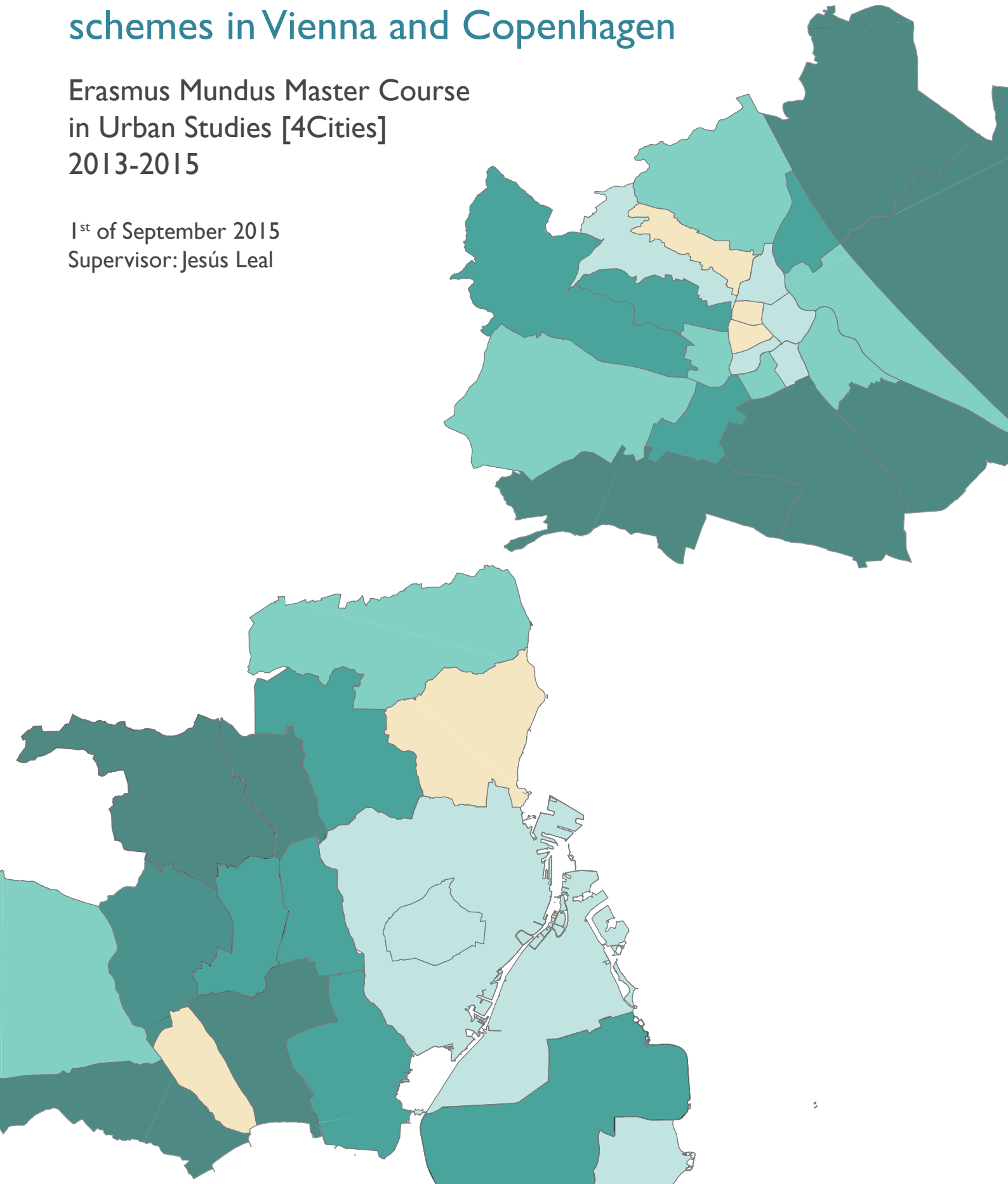
Abstract

Providing social housing is a crucial subject in current political debate as well as in scientific literature. When examining the topic of social housing there are two major issues: firstly, what socio-demographic groups are entitled to benefit from social housing and how has the socio-economic composition changed over the last decades? And secondly, where in a city are social housing units built? The latter question, which is related to the planning system of a city, is oftentimes underestimated, disregarded or simply overlooked in literature covering social housing in Europe. This thesis addresses exactly this problem, its objective being the identification of how the planning systems are used to influence the location of social housing developments across urban space by the example of Vienna and Copenhagen. Both cities have repeatedly been appraised as being amongst the most liveable cities worldwide. As a result of their increasing attractiveness as a place to live in, land and housing prices have been soaring. The research underlines that the possibilities for providers of social housing are limited considerably by high land price. Both cities have recently introduced new instruments to meet the challenge of finding land for social housing developments.

Information obtained through literature on housing policies and the role of social housing in Vienna and Copenhagen was combined with expert opinions. Furthermore a spatial analysis of the distribution of social housing was carried out.

Kurzfassung

Die Bereitstellung von sozialem Wohnungsbau ist ein viel diskutiertes Problem in der aktuellen politischen Debatte, aber auch in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur. Der Schwerpunkt der bisherigen Forschung über (soziale) Wohnungsfragen liegt darauf, wie die verschiedenen Systeme in den unterschiedlichen europäischen Ländern und Städten funktionieren. Weniger Aufmerksamkeit bekommen hingegen Fragen zur räumlichen Entwicklung; an diesem Punkt, der im Zusammenhang mit dem Planungssystem und -instrumentarium einer Stadt steht, setzt diese Masterarbeit an.

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, zu untersuchen und zu vergleichen, wie Planungssysteme eingesetzt werden, um die räumliche Verteilung des sozialen Wohnungsbaus in Wien und Kopenhagen zu beeinflussen. Wien und Kopenhagen werden beide oftmals als einer der weltweit lebenswertesten Städte begutachtet. Mit der wachsenden Attraktivität der beiden Städte sind die Boden- und Wohnungspreise gestiegen. Die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeiten heben hervor, dass hohe Grundstückspreise die Möglichkeiten für Standorte für den sozialen Wohnungsbau begrenzen. Beide Städte haben vor kurzem neue Instrumente eingeführt, um die Herausforderung der Suche nach Standorten für den sozialen Wohnungsbau zu bewältigen.

Methodisch basiert die Arbeit auf der Analyse bestehender Literatur und auf leitfadengestützten Interviews, bei denen ExpertInnen zur Entwicklung des sozialen Wohnungsbaus in Wien beziehungsweise in Kopenhagen gefragt wurden.

Erklärung

Hiermit versichere ich, dass die ich die vorliegende Masterarbeit selbstständig verfasst, andere als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel nicht benutzt und mich auch sonst keiner unerlaubter Hilfe bedient habe, dass ich dieses Masterarbeitsthema bisher weder im In- noch im Ausland in irgendeiner Form als Prüfungsarbeit vorgelegt habe und dass diese Arbeit mit der vom Begutachter beurteilten Arbeit vollständig übereinstimmt.

Wien, 1. September 2015

I would like to thank

Professor Jesús Leal

My family

All 4Cities people

"Dwelling – a basic need.
Habitation – a human right.
Social Housing – a struggle
against misery and poverty
since industrialization."

(Rumpfhuber, 2012, p. 4)

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1. Introduction

1.1. Problem Setting and Research Question

The relationship between institutional differences in housing policies and the organisation of socio-spatial divisions and residential patterns has been a topic of academic interest for some time (see e.g. Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998). Housing policies are embedded in economic interests, political motivations and in society`s discourses on welfare. In that sense housing can be seen as a practice which goes beyond the object level, as it influences ways of living together (Klein, 2012, p. 7). In *Social Justice and the City,* David Harvey (2009 [1973], p. 168) describes the urban housing market very graphically as a theatre with differently priced seats. Those with high income can choose from a wide range of seats, and are likely to choose the most expensive ones with the best location, whereas those with limited incomes and resources can only afford cheaper seats, while some cannot afford a seat at all. The degree of choice is largely based on the ability to pay. However, it is also important to look at the seat structure and the pricing policy of the theatre (Butler & Hamnett, 2012, p.150). *"Both the built environment and where people live represent the outcome of individual decisions carried out in the context both of economic processes and of the welfare state."* (Murie, 1998, p. 114) In a number of European cities a significant social housing sector – including state-owned and not-for-profit housing[1] - was developed as part of a national welfare state arrangement. Social housing facilitates access to housing based on criteria other than the ability to pay. Under the new conditions and intensified processes of globalization, capital and labour flexibility and welfare restructuring, the welfare state in general and housing policy in particular are facing new challenges. Increased social inequality and social division are apparent in Europe; the trend of social polarization with a growing share at both income extremes can be observed. That means a rising number of high income earners and a growing number of excluded at the other end of the scale (Van Kempen & Murie, 2009, p. 383). As a consequence of this growing share of low income-group, there is a growing demand for social housing. At the same time, welfare cutbacks have also affected the supply of social housing due to the diminished subsidies provided by the state (Levy-Vroelant & Reinprecht, 2014, p. 298).

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[1] In the literature the terms 'non-profit', 'not-for-profit' or 'limited-profit' housing associations are used to describe providers of social housing besides municipalities (see Scanlon, Whitehead & Arrigoitia, 2014). For reasons of clarity the term 'not-for-profit' is used consistently in this thesis, the only exceptions are direct quotations.

The emphasis of academic literature on social housing lies on how the social housing system works in different European countries and which current trends can be observed in the sector (see e.g. Scanlon, Whitehead & Arrigoitia, 2014), but little is spoken about a spatial perspective and where these social housing units are actually situated in the urban space. For urban planners and policy makers, the question should be how the institutional framing of social housing production results in particular spatial organisations. It does not only matter if and under what conditions low-income and poor households are able to live in the city, but also where (Kadi & Musterd, 2014, p. 14). The adage *"location, location, location"* found in real estate practices reveals the major importance of the spatial dimension of housing (Galster, 2012, p. 84). Where a household lives determines its access to urban life and to the qualities of the city, as the location of public and privately supplied services and facilities are not evenly distributed across urban space. The disadvantage might lead to exclusion by which *"[p]eople are prevented from participating in the economic, political and social life […] because of reduced accessibility to opportunities, services and social networks, due to whole or in part to insufficient mobility in a society and an environment built around the assumption of high mobility."* (Kenyon, Lyons & Rafferty, 2002, p. 210)

Over the last century, many measures have been taken to foster the provision of social housing, primarily by subsidies to housing providers and to tenants. In times of welfare dismantling, alternative policies are needed to ensure the provision of social housing. The emergence of means of using the planning system to influence the provision social housing is one of the most significant new policy directions in the realm of social housing in the recent decades (Calavita & Mallach, 2010; Burgess, Monk & Whitehead, 2007). Planning systems are institutional systems rooted within different planning cultures - a set of formal and informal ways for carrying out urban planning and of regulations covering land use development (see Sanyal 2005; Friedmann 2005; Knieling & Othengrafen 2009; Dühr, Colomb, & Nadin, 2010).

The existence of megatrends - such as globalisation, social polarisation and intense competition between cities - is undeniable, but the influence on social and spatial fragmentation depends very much also on the role of the state, the organisation of the planning system and the pursued objective of local urban policies (Andersen & Van Kempen, 2001, pp. 5-6). The aim of this thesis is to analyse and compare social housing schemes from a spatial perspective in connection to planning instruments in two European cites. Depending on its characteristics and distribution in the urban space, social housing can either be a sphere of integration and inclusion, or it can be the source of exclusion accentuating social inequalities (Murie, 2008, p. 158; Tutin, 2008, p. 47). There is growing recognition that the configuration of Western European urban housing markets has been changing in the context of a rising neo-liberal policy discourse and practice since the 1980s (see e.g. Aalbers, 2004; Andersen,

2004; Hedin, Clark, Lundholm, & Malmberg, 2012; Musterd, 2014; Norris & Winston, 2012). Therefore, the starting point of this thesis lies on the spatial patters of social housing since the 1980s.

<u>This master thesis addresses the following research questions:</u>

→ What are the spatial patterns of social housing in Vienna and Copenhagen since the 1980s?

→ What are current planning instruments to influence the location of social housing developments in Vienna and Copenhagen?

The thesis presents a comparative approach[2] to the issue of social housing in Vienna and Copenhagen. *"Comparativism always entrains relations of similarity and difference […]."* (McFarlane & Robinson, 2012, p. 766) Comparative housing research has become a major field of investigation; ideally comparative research aims to *"[…] reveal the complex, structured reality of housing systems and develop suitable conceptual tools to explain difference and change."* (Ploeger, Lawson & Bontje, 2001, p. 1)

	VIENNA	COPENHAGEN & SOURROUNDINGS
population 2014[3]	1.765.575 (city of Vienna)	1.242.351 (Byen København[4] + Københavns omegn[5])
population growth[6] (2001 – 2013 in %)	+12%	+9%
surface area[7]	414,87 km²	521,53 km²
welfare regime[8]	conservative	social democratic
social housing[9] (% of total housing stock)	42%	29%
income limits[10] for social housing	yes, but rather high 80-90% of population is eligible	no 100% of population is eligible for entry

To allow a better comparison regarding scale of the two case studies, not only the municipality of Copenhagen, but also the first dense ring of suburbs surrounding the city which continue the urban

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[2] For a deeper understand of the comparative research approach see the GLOSSARY in the annex.

[3] EUROSTAT (2015)

[4] Byen København = København, Frederiksberg, Dragør, Tårnby = 728.243 inhabitants

[5] Københavns omegn = Albertslund, Ballerup, Brøndby, Gentofte, Gladsaxe, Glostrup, Herlev, Hvidovre, Høje-Taastrup, Ishøj, Lyngby-Taarbæk, Rødovre, Vallensbæk = 530.612 inhabitants

[6] for Vienna: Statistik Austria (2015a); for Copenhagen: Danmark Statistiks (2015a)

[7] for Vienna: Statistik Austria (2015b); for Copenhagen: Danmark Statistiks (2015b)

[8] Matznetter, 2002, p. 269

[9] for Vienna: Statistik Austria (2014); for Copenhagen: Danmark Statistiks (2015c)

[10] Scanlon et al., 2014

fabric (corresponding with the region 'Københavns omegn'; hereinafter referred to as surroundings or surrounding area) is also considered for the case study.

Due to their political and social structures as well as their historical contexts Vienna and Copenhagen offer two interesting cases. Both cities are medium-sized European capitals, and both are experiencing positive population growth which increases the pressure on the housing market. Vienna has a long history of housing policies and elaborate social housing developments. The Austrian Capital has become famous as the 'Red Vienna' during the early 20th century, shaped by an exemplary housing policy. However, in recent years one was able to observe an ever more liberal tendency in the debate about housing issues (Reinprecht, 2014). Social housing became an important element in the development of the Danish welfare state. In the last decades the implementation of housing policies, which are in harmony with the Danish ideals of equality and welfare, has been harder to achieve. High land prices in the Copenhagen area have limited where not-for-profit housing associations can build (Kristensen, 2007; Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014).

1.2. Positioning the Research

The interrelations of urban development, socio-economic structures and residential patterns were described and analysed in the academic literature many times. The present work can be seen in the research context of social housing policy.

A current crucial issue in West European urban policies is how to balance out economic competitiveness and social cohesion. In the context of neoliberal restructuring, planning policy is being reoriented away from redistribution and towards competition (Harvey, 1989; Pahl, 1975; Peck, 1998). A growing body of literature emerged focusing on the discourse on social divisions and segregation in Western capitalist cities since the 1990s. According to Massey & Denton`s definition, residential segregation is understood as *"[…] the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another, in different parts of the urban environment."* (Massey & Denton, 1988, p. 282) Cities are being spatially transformed due to economic restructuring. Concepts such as 'divided cities' (Fainstein, Gordon & Harloe, 1992), 'dual cities' (Mollenkopf & Castells, 1991), 'polarized cities' (Sassen, 1991) and 'fragmented cities' (Burgers, 2002) are repeatedly used to describe the socio-spatial configurations of post-industrial cities. Following the initial idea of division and polarisation, the notion that cities affected by the same global pressures have different patterns of exclusion and segregation has developed in Europe, recognizing welfare provision as a redistributive mechanism. *"It is often argued that there is a strong relation between the extent to which the welfare states have developed their social security and welfare systems and the levels of social polarization, socio-spatial segregation and social exclusion in urban areas."* (Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998, p. 4) In other words, the nature of

welfare arrangements and the traditions of housing policy influence how and if globalisation and economic trends manifest themselves in socio-spatial inequalities.

Housing policy is defined as *"government intervention in the housing field."* (Clapham, 2009, p. 379) In contrast to the definition of housing policy as *"government action to achieve housing objectives"* (Clapham, 2009, p. 379) – including improvement of the quality of the housing stock or dealing with homelessness – interventions in the housing field can also be directed at objectives outside the field. Governments set the framework within which markets operate and countries vary in their objectives and forms of interventions (Clapham, 2009, p. 380).

Theories on housing in international comparative research have been developed since the 1960s (Van der Heijden, 2013, p. 8).This thesis deals with the question of housing policies in the light of the theoretical framework of Michael Harloe (1995) and Jim Kemeny (1995). In the book *The People's Home?* (1995), Harloe expressed probably the most comprehensive convergence theory within international housing research. The convergence school suggests that all housing systems are driven by the same underlying dynamics; Harloe explains the development of the housing market based on a political-economy approach. In contrast, Kemeny argues in *From Public Housing to the Social Market* (1995) for an alternative divergence approach, which emphasises differences between housing systems. He follows Gøsta Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology of welfare regimes to explain differences in welfare regimes and housing systems respectively. Since the formulation of the concept of welfare regimes, many scholars have linked and applied Esping-Andersen's welfare state regime typology to the housing system (Matznetter (2002) on Austria; Hoekstra (2003) on the Netherlands; Allen, Barlow, Leal, Maloutas & Padovani (2004) on South Europe; Arbaci (2007) on Western and Southern Europe; Stamsø (2008) on Norway).

Priemus & Dieleman (2002), Van der Heijden (2013) and Scanlon et al. (2014) give a comparative overview of the current situation of European social housing sectors and point out general European trends in housing policy. The research shows that there is neither one single common definition of social housing in Europe, nor is there one single approach to this issue. *"The main distinction we identified between (private and social renting) was that market housing is allocated according to effective demand while social housing is allocated according to need, the assumption being that the market will not provide according to a socially determined level of need that is different from effective demand."* (Haffner, Hoekstra, Oxley & Van der Heijden, 2009, p. 235) The idea of social housing recognises the needs of households whose incomes are not sufficient to allow them to access appropriate housing in the market without assistance. The concept of need is politically or administratively defined and interpreted which leads to a diversity of approaches to social housing in different countries in Europe.

Most comparative housing research has been carried out focussing on the national scale; this is due to the fact that the concept of welfare regimes is deeply connected to the nation-state. Nation-states have long had a powerful influence over inequalities and the socio-spatial distribution of poverty and welfare. However, the transformation of the nature of the state and at the same time the changes in the provision of welfare as well as emerging constellation of new actors since the 1970s and 1980s have been much debated. David Harvey (1989) describes the changing role of governments as the shift from so-called 'managerial' practices towards an 'entrepreneurial' stance. This urban entrepreneurialism defines Painter (1998, p. 261) as *"[…] a shift in urban politics and governance away from the management of public services and the provision of local welfare services towards the promotion of economic competitiveness, place marketing to attract inward investment […]."*

To some extent responsibility for housing policy has moved away from the nation state towards lower levels of government. *"What the rescaling debate tells us about housing research is that the heyday of the nation-state as the organisational level for the provision of welfare and social housing is definitely over. Welfare provision has either been privatised or rearranged on lower levels, such as the urban or the regional."* (Matznetter & Mundt, 2012, p. 288) Matznetter & Mundt (2012) argue that through sub-national perspective new insights about housing markets can be obtained since housing markets operate at the regional and urban level. The operation of the housing system is embedded in the wider social and economic system of a city.

Cities comprise many different places that have different qualities. Since housing is fixed in space, the housing choice is also a choice of neighbourhood, a choice of access to workplaces or educational institutions, recreational facilities and to other services. The housing market mediates location and housing qualities to various groups, and thus, influences people's everyday life (Kemeny, 2001, p. 62).

The spatial mismatch theory – which was introduced in Kain's (1968) article *Housing Segregation, Negro Employment and Metropolitan Decentralisation* - highlights where particular social groups are concentrated in the housing market and the effects on the inhabitants' access to employment opportunities. It is predominately an American expression, empirical studies on the spatial mismatch hypothesis for European cities are rather recent and it is discussed in socio-professional categories and not in ethnic terms as initially in the case of the United States of America (Gobillon & Selod (2007) and Korsu & Wenglenski (2010) for Paris; Åslund, Östh & Zenou (2010) and Norman, Börjesson & Anderstig (2012) for Swedish cities; Di Paolo, Matas & Raymond (2014) for Barcelona).

To reduce the risk of individual poorer inhabitants becoming excluded from the environment and the society, the issues of neighbourhood composition and the promotion of 'socially-mixed' residential neighbourhoods have emerged as strong dimensions of urban policies. Socially mixed neighbourhoods refer to a community that is heterogeneous in a range of aspects, including *"[…] housing tenure, ethnicity and socio-economic characteristics of residents."* (Arthurson, 2008, p. 209) Social

mix - as the way to generate social cohesion, social mobility opportunities, more social capital and better services - is often regarded to have positive effects (see e.g. Arthurson, 2002; Kleinhans, 2004; Tunstall, 2003). However, as many of the assumptions and associations related to mixing policy lack an empirical underpinning, the 'mantra of the mix' does not remain without criticism (see e.g. Bond, Sautkina, & Kearns, 2011; Holm, 2009; Kearns & Parkes, 2003; Lees, 2008; Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007).

The debate on social housing, on diversity of housing, and on social mix can promote a discussion on the right to housing in a narrow sense and on the right to the city in a broader sense. The claim for the 'Right To The City' is based on considerations of Henri Lefèbvre, which emerged in 1960s as an alternative to the neoliberal model of urban development. The right to the city stresses the need to restructure the power relations that underlie the production of urban space, involving two principal rights for urban inhabitants: the right to participation, and the right to appropriation. The right to participation implies that urban inhabitants should play a central role in decisions regarding the production of urban space. Appropriation includes the right to physically access, and use urban space, but also the right to access the political debates on the future and to produce urban space so that it meets the needs of inhabitants (Lefèbvre, 1996; Harvey, 2008).

Considerations of a spatial perspective on social housing and the relationship between housing and planning systems have not been significantly addressed in Europe, especially in the field of comparative housing research. Given the current era of fiscal austerity with the effects on social inequalities, a critical space for the field of housing research opens up to connect more directly with debates on planning systems and processes. This thesis therefore has the potential to fill an important gap within social housing literature and can provide insights that strengthen housing and planning policy approaches. The objective of this thesis is to analyse the underlying process which frames the spatial configuration of social housing schemes across urban spaces on the basis of Vienna and Copenhagen and its surrounding areas as case studies.

1.3   Methodology

The methodological approach to answer the research question includes literature analysis, expert interviews and spatial analyses.

Literature analysis

For a theoretical review of the topic a comprehensive literature analysis has been conducted. The analysis of existing literature provides the basis to acquire knowledge about the field of research and to point out different positions on the topic (Hsia, 1988). For a comprehensive research the

consideration of any kind of information which is relevant to the research interests is legitimate: "*[…] official records, laws, acts, treaties, media reports, biographies, autobiographies, memoirs, archaeological remains, arts, newspapers, and court proceedings among others.*" (Hsia, 1988, p. 94)

The key concepts which will be tackled during the literature analysis are: housing policies, social housing, and land provision for housing.

Expert interviews

To obtain further insight, guided interviews with experts in the field of housing and policy making in Vienna and Copenhagen were conducted. Expert interviews are counted among the qualitative methods of data collection and aim to capture the specific and focused knowledge of selected individuals (Meuser & Nagel 1991, p. 465). According to Meuser & Nagl (1991, p. 443) experts are persons who are responsible for the design, implementation and monitoring of a programme or have privileged access to decision-making processes. In contrast to other forms of interviews, here the interviewee himself/herself is of less interest than their capacity of having a higher level of information on a specific problem or a certain field of activity (Meuser & Nagel, 1991, pp. 442-444).

Structured guideline interviews sessions were held with representatives of the city government, not-for-profit housing associations, and with researchers to analyse the topic from three different perspectives. For reasons of data protection, the names of the interviewees are not named, but they are replaced by code names (representative of city of Vienna/representative of city of Copenhagen; representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna/representative of not-for-profit housing association in Copenhagen; researcher in the field of housing in Vienna/researcher in the field of housing in Copenhagen). The coding allows the illustration of the professional background of the experts and thus the statements are put into a wider context. A detailed list of the interview partners can be found in the reference list.

The interview guides were designed similarly; however, they have been adapted by specific issues in accordance with the professional background of the experts. The questions were oriented towards understanding the specific housing situation in the city, housing policy and the role of social housing, the consideration of spatial aspects in the implementation of social housing developments, and future challenges for the (social) housing development. Interviews with representatives from Vienna were carried out in German; interviews with representatives from Copenhagen were carried out in English.

The method of Meuser & Nagl (1991, p. 455) was used to analyse the interviews. During expert interviews, the content is the main subject of interpretation; breaks, tone of voice and para-linguistic elements are not taken into consideration. As a tape recorder may also affect the openness of the

interviewees, the interviews were handwritten transcribed, but not recorded on tape. In the course of taking notes a step towards paraphrasing was made, leading to a densification of the information. At this point it is necessary to ensure that there will be no distortion of information (Meuser & Nagl, 1991, pp. 456-457). The information was further densified by making thematic headings for the paraphrased passages. As a next step - to leave the level of the isolated analysis of the individual interviews - similarities, differences, and contradictions in the various interviews were noted and highlighted. With the final step of conceptualization a detachment from the interview texts and from the terminology of the interviewees is realised and the gained knowledge is linked to social theories (Meuser & Nagl, 1991, pp. 459-462). In view of the possibilities and time frame of this thesis, the method of Meuser & Nagl (1991) was followed until the step of conceptualization.

Spatial analysis

Visualization of spatial distribution is important because it communicates fundamental concepts relatively straightforward. Therefore a spatial analysis with geographic information systems (GIS) is conducted. GIS is used to map the distribution of social housing units. The localization was performed via satellite image, the Editor-function in ArcGIS and on basis of an OpenStreetMap database[11].

In the light of rising neo-liberal policy discourses since the 1980s, the determining factor for choosing social housing units – which are analysed and mapped – is the year of construction. Only social housing complexes which have been completed since 1981 will be considered for the spatial analysis. Data required for the mapping of social housing units were provided by the National Building Fund for Social Housing[12] [in Danish: Landsbyggefonden] for Copenhagen and the surrounding areas. In the case of Vienna no aggregate information about all social housing units was available (information according to representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, 2015). The data about housing constructed by the municipality originate from the municipality of Vienna[13]; data about housing constructed by not-for-profit housing association originate from the not-for-profit housing association[14] or in some cases from the Wohnfonds Wien[15]. Due to the fact that it was not possible to get all the necessary data from the responsible not-for-profit housing associations, the map with the spatial distribution does not claim to display all social housing units which have been built in Vienna since 1981. Nevertheless, on the basis of the received information and data, a clear tendency in the development of social housing can be illustrated.

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[11] data retrieved from https://mapzen.com/ [accessed 20.07.2015]
[12] data retrieved from http://www1.lbf.dk/LBF/lbfadminweb.nsf?OpenDatabase [accessed 21.07.2015]
[13] data retrieved from http://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau.html [accessed 21.07.2015]
[14] data retrieved from homepage of not-for-profit housing associations or through personal communication via e-Mail
[15] data retrieved from http://www.wohnfonds.wien.at/articles/nav/140 [accessed 20.07.2015]

1.4 Outline

This work is divided into six chapters. At the beginning the problem setting and relevance of the work is presented and the methodological approach is described. To embed the research question within an academic framework, chapter 2 explains the relation between housing policies and welfare regime as well as an overview over the different social housing approaches and trends in Europe is presented. Chapter 3 deduces why locations of housing matters and discusses how the housing system in conjunction with the planning system is involved in the provision of land for social housing. A major part of this thesis is dedicated to chapter 4 which contains the description and analysis of the case studies, including an overview of the housing systems in Vienna and Copenhagen and an analysis of the spatial distribution of social housing schemes. In chapter 5 follows a comparison and a discussion of the findings. Finally, chapter 6 aims at drawing the main conclusions on the basis of the results. The thesis ends with providing questions for further studies and research. In the annex, a glossary presents further descriptions about terms and concept used in this thesis.
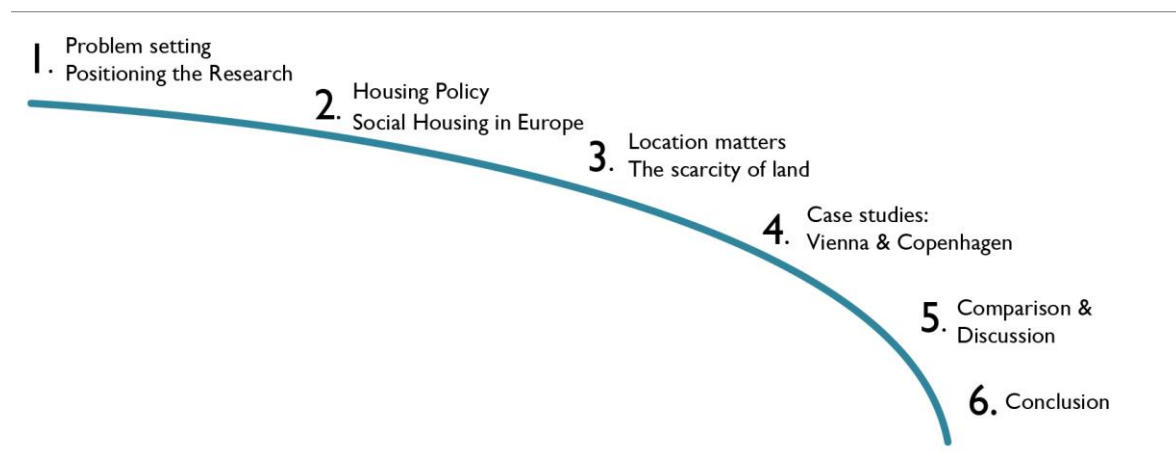
Figure 1: Structure of the thesis, source: author

2. Housing Policy and Social Housing

2.1. The Role of Policy in Housing

Regardless of an orientation towards free markets or towards a socialist approach, all developed countries have adopted a kind of housing policy. The first reason for many European governments to intervene in the housing field was the fight against diseases and epidemics in the 19th century. Also today, housing policy operates as a mechanism to reach goals across a broad spectrum of policy areas including social cohesion, environmental aims, or labour market policy (Boelhouwer & Hoekstra, 2012). Today, the production, consumption, financing, distribution and location of housing are regulated in complex ways. The housing system in each country has developed its own distinctive character, reflecting local historical circumstances as well as economic, demographic and political factors. Comparative research on European housing systems has been dealing with the issue of explaining differences and similarities between the housing markets in Europe (Van der Heijden, 2013, p. 6).

In the 1960s and 1970s, welfare state research was dominated by the so-called convergence approach. This approach implies that all welfare states follow the same development path, under the influence of broad and global processes such as industrialisation, modernisation or capitalism (Malpass, 2014, p. 260). Perhaps the most coherent contribution to the convergence approach is Michael Harloe's book *The People's Home?* (1995), where he emphasizes economic factors as drivers of changes in housing policies and argues that each phase of capitalist expansion creates a particular set of social agreements, including arrangements of housing polices. According to this view, three phases can be distinguished: liberal capitalism, welfare capitalism and post-industrialism (Harloe in Malpass, 2014, p. 261). Liberal capitalism, which includes the period from the emergence of industrialisation until the economic recession of the early 1930s, is characterised by a low level of state intervention. In the phase of welfare capitalism (or Fordism), from 1945 until mid-1970, more state intervention and more public services took place. The current phase is considered as post-industrialism or also post-Fordism and is marked by withdrawing states, modified welfare arrangements and an increased importance of market influence (Harloe in Malpass, 2014, p. 261). Furthermore, Harloe (1995) distinguishes the mass model and the residual model for social housing. In the mass model, the social rented sector provides housing for a broader segment of the population, whereas the residual model implies a focus on minimalist provision for the lowest income group. Since the mid-1970s the mass model has come under pressure due to the convergent trend

towards more liberal and more market orientated housing policies in Western countries. Hence, some scholars take the view that social housing is a transitional tenure, which was only suitable and efficient during the post-war housing crisis after World War I and II. From the point of view of capital, owner occupation is the most effective form of tenure (Harloe, 1995).

In addition to the convergence theory, a more context bound perspective has emerged. Countering Harloe`s position of converging phases of housing provision linked to economic development, Jim Kemeny stresses in the book *From Public Housing to the Social Market* (1995) the idea that housing markets are social constructs and subject to political influence. This leads to the view that social-cultural elements are the most important variable in explaining differences between housing systems. Hence the housing system is part of a broader societal system and it is very closely linked to the arrangement of the welfare system. A welfare system can be defined as a specific configuration of the state, the market, and the family that provides welfare services to households and individuals (Abrahamson in Allen et al., 2004, p. 69). The relation between state, market and family determines which welfare services are provided and to what extent and for which groups they are available. Along with education, healthcare and social security, housing is a component of the welfare state (Van der Heijden, 2013, p. 6).

Kemeny used Gøsta Esping-Andersen`s typology for welfare states (1990). Esping-Andersen's *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990) is seen as the most central contribution to comparative public policy and it has been widely used to define and evaluate welfare systems (Matznetter, 2002, p. 265; Powell & Barrientos, 2004, p. 83). Esping-Andersen (1990) developed a threefold typology of social democratic, conservative-corporatist and liberal welfare regimes. The three main components of welfare regimes are the *"[...] division of social protection between public and private provides the structural context of de-commodification, social rights, and the stratificational nexus of welfare state regimes."* (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 80) Esping-Andersen`s typology should be seen as an ideal rather than an exhaustive classification system (Hoekstra, 2010, p. 33). In the social democratic welfare regime, the state has a strong role and social policy is based on a universalistic approach that implies that the population as a whole has access to benefits and services. Equality between low and high income earners is a stated goal. The archetype of social democratic welfare regimes can be found in Scandinavia (Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland). In contrast, in the liberal welfare regime the state has a relatively weak position and social benefits are provided on means-tested basis. The United Kingdom and Ireland are examples for the liberal welfare regime in Europe. In the middle the conservative-corporatist welfare regime is situated, which goes back to the Bismarckian social policy reforms in Germany in the late 19th century. It follows neither a residualistic nor a universalistic approach, but provides social services according to status differentials and the state as well as the families playing an important role in providing benefits. Examples for conservative regimes are

Austria, France and Italy (Esping-Andersen in Matznetter, 2002, pp. 268-269; Matznetter & Mundt, 2012, pp. 274-275). Unlike Esping-Andersen, who identifies three welfare regimes, Kemeny identifies two welfare regimes (liberal and corporatist). Each welfare regime is characterised by distinctive forms of socio-tenure differentiation. The division of (rental) housing markets into dualist and unitary systems is the core of Kemeny's work (1995). A dualist housing market refers to the separation between a market for private (profit) rents without regulation and a controlled market for not-for-profit rents[16]. The market for not-for-profit rents is shielded from the rest of the housing market and focuses on low-income groups. In contrast, a unitary rental market is defined as *"[…] a market without regulatory barriers to competition between profit and non-profit providers"* (Kemeny, Kersloot & Thalmann, 2005, p. 858) and social housing is not exclusively for the low-income groups. Kemeny (1995, p. 5) suggests that *"[…] each system tends to be associated with a particular kind of welfare state"*; the dualist system with the liberal welfare regime and the unitary system with the corporatist welfare regime. Kemeny identifies a dual housing system in English-speaking countries – the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the UK and Ireland; in a later work Kemeny also includes Belgium, Finland, Iceland, Italy and Norway in this category (Kemeny, 1995; Kemeny, 2006). The unitary housing system operates in Germany, Sweden, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark and France (Kemeny, 1995).
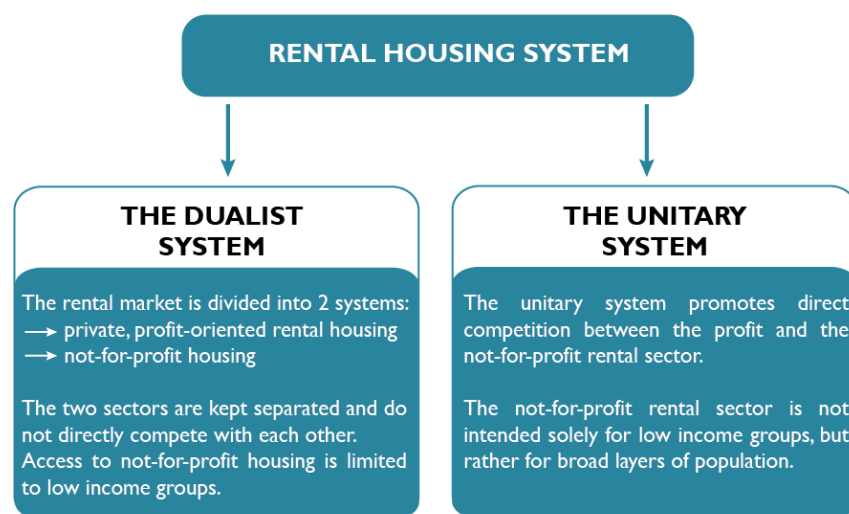

Figure 2: Rental housing system according to Kemeny, source: author

In *Non-profit Housing Influencing, Leading and Dominating the Unitary Rental Market: Three Case Studies*, Kemeny et al. (2005) introduce a distinction between unitary and integrated rental market. An integrated rental market refers to markets in which not-for-profit providers are sufficiently

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[16] Kemeny uses the term "non-profit" in his work (can be viewed as synonym for not-for-profit)
Profit rental housing is provided by *"[…] owner who seek to maximise their profits offer […]."* (Kemeny et al., 2005, p. 857) Non-profit rental housing is defined as housing *"[…] provided at rent levels designed to cover costs and any surplus made is ploughed back."* (Kemeny et al., 2005, p. 857)

developed to be able to compete with the profit-sector without need for government regulations Thus, the integrated rental market can be seen as the final stage in the development of a unitary rental market; a unitary market may develop into an integrated rental market, passing through phases were the not-for-profit rental sector first influences, then leads and finally dominates the market (Kemeny et al., 2005, p. 856).

The dualist and unitary rental systems are expected to influence the social distribution across housing tenures differently, leading to different patterns of segregation. Unitary systems provide the conditions for lower levels of socio-tenure segregation; the social housing sector is accessible for all social groups, which means that the not-for-profit sector and the free market sector compete with each other and households *"[…] choose the better price/quality bundle."* (Kemeny et al., 2005, p. 857) In that sense, the balance between the different tenures are determined by demand rather than government`s regulations. Furthermore, the not-for-profit sector is also able to act as a damper on the general rent level and forces the free market to keep pace with certain quality standards (Kemeny et al., 2005, p. 857)

The models of Michael Harloe and Jim Kemeny emerged in different contexts, but *"Harloe's residual model and Kemeny's dual model have strong similarities with respect to their 'visible' effects on the housing market."* (Van der Heijden, 2002, p. 329) However, while Harloe sees a convergence towards residualised social housing in a market dominated by owner occupation, Kemeny suggests that dual rental markets will follow the same direction with residualised social housing and a high share of owner occupation, but in unitary markets the not-for-profit sector has the potential to compete with both profit renting and owner occupation.

2.2. Social Housing in Europe

The history of social housing in Europe began more than 100 years ago. The idea of providing adequate and healthy housing for the weak groups in society emerged in the mid-nineteenth century in most European countries. Industrialisation had attracted masses of people seeking employment to urban areas. The results of the sharp rise in the population were overcrowding, poor hygienic conditions and diseases (Levy-Vroelant, Reinprecht, Robertson & Wassenberg, 2014, pp. 277-280). Friedrich Engels describes the situation of the working class in England as follows: *"The dwellings of workers are everywhere bad planned, badly built, and kept the in the worst condition […]."* (Engels, 2009 [1845], p. 108) The first housing initiatives had come mainly from factory owners or philanthropists, targeted at helping the least well off. At the turn of the 20th century state interventions started to focus on the issue of housing need. The sector of state-owned and not-for-profit housing grew

between the two world wars and then more strongly after World War II. The period from 1945 to mid-1970 can be considered as the golden age for social housing (Levy-Vroelant et al., 2014, p. 277-279). *"Social housing was attractive not only to skilled working-class people but also to middle-class employees, key workers and civil servants."* (Levy-Vroelant et al., 2014, p. 284). This model of social housing started to change in the 1970s. On one hand, the greatest housing shortages after World War II had been solved and housing was no longer a top priority of policy makers. On the other hand, the economic crisis in the mid-1970 and the breakdown of the Fordist regime including the undermining of the Keynesian welfare policy has led to the modification of welfare state arrangements, including the approach to social housing (Levy-Vroelant et al., 2014, p. 285; Andersen, 2006, p. 8). These regulatory changes towards neoliberal and entrepreneurial stance of urban policy can be defined as a set of economic and political actions for competition, deregulation and privatization of the public sector (Brenner & Theodore 2002). *"Neoliberalism first gained widespread prominence during the late 1970s and early 1980s as a strategic political response to the sustained global recession of the preceding decade. Faced with the declining profitability of traditional mass-production industries and the crisis of Keynesian welfare policies, national and local states throughout the older industrialized world began, if hesitantly at first, to dismantle the basic institutional components of post war settlement and to mobilize a range of policies intended to expend market discipline, competition, and commodification throughout all sectors of society."* (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 2)

This broad summary of the dynamics of social housing policy matches with Harloe`s idea that housing policy is shaped by the wider economy. However, the next section will show that the specific contexts of welfare states arrangements cannot be ignored in order to understand the current situation of the housing market. It must be kept in mind that *"[…] welfare regimes and economic structures as well as other factors are all interrelated. Therefore, it is difficult and possibly unwise to try to isolate just one of these factors."* (Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998, p. 1)

Overview of different social housing systems in Europe

In the book *Social Housing in Europe*, Scanlon et al. (2014, p. 4) classify European countries into three groups according to the size of the social rented sector. The first group with a large scale social housing sector includes countries with more than 20% of social housing of the overall housing stock. The second group consists of countries with social rented sectors of just fewer than 20% of the stock. In general, countries in these two groups belong to the group of rather wealthy European welfare states. The countries of the third group have a stronger emphasis on owner occupation or are former communist countries, where the privatisation of the housing stock following the fall of communism has led to a rapid increase of home ownership to very high levels; therefore the social housing sector makes up less than 10% in these countries (Scanlon et al., 2014, p. 4).

The Netherlands is the country with the highest share of social housing in Europe, accounting for 32% of the total housing stock, followed by Austria (23%) and Denmark (19%). By way of contrast, there is no social housing sector in Greece (CECODHAS, 2011, p. 24). Due to the history of communism and the transition towards extensive privatisation, most Eastern European countries have very low shares of social rental housing, with the exception of the Czech Republic and Poland (Hegedüs, Lux, Sunega, & Teller, 2014, p. 240).
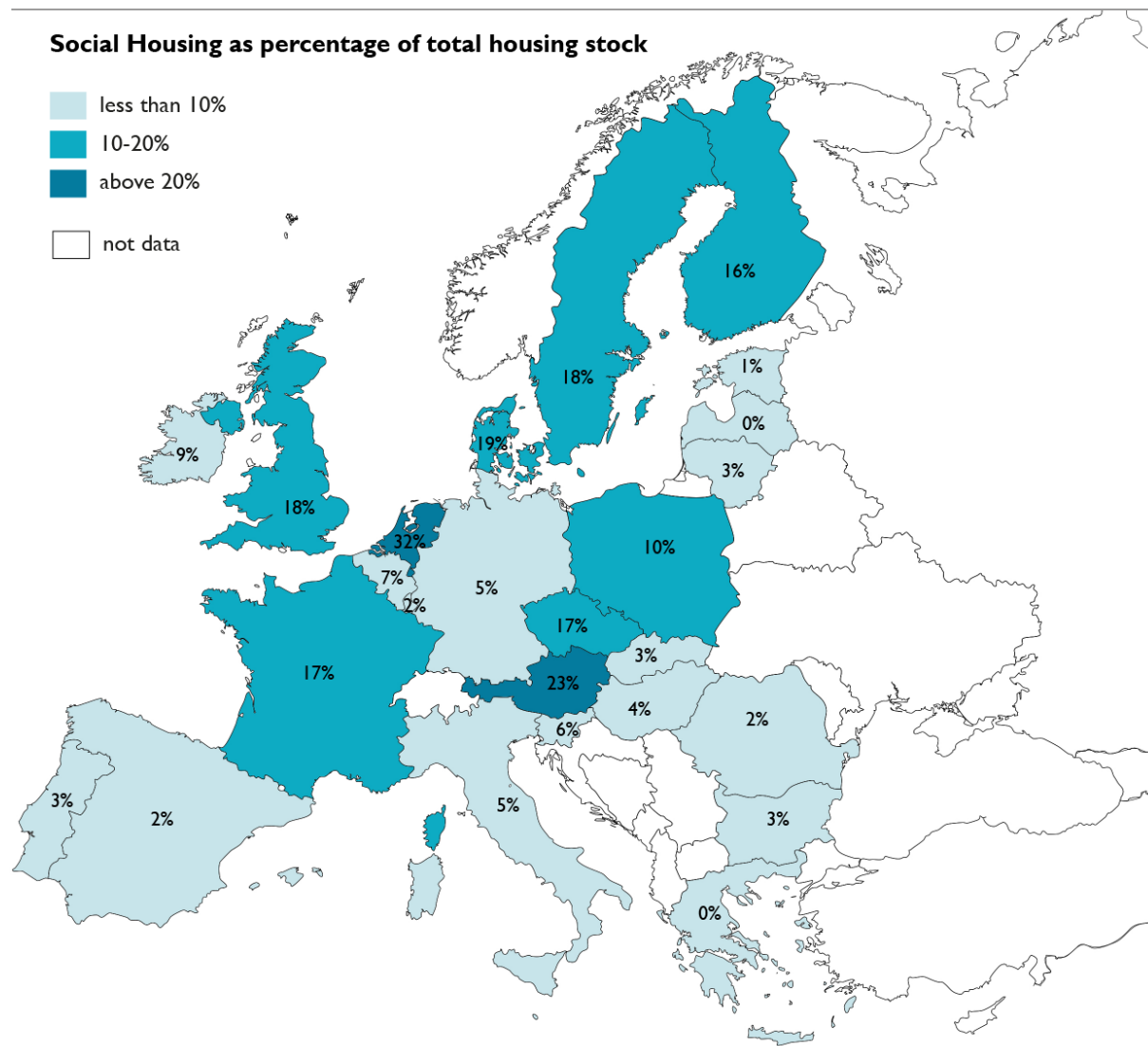
Social Housing as percentage of total housing stock

- less than 10%
- 10-20%
- above 20%
- not data

1%
0%
3%
16%
18%
19%
9%
18%
32%
7%
2%
5%
10%
17%
3%
17%
23%
6%
4%
2%
3%
5%
3%
2%
3%
0%

Figure 3: Classification of countries according to the size of the social rented sector, source: author based on CECODHAS (2011, p. 23) & Scanlon et al. (2014, p. 4)

The variety of the size of the social housing stocks shows that the social housing sector in Europe is characterised by a wide range of diversity of national housing conceptions and policies. The variety of approaches entails differences in who provides social housing and who is entitled to enter social housing units.

Providers

There are two main actors involved in the provision of social housing: Municipalities themselves or companies in municipal ownership and not-for-profit housing associations (Scanlon et al., 2014, p. 6; CECODHAS, 2011, p. 22). Not-for-profit implies that the profit of the housing associations is limited and must be re-invested into the housing production cycle (Klein, 2012, p. 8). There are some countries, where all housing stock is owned and provided by not-for-profit housing associations, such as Denmark. In contrast, in Czech Republic all social housing units are owned by the municipalities. Most countries have a mix, although in recent years, there has been a trend that public authorities withdraw from the active production of new social housing, leaving not-for-profit housing associations as the main actor responsible for new developments (Scanlon et al., 2014, p. 6).

Beneficiaries

The question 'cui bono' has always accompanied debates about social housing: Is it to accommodate the least well off in society, or is it a mechanism for providing housing for all types of households? As already mentioned before, there seem to be two predominant models of social housing, the mass (or universalistic) and the residual. The residual approach sets the focus strictly on lower-income groups in social housing, whereas the social policies of the mass model address the population as a whole, without many restrictions (Harloe in Malpass, 2014, p. 262).

In some countries, as for example in Demark, the entitlement to enter social housing in not restricted at all, the registration on social housing waiting lists is open to anyone. In other cases, the use of income limits is used to define eligibility to the allocation of a social housing unit. When defining the income limit, the orientation towards mass or residual approach plays a key role. The maximum income can be set high enough to permit income mixing, following the mass approach; this is the case for instance in Austria. A residual approach implies a significant low level of income as a limit to get entitled for social housing. Access criteria can also be defined according to target groups: youths, elderly or disabled persons, families with many children or mentally disabled persons (CECODHAS, 2011, p. 33).

Advocates for the residual approach believe that targeting lower-income groups is a more efficient way for the social housing to operate, criticising the insufficient targeting of social benefits of the mass approach. In contrast, some believe that in order to prevent stigmatization and spatial segregation, a mass model of social housing provision – aimed at a diverse composition of the residents - should be pursued (Priemus & Dieleman, 2002, 195).

A classification developed by Czischke (2009) illustrates the main commonalities and differences between approaches to social housing across Europe. This classification reflects the present state of the social housing sector. The two main components are the size of the social housing stock and

allocation criteria (see figure 4). The size of the social rental stock in each country is an indication of the importance of the sector in national housing markets and policies. Regarding allocation criteria two major approaches exist: the targeted approach, which includes the residual model developed by Harloe (1995), and the universalistic model, which is equal to the mass-model developed by Harloe (1995). The classification by Czischke (2014, p. 335) also differentiates sub-types within the two main approaches, whereby generalist systems follow the tradition of social housing in Western Europe and provide social housing also for the middle class and working class.

In this context, it is worth noting that countries that follow the universalistic-model regarding eligibility for social housing generally have a larger sector of social rented housing than those with a targeted approach.
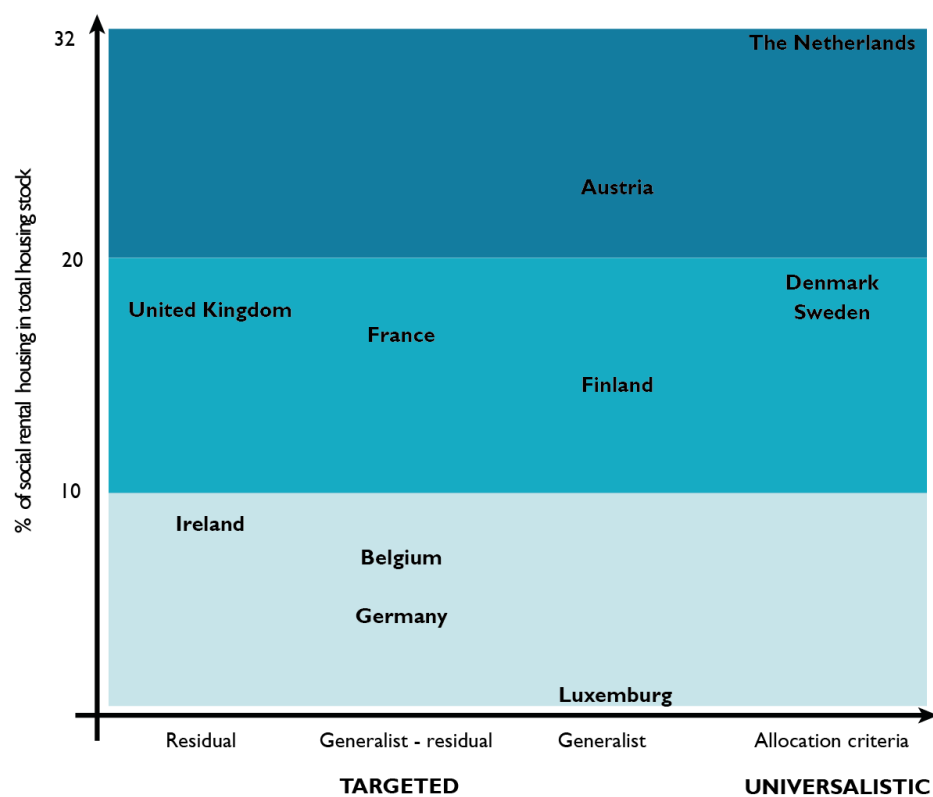

Figure 4: Classification of social rental housing approaches in EU member states (selected countries),
source: author based on Czischke (2014, p. 334)

All these different features of social housing sectors above show why there is no common definition of social housing in Europe. However, it is possible to identify some core elements of social housing across Europe. According to the Second Biennial Report on Social Service of General Interest, social housing provision encompasses *"[…] development, renting/selling and maintenance of dwellings at affordable prices as well as their allocation and management […]."* (European Commission, 2010, p. 47) To sum up, the main aim of social housing is to provide affordable accommodation, and another characteristic of social housing is the existence of rules for the allocation of dwellings. The term

'affordability' refers to the percentage of disposable income a household spends on all housing expenses; generally, no more than 30% is said to be affordable[17] (Laimer, 2012, p. 30). The allocation of social housing units refers to administrative means, opposed to market mechanism (Haffner et al., 2009, p. 235; CECODHAS, 2011, p. 22).

Who lives in social housing units?

Social housing was originally created to provide affordable and healthy housing for the working class. This working class seems to have disappeared, split up into young families, senior citizens and single households (Rumpfhuber, 2012, p. 4). *"Broadly speaking, the old and the young live in social housing: pensioners and single-parent families are heavily overrepresented in almost all countries [...]."* (Scanlon et al., 2014, p. 12) Social housing as a mainstream tenure has been questioned and the social composition of the sector is changing. In the last decades the social housing sector has increasingly become tenure for marginalised groups. *"Today, the income divide between households in social housing and those in other tenures is becoming increasingly sharp."* (Scanlon et al. 2014, p. 10) In all countries, the income of social housing tenants is lower than the average-income; this is also true in those countries with universal social housing traditions (mass-model of social housing). This is due to the fact that *"[…] by no means all eligible households want to live in social housing."* (Scanlon et al., 2014, p. 10) For instance, higher income households prefer owner occupation than living in rented housing, whether social or private; and aside from that, they also look for more exclusive types of housing (Scanlon et al., 2014, p. 10).

Current challenges: Housing and Welfare Regimes after the Golden Age

In the course of post-war reconstruction, sustained economic growth and expansion of welfare services in the 1950s and 1960s lead to social mobility for a large part of the population in many Western cities. Social exclusion and marginalization were not addressed as an urgent social issue at that time. However, in recent decades, socio-spatial segregation and inequalities in cities are increasingly discussed again and also described as the spatial image of social changes in the city (Farwick, 2007, p. 40).

These new developments also have effects on housing policy and social housing in Europe. Housing is depicted as 'the wobbly pillar under the welfare state' (Torgersen, 1987), mainly because, as Harloe (1995, p. 2) points out, it is "*[…] the least decommodified and most market-determined of the conventionally accepted constituents of such states."* Housing has different characteristics than the other three pillars (health, education, and social security) since it is not a service but related to property which has a central position in the capitalist economy (Harloe, 1995, p. 2). The metaphor as a wobbly pillar seems to be true, when we look at trends in the housing markets in Europe. Although there is

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[17] For a more detailed understand of the concept of affordability see the GLOSSARY in the annex.

no single European model for social housing and large differences in tenure types, there are nevertheless a number of common trends, driven by the turn towards neoliberal policies.

> *"Since the mid-1970s, the welfare state, which underpins the provision of social housing, has been subject to a series of external and internal pressures which have brought about major changes and may even threaten its future survival. Globalisation and the apparent inexorable demand for economic competitiveness, technological change, restructured labour markets, plus demographic and social changes and shifts in political ideology have all called into question the traditional forms of the delivery of welfare."* (Edgar, Doherty & Meert, 2002, p. 25)

The relative share of social housing in the overall stock has been shrinking since the 1980s in the majority of European countries, while at the same time the number of applicants for social housing has increased (CECODHAS, 2011, p. 24). Public authorities are withdrawing from the production of social housing. *"This has been driven partly by a desire to reduce pressure on public budgets, and partly by a neo liberal belief that private providers can be more efficient and responsive to residents."* (Scanlon et al., 2014, p. 6) This decline in the market share of social rented housing has been accompanied by a continuing rise of owner-occupation-rate. *"[…] [A]nywhere we look at the dynamics of the housing market, we see the share of owner-occupation on the rise. Everywhere, the (social) rented sector is on the defensive."* (Priemus & Dieleman, 2002, p. 191)

Relating to the increase of owner-occupation and the decline in the market share of social rented housing, there is a matching ideological shift away from social housing which is available for everyone; in most countries the social rented sector is becoming more residualised[18] with a focus on low-income groups and very vulnerable households (Priemus & Dieleman, 2002, p. 194). On one hand, this can be seen as a result of pressure on public finances. On the other hand, the EU opened up a debate, to what extent government support is compatible with the competition law of the European Union (Scanlon et al., 2014, p. 10). In 2005, the Monti-Kroes package of the European Commission defined the conditions under which state aids to public service providers can be considered compatible with the competition law. The European Commission stated that letting social housing to households that are not socially deprived cannot be regarded as a public service. This restrictive definition of social housing adopted by the European Commission does not correspond to the one used in countries with a universalist approach to social housing provision (Czischke, 2014, p. 338). Private landlords in Sweden, the Netherlands and France made a formal complaint to the European Commission, citing unfair competition due to state support for social housing provision. In particular the Dutch Case attracted great attention; the Netherlands had to lower their income limit for social

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[18] For a better understand of the process of residualisation see the GLOSSARY in the annex.

housing (Blei, 2013). Although the European Union has no direct jurisdiction in housing, it may structure housing policies (Elsinga, Haffner & Van Der Heijden, 2008). For more about that unresolved conflict see the elaborated discussions in Czischke (2014), Elsinga et al. (2008) and Gruis & Priemus (2008). "*The intervention of the European Commission in the Netherlands could become a precedent for other European countries, particularly for those countries that opt against a residualised social rented sector and for a competitive role of social housing providers on the housing market.*" (Gruis & Priemus, 2008, p. 485)

In opposition to the decline of the market share of social housing because of the increasing pressure to reduce public expenditure and the trend towards more market-oriented housing policies, the demand for affordable housing is increasing due to the unstable labour conditions and rising rents (Levy-Vroelant & Reinprecht, 2014, p. 298). As a result, the increasing gap between supply and demand bears the risk of increasing polarisation, disintegration and spatial exclusion. *"The shift towards a post-welfare state has important consequences, particularly for large cities and municipalities that confront increases in poverty."* (Levy-Vroelant & Reinprecht, 2014, p. 310)

3. The spatial dimension of housing

3.1. Location matters

In *Housing and social theory*, Kemeny (1992) raises the issue of a socio-spatial approach to housing studies. Kemeny (1992, p. 159) considers the location of the dwelling as *"[…] one of the key elements — if not the key element — in the social integration of individuals into society. It determines the manner in which individuals will be knitted into the various relationships that constitute their everyday lives and work […]."* He emphases the embedding of housing in the socio-spatial structures of the urban space and focuses on the concept of 'residence', the combination of household as the social aspect, and dwelling as the spatial element.

> *"The home impacts on the social and economic well-being of households in a multiplicity of ways. It is, most basically, shelter from the elements; it is security and privacy from the outside world; it is space in which to relax, learn and live; it is access to more or less comfort. But the home also places the household in a specific neighbourhood context which may influence accessibility to relatives, friends, shopping, leisure, public services and employment."* (European Parliament, 1996, p. 7)

The quote heading the paragraph shows that housing influences people's everyday life and the well-being of people: the housing location places the residents in a certain context of a neighbourhood and determines which facilities and amenities will be available for residents at which distance.

With the notion of the city as a man-made distributing mechanism, Harvey (2009 [1973], p. 68) points out that the location of urban resources – more specifically, of services and facilities - is not something natural, but rather linked to a human constructed spatial system carried out by locational decisions made by individual households, entrepreneurs, and public authorities. Harvey (2009 [1973], p. 57) draws attention to the fact that the real income of groups in the city is affected by allocation decisions regarding to public facilities, transport networks and the location of households. Since resources are not ubiquitously distributed, the price of a resource depands on accesibility and proximity to the user, and, therefore, where the ressource is located or, to put it differently, where the user is located. The further away one is from the resource the more expenisve the resource becomes.

This spatial differentiation of a city is *"[…] a product of the social, physical and functional structure a structure that is continuously changed by economic investments and disinvestments as a consequence of people and functions being redistributed in space."* (Skifter Andersen, 2003, p. 5) The allocation of urban

resources and housing provision is one field of policy where social inequities can be reduced or at least damped by compensatory distribution, overseen by the public authorities. However, in these times of globalization, where cities have entered into global competition to compete with each other to attract and keep investments and a skilled labour force, also the provision of urban services and facilities is linked to the idea of enhancing competitiveness. As a consequence, public money is more invested in competitiveness than in welfare for inhabitants (Cassiers & Kestelloot, 2012, p. 1912). *"Decisions concerning where to locate facilities become warped by considerations of their economic, as opposed to their social, impact."* (Fainstein, 2010, p. 1)

Range of choice & choice of location

According to the neo-Weberian approach, housing can be seen as a scarce resource which is subject to processes of competition between different social groups; residential location decisions are made within a predetermined framework of constrains imposed by individual living conditions (Rex & Morre, 1967). Whether a household has access to a desirable housing location is greatly influenced by its resources, such as income, as the private market uses the price mechanism to determine who gains access to dwellings (Friedrichs, 1998, p. 170). In addition to the individual level Friedrichs (1998, pp. 170-171) also underlines that context affects influence the spatial structure of the city and the segregation of social groups within in the city. The individual level includes, besides income, also lifestyle and ethnic status, three factors which have also been used in early studies of social area analyses to explain spatial variation (Shevky & Bell, 1955). In other words, social composition of neighbourhoods reflects to some extent the demand of specific groups and the market power of individuals and households, but is also structured by housing policies and urban planning politics which interfere with the natural processes of segregation, and influence the social composition of neighbourhoods and the access to amenities (Atkinson & Kintrea 2000; Musterd & Andersson 2005; Galster 2007; Skifter Andersen, Andersson, Wessel & Vilkama, 2013). *"By deciding at which locations specific types of housing may be constructed the public authorities can protect low-income households against having to live in substandard locations."* (De Kam & Visser, 2011, p. 3)

Following a similar line of reasoning, other scholars have called for a greater recognition of the importance of the role of housing and planning systems in affecting the spatial characteristics of cities. Based on the earlier study of Barlow & Duncan (1994) and on a comparison of welfare systems, housing policies and ethnic segregation in cities in eight European countries, Arbaci (2007, p. 429) concludes that *"[…] the combination and mutual relation between (i) the composition and balance across housing tenures (unitary or dualist regime), and (ii) the mechanisms which constitute the different forms of housing production and promotion (land supply, construction industry, profit regimes) crucially influence the extent of social and spatial division of the urban society."* Thus, not only differences in housing policy, but also the varieties in planning systems play a very important role in explaining differences in the socio-

spatial pattern across urban space. Housing policies determine the composition of housing tenure structures and they are particularly important for establishing the level of availability of affordable housing. Planning systems affect the degree of spatial concentration of housing tenures within cities through public ownership, control or negotiation of land supply and thus, by distributing housing opportunities over space (Friedrichs, 1998, pp. 170-171; Arbaci, 2007, p. 429). *"It is decisive how planning and housing systems are combined."* (Skifter Andersen et al., 2013, p. 4)
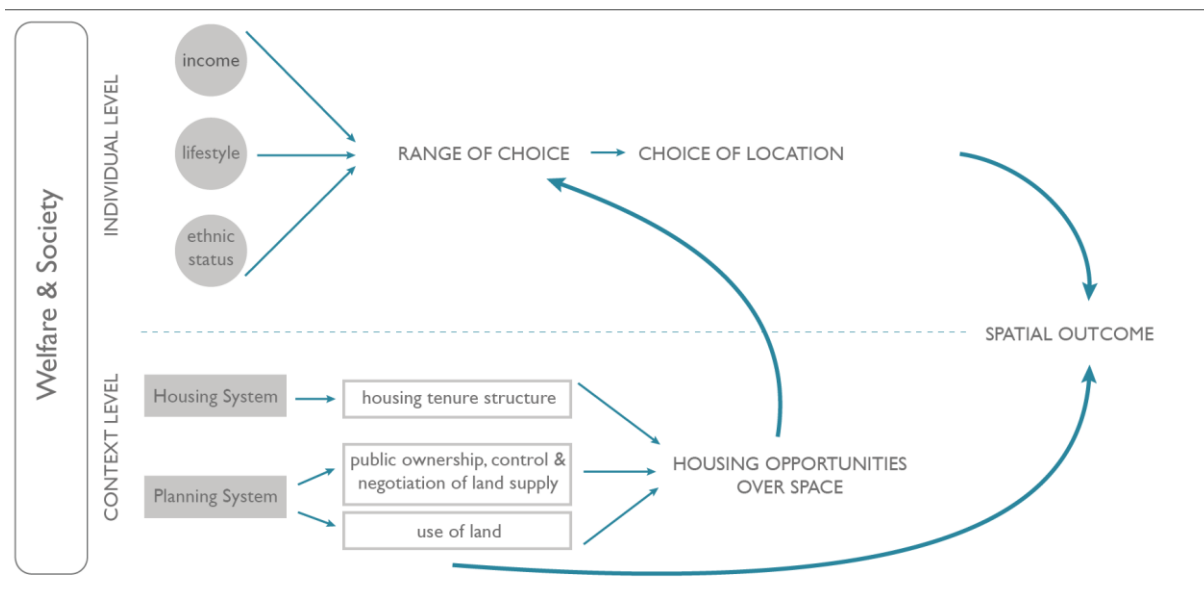

Figure 5: individual and context level influencing the spatial outcome of a city, source: author

3.2. The scarcity of land

The different forms of land supply arrangements - ranging from public provision to market-led provision – are central in the process of housing distribution (Arbaci, 2007, p. 421). The practices are related to who owns the land used for urban and residential development and to what extent it is owned by public actors as well as on other kinds of instruments in urban policies, which regulates the use of land (Arbaci, 2007, pp. 418-422). De Kam & Visser (2011, p. 1) speak about 'local housing regime', including local authority, not-for-profit housing associations and private developers as key actors in the (re)distribution of land and housing. Since social housing providers cannot afford market rents, they are in a weaker position than other market actors when attempting to purchase land. *"So if they have to compete with other demanders, they will get either no land or only the land which other do not want, or land only under unattractive conditions."* (Needham & De Kam, 2000, p. 5) As a result they are often supported by local authority in the process of acquiring land. According to an analysis by Needham & De Kam (2000) in cooperation with CECODHAS, social housing sectors in Europe are characterised by the scarcity of land and are challenged by high land prices. The issue how to obtain

sufficient land for the development of new social housing has therefore become an urgent matter across Europe and includes the question of quantity of land as well as question of location of the land.

In the development and provision of land for social housing the local authority has two possibilities (De Kam & Visser 2011, pp. 8-9):

1. Active land development
2. Facilitating land development

The first approach implies that the public authorities are actively involved on the land market. There are two possible ways: Buy land that is already designated for residential use - just like any other agent. The second option is very similar, but instead of buying land that is suitable to build on, the local planning authority purchase raw land that requires development before it is suitable for housing (Meda, 2009, p. 159). The desired land use is achieved via the statutory powers, like the zoning plan and development plans (De Kam & Visser 2011, p. 8). *"With active land policy, the local authority can also decide for what type of housing it will sell the land."* (De Kam, 2014, p. 441)

The second approach is the integration of housing policies with urban planning. In general, planning can influence or control development outcomes by rezoning land; land use planning establishes the frame for organizing processes of urban development and change. According to FAO (1993, p. 6), land use planning can be described as *"[…] the systematic assessment of land and water potential, alternatives for land use and economic and social conditions in order to select and adopt the best land-use options. Its purpose is to select and put into practice those land uses that will best meet the needs of the people while safeguarding resources for the future. The driving force in planning is the need for change, the need for improved management or the need for a quite different pattern of land use dictated by changing circumstances."* As land use planning controls the pattern of land development, it can either be used to prevent social housing or encourage it. The practice of encouraging social housing developments through enforcing conditions on new residential developments – known as inclusionary housing – is an emerging tool for social housing provision (Meda, 2009, p. 159). Inclusionary housing can be described as *"[…] land use regulations that require developers of market-rate residential development to set aside a small portion of their units, usually between 10 and 20 percent, for households unable to afford housing in the open market."* (Calavita & Mallach, 2009, p. 15) It was first introduced in the USA in the 1970s; in Europe, inclusionary housing was implemented in the 1990s (Calavita, 2006). Today, there are many countries, including the UK, Ireland, the Netherlands, France, Italy and Spain that have adopted some form of inclusionary housing, reflecting the urban planning tradition in each country (Calavita & Mallach, 2009).

Closely link to inclusionary housing is the practice of land development agreements between land-owner and local authority. Land development agreements are legally binding contracts where mutual obligations to the creation of infrastructure are formalized (Korthals Altes, 2006, p. 253). *"In return for planning permission developers agree to cover the costs, or part of the cost, of a range of items that otherwise would not be provided or would be provided wholly by the public purse."* (Oxley, 2008, p. 663) 'The range of items' may include infrastructure such as roads and drainage, social infrastructure such as schools, health care services as well as social housing (Oxley, 2008, p. 663). Healey, Purdue & Ennis (1996) speak about 'planning gain' whereby planning authorities use negotiations to tap into some of the development value and redirect it to the benefit of the community.

Although inclusionary housing has become increasingly applied over the past several decades, it is still a controversial topic (Schuetz, Meltzer & Been, 2011; Mekawy, 2014). Critics argue that inclusionary zoning is not an effective approach since social housing provision is linked to the provision of market housing and therefore might not be helpful to increase the availability of affordable housing in times of crisis and low levels of construction by private developers. Moreover, some claim that it may reinforce the shortage of housing by causing developers to raise prices on market-rate housing or to develop less housing (Arthurson, 2002). Another criticism that is frequently voiced is that inclusionary zoning is not effective to achieve social integration (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000) On the contrary, Calavita & Mallach (2010, p. 384) conclude that *"[i]nclusionary housing represents the best available means by which to link provision of affordable housing to the compelling goal of social inclusion, one in which social inclusion and economic integration are part and parcel of providing affordable housing."* Furthermore, Whitehead (2007, p. 29) states there are three key economic reasons for supplying social housing through the planning system: 1) in the context that all appropriate users should have access to land, it improves the distribution of resources, 2) it helps counter the problems of economic accessibility to housing, and 3) it taxes the incremental value land owners as their property increases only as a result of urban planning.

4. Case Studies: Vienna & Copenhagen

In this chapter the spatial distribution of social housing in Vienna and Copenhagen and the policy behind that distribution will be examined. The two cities are comparable in their status of capital city and both cities are characterised and shaped by strong welfare state policies, but they also present a number of qualitative differences in their structures of the housing market and in their approaches to social housing. The city and the surroundings suburbs are the spatial units of investigation; the analysis is not further broken down to a smaller district or neighbourhood level because the thesis aims at giving a holistic view of social housing developments across urban space. In the case of Copenhagen and its surrounding suburbs, the focus of the analysis lies on the city of Copenhagen as more detailed information is available about the housing situation and housing policy in the city than in the suburbs.

Figure 6: Social housing estates in Vienna and Copenhagen, source: author

4.1. Vienna

Vienna [in German: Wien] is the capital of Austria, and one of Austria's federal provinces [in German: Bundesländer]. Vienna is Austria's largest city and as such its cultural, economic, and political centre. Vienna is composed of 23 districts (Magistrat der Stadt Wien a).
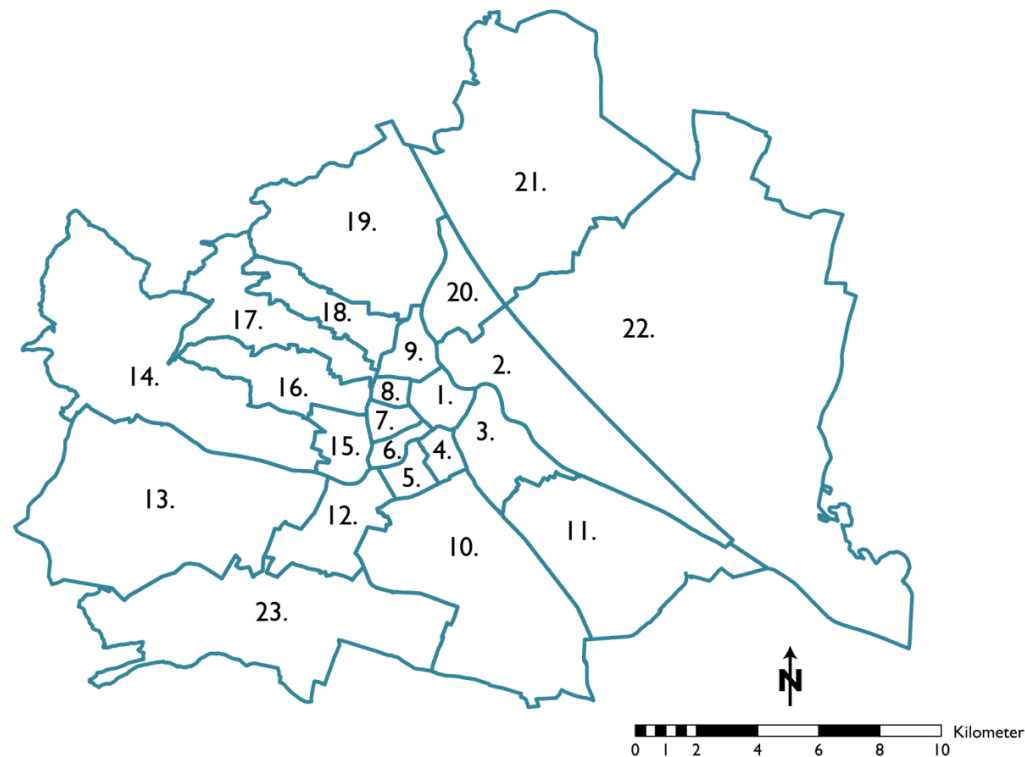

Figure 7: map Vienna and its 23 districts, source: author based on Magistrat der Stadt Wien b

1. Innere Stadt, 2. Leopoldstadt, 3. Landstraße, 4. Wieden, 5. Margareten, 6. Mariahilf, 7. Neubau, 8. Josefstadt, 9. Alsergrund, 10. Favoriten, 11. Simmering, 12. Meidling, 13. Hietzing, 14. Penzing, 15. Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, 16. Ottakring, 17. Hernals, 18. Währing, 19. Döbling, 20. Brigittenau, 21. Floridsdorf, 22. Donaustadt, 23. Liesing

Historical development and today`s situation

The housing system of Vienna has acquired an international reputation because of its special nature as it has a strong history of housing policies sustained by decades of Social Democracy and its social housing programme. The First World War, the fall of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic of Austria in the year 1918 marked a critical turning point for Vienna. With the end of the Habsburger Empire, Vienna was no longer an imperial capital and hub of noble power, but became the capital of a small country. The victory of the Social Democratic Workers Party [in German: Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei] who won the absolute majority of the City's parliament in 1919,

and the political separation of Vienna from the surrounding province of Lower Austria in 1921, was the birth of 'Red Vienna'; the city became an internationally recognized role model of social democracy (Hatz, 2008, p. 311). The Social Democratic Workers Party developed a broad housing programme as a key element of the local welfare system. Reducing the housing shortage, improving the living condition of the working class and lowering the housing cost became the cornerstones of the housing policy in the interwar period in Vienna (Klein, 2012, p. 13). In 1934, with the establishment of the Austro-Fascist regime the public housing projects came to an end, and would only be continued after the Second World War. After 1945, the erection of the Iron Curtain and the division of Europe into two different political zones, limited the development option of Vienna that was now situated on the eastern edge of the Western world. The following decades were marked by stagnation and loss of population (Hatz, 2008, p. 311). Only with the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and Austria`s accession to the European Union in 1995, Vienna`s position changed again, leading to growth, including to a suddenly increased demand for housing. With the increased importance of Vienna as a gate to Eastern Europe the real estate market of Vienna has become a new ground for capital investment. *"Within a few years the demand on high-quality offices and apartments increases – the real estate market is booming."* (Paal, 2008, p. 141) While in 1981 there were only 1.53 million people living in the city, by 2011 the number had climbed to 1.71 million inhabitants. The positive development is supposed to continue, Vienna's population is predicted to grow by 11% until 2030 (Statistik Austria, 2015c).
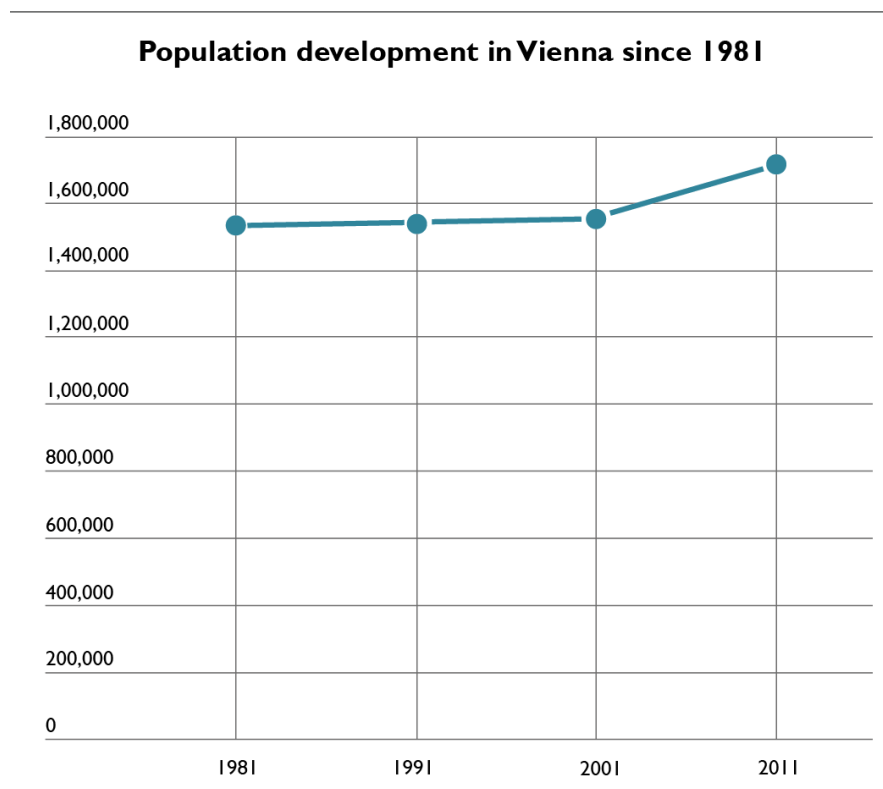

Figure 8: Population in Vienna since 1981, source: author based on Statistik Austria (2015d)

Welfare & Housing Market

In the analysis of welfare regimes, Austria is seen as a typical example of the conservative-corporatist welfare regime: *"displaying all the attributes of such an ideal type: a strong regulation of the labour market, welfare provision based on fragmented systems of social insurance, a strong role of the family vis-à-vis market and state, and kinship, corporatism and etatism as the dominant mode of solidarity."* (Matznetter, 2002, p. 267) After World War II, conservatives and social democrats decided for a strategy of a Keynesian welfare state supporting the entire population. Austria enjoys a particularly well-developed system of cooperation and coordination of interests; social partnership is based on the reconciliation of interests through negotiation between conservatives and social democrats (Novy, 2011, p. 244). Other prominent features are federalism and the pronounced division of competencies between the central government and the federal provinces. In the context of housing the federal provinces have legislative competence on the housing subsidy schemes, supervision of the not-for-profit housing associations, social welfare, regional planning and building codes (Amann & Mundt, p. 8). The shift of housing subsidy scheme to the authority of the provinces was implemented in the late 1980s and resulted in major differences regarding housing policy in the different provinces (Amann & Mundt, p. 8; CECODHAS, 2011, p. 40). Another step towards decentralisation was the flexibilisation of the federal financing arrangement. Since 2009, the former budget dedicated for housing promotion is integrated in the overall budget of the provinces. While in the past the received funds from the federal government were earmarked for housing, the provinces can now use the funds also for other purposes opening the door for future budget cuts (Streimelweger, 2010, p. 548; Kadi, 2015, p. 252). Another paradigm shift was the push for privatisation of state-owned dwellings under the right wing government[19] in the years 2000 to 2006. In 2004, the BUWOG federal housing cooperative was sold to a private consortium (including banks, insurances and real estate companies). As a result the housing stock of the not-for-profit associations decreased by 12 % in Austria, and by 15% in Vienna. The transaction was highly controversial and criticised a lot. However, a structural impact on the Austrian housing market was hardly noticeable (Putschögl, 2010).

There is no official definition of social housing but there are different forms of housing provision other than the private market; the different forms of social housing include housing provided by the municipality and housing by not-for-profit housing associations which are regulated by the Not-for-Profit Housing Act [in German: Wohnungsgemeinnützigkeitsgesetz] and have access to public subsidies (CECODHAS, 2011, p. 40). The main points of the Not-for-Profit Housing Act are that rents should cover costs, profits are limited and the companies have the legal requirement to reinvest in new housing construction, acquisition of land or refurbishment (Reinprecht, 2014, p. 65).

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[19] Coalition of Austrian People's Party and Freedom Party of Austria/Alliance for the Future of Austria

Since 1994, not-for-profit housing associations are allowed to promote ownership options under certain circumstances. However, this option is not applied broadly (Reinprecht, 2014, p. 66); for the future, Lugger & Amann (2005, p. 21) have estimated that 20% to 30% of new constructions will be sold.

Walter Matznetter (2002, p. 266) states that *"[…] in Austria, the post-war model of social housing has been better preserved than in many other countries of the continent."* Christoph Reinprecht (2014, p. 61) summarizes the Austrian approach to social housing as follows: *"[…] there is a general political consensus that society should be responsible for housing supply, and that housing is a basic human need that should not be subject to free market mechanisms; rather, society should ensure that a sufficient number of dwellings are available."*

Looking more closely at the Viennese housing stock, it is striking that Vienna has a large rental sector; only 19% of the total housing stock consists of owner-occupied flats. The following table shows that social housing makes up a very large percentage of the total housing stock: the municipality of Vienna owns 27% and indirectly controls another 16% which is owned by not-for-profit housing associations [in German: gemeinnützige Bauträger]. Together the both groups make up 42% of the total housing stock and around 56% of the rental sector (Statistik Austria, 2014).

Vienna`s housing stock (2011)			
owner-occupied flats	159,542	19%	HOME OWNERHSIP 19%
privately rented flats	279,292	33%	RENTAL SECTOR 76%
rented flats from municipality	220,380	26%	
rented flats from not-for-profit housing associations	134,185	16%	SOCIAL HOUSING 42%
other legal forms	44,218	5%	OTHER FORMS 5%
in total	837,617	100%	100%

Table 1: Vienna`s housing stock (2011), source: Statistik Austria (2014)

The following figure shows a comparison of the housing stock between 1981 and 2011. A noticeable aspect is that since 1981, even if the total number of owner-occupied dwellings has increased, the share in the housing stock as a whole has more or less remained the same. Another point is that the share of rented flats from not-for-profit housing associations has doubled.
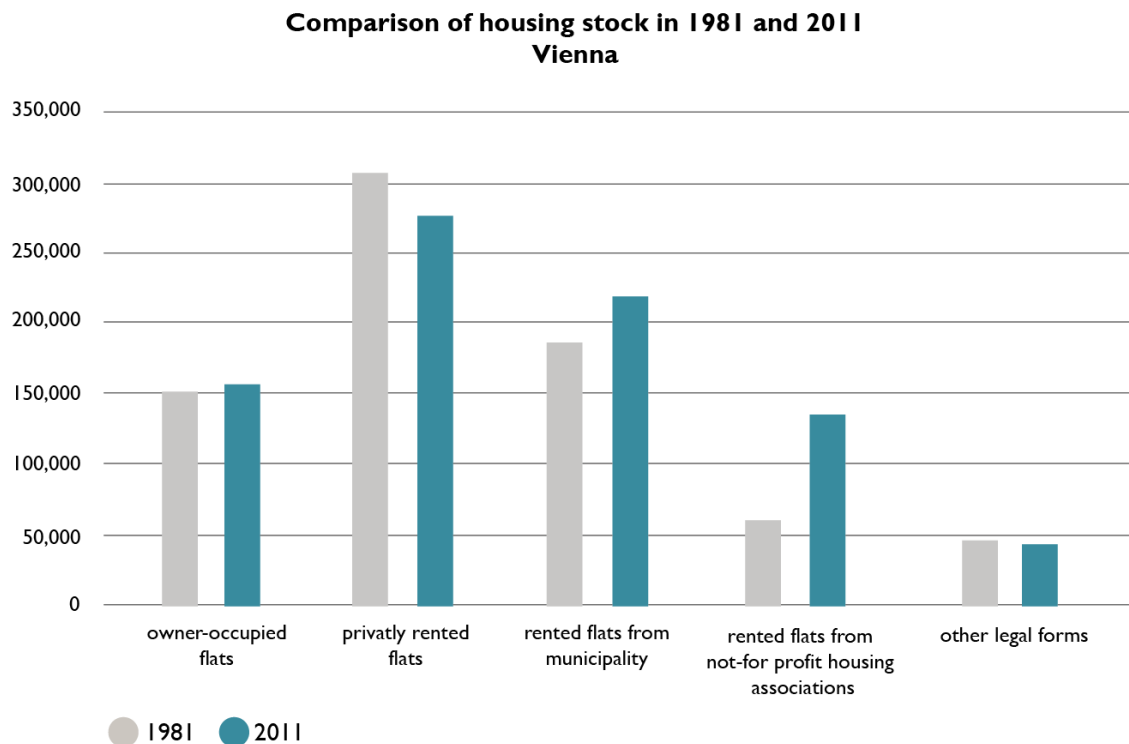
**Comparison of housing stock in 1981 and 2011
Vienna**

Figure 9: Comparison 1981 and 2011 Vienna, source: author based on Statistik Austria (2014)

As a result of the strong share of social housing, the Viennese housing market is structured as a unitary rental market, where social housing is a proactive and competitive part of the housing market. *"[…] social housing is not considered to be a supplementary, discrete market for a specific user group, such as 'the poor', but rather that social housing in Vienna competes with the free market for the same share of potential clients."* (Rumpfhuber, Klein & Kohlmayr, 2012, p. 91) There are income-limits to determine who can have access to social housing. In the year 2015, the limit (corresponding to the household's net yearly income after social security contribution and income tax) was € 43,970 for one person and € 65,530 for two persons (MA 50). The logic behind this comparatively high level of income ceilings is social mix, the income ceiling de facto allows about 80% of households to access social housing in Vienna (CECODHAS, 2013, p. 5). The income is only checked at the moment when people move in, not relevant is if the income increases in subsequent years. Another limitation to access social housing units which are owned by the municipality used to be the citizenship status; getting access to social housing was not possible for non-EU citizens until 2006. As a consequence, low-income immigrants from outside the European Union had to find other niches in the housing market (Hatz, 2008, p. 313).

During the inter-war-period of Red Vienna, the municipality of Vienna built housing projects with more than 60.000 new flats in municipal housing [in German: Gemeindebauten] (Hatz, 2008, p. 311). After WWII, housing became a priority issue again. The main aim of the city of Vienna was to

improve the quality of housing by intensive new construction. The *"[…] human being (should) in future stand in the centre of all considerations and plans (…) and not the income or profit of the individual."* (Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 14 Punkte für den Wiederaufbau, 1945 as cited in Förster, p. 13). In addition to the public hand of the municipality of Vienna, not-for-profit housing associations have become an important part of social housing. In the last decades they have even become the most dynamic sector on the Vienna housing market (Klein, 2012, p. 8).

The two different segments of social housing target different groups. *"Municipal housing focused traditionally on the working class and low-income people, while the non-profit private sector was mainly oriented towards the middle class."* (Reinprecht, 2014, p. 70) The crucial difference between the two segments regards the regulation of access. In contrast to municipal housing, not-for-profit units require a down payment by tenants which consists of a share of the costs for construction, land and financing. The most important factors influencing the down payment requirements have been raising land prices in the city and high quality standards[20] in the recent years (Kadi, 2015, p. 254). The separation between low-income households and the middle-class has intensified since the 1970s. Low-skilled Austrians and migrant families with a below-average income have increasingly concentrated in neighbourhoods dominated by municipal housing estates, whereas the middle-class has moved out. The social function of municipal housing with its mix of social classes is at risk of being lost (Heinz Fassmann, professor of Geography, Spatial Research and Spatial Planning at the University of Vienna, as cited in Marits, 2007).

The municipal housing complexes are administered and managed by the office 'City of Vienna – Wiener Wohnen' which is thus Europe`s largest property management (Wiener Wohnen; MA 53, 2011). Whereas other cities decided to sell off their housing stock, Vienna has kept its municipal housing complexes, but since 2004 the municipality of Vienna has stopped new housing construction (Laimer, 2012, p. 1). The withdrawing from the role as active housing developer can be seen in the light of financial pressures and a neoliberal turn in housing policy (Reinprecht, 2014, p. 63).

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[20] Increased quality demands in terms of energy efficiency standards and accessibility for social housing constructions have driven up the construction costs, and thus, the housing costs. The technical standards and requirements are considered as too strict and too high on the part of the not-for-profit housing associations. If some of the standards and requirements were lowered, it would result in a 15% to 20% reduction in costs (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, June 29, 2015).

Figure 10: The last municipal housing complex so far: Rösslergasse 15, source: author

Wohnfonds Wien [former name was Property Acquisition and Urban Development Fund; in German: Wiener Bodenbereitstellungs- und Stadterneuerungsfonds], a not-for-profit organisation which was funded 1984 by the city, is now the institution concerned with providing land for social housing. Its main instruments are the developers' competition [in German: Bauträgerwettbewerb] and the Land Advisory Board [in German: Grundstücksbeirat] (Klein, 2012, p. 11). The jury for the developers' competition includes architects, representatives of the construction sector and of the city of Vienna as well as specialists in the fields of ecology, economy and housing law. Social housing projects are assessed according to criteria from the four quality pillars: economy, social sustainability, architecture and ecology (Förster, p. 15; Wiener wohnbau forschung). "*The introduction of regulated competition is aiming at maintaining core-elements of welfare provision while orienting to neoliberal economic criteria.*" (Klein, 2012, p. 11) The city of Vienna on hand, administrates the existing stock of municipal housing, and on the other hand, influences the future housing stock by providing subsidies and regulations for social housing.

The wider economic, political and social changes are reflected in the statistics of housing construction since 1945 (see figure 11). The peak of housing construction was reached in the 1960s; this has to be seen against the background of massive housing shortage and reconstruction after World War II. Aiding by rising prosperity; the demand for housing was constantly high and the expansion of the housing construction continued in the 1960s. This trend was broken by the economic recession and turn to the refurbishment of the old city centre in the next decades (Klein, 2012, pp. 9-10). In the 1970s and 1980s, the construction of housing declined strongly. Since then a moderate upswing in the overall housing construction has to be stated. The increased new construction activity can be attributed to the positive population growth due to a positive birth rate,

inward migration of young people from the neighbouring states and the EU and a higher life expectancy (MA 50, 2015, p. 10). In the period between 1981 and 2001, social housing construction – even though it declined in absolute numbers – was the most important element and made up more than half of all new residential construction in relative terms. Since 2001, social housing construction cannot quite keep up with the overall construction dynamics and has dropped below 50%. The bottom was hit in 2011 with only around 2,500 new social housing units (ORF, 2014). In 2014, around 7,275 social housing units by not-for-profit housing associations were completed (MA 50, 2015, p. 10).
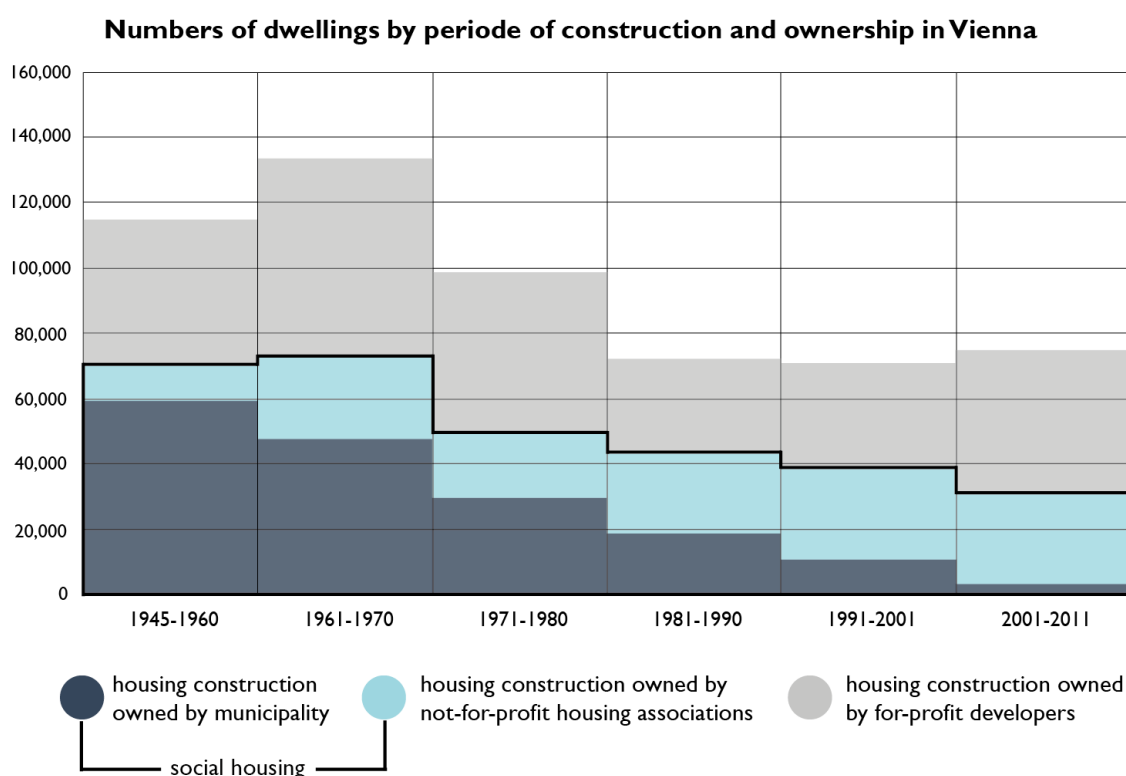

Figure 11: Housing construction after 1945 in Vienna, source: author based on Statistik Austria (2014)

As a response to the increasing demand for housing and the rising housing prices[21] in the last years, the so-called 'housing initiative' [in German: Wohnbauinitiative] was launched in 2011 as an additional program to social housing. Inexpensive loans granted by the city of Vienna were hand out to private partners – a consortium of building contractors and financial service providers. The loans were tied to a maximum limit of down payment requirements as well as an upper limit for rents for 10 years. As part of the housing initiative around 6,250 new homes were built (Magistrat der Stadt Wien c).

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[21] Since 2004, the average rent (including maintenance costs) has increase by about 39% in Vienna. In 2004, the average rent was 5.31 €/m^2; in the first quarter of 2015, the average rent was 7.39 €/m^2 (Statistik Austria, 2015e)

As a further sign against rising housing prices, the mayor of Vienna, Michael Häupl (from the Social Democratic Party of Austria), announced the resurrection of municipal housing in Vienna [in German: Gemeindebau Neu] in the spring of 2015 – after a break of ten years. *"I want also that we build Vienna apartments again I will add, however: New municipal housing. The principle remains the same: The city provides plots available and assigns the apartments."* (Mayor of Vienna Michael Häupl as cited in Millmann, 2015; translated into English by the author) About 2,000 new municipal housing units should be built until 2020. The location of the first new municipal housing complex – with 120 housing units - has already been named: the former site of the Austrian Airlines-headquarter in the 10. district which is now owned by the city of Vienna (Putschögl, 2015a). The site is considered controversial in the media; on one hand, due to the extension of the metro line U1 to the South until Oberlaa, high quality connections to public transport will be available for the residents, on the other hand the site is described as isolated: *"[…] located in the most beautiful green environment, but also at the end of the city."* (Blitzan, 2015; translated into English by the author) The announcement of new municipal housing also has to be seen as a political action against the background of election campaign for the municipal elections in the autumn 2015 (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, personal communications, June 29, 2015). Although the opposition parties of the Vienna City Municipal are criticising the project of the 'Gemeindebau Neu' as 'pre-election sweetener', the municipal council of Vienna unanimously agreed on the zoning and development plan for the new municipal housing in March 2015 (Blitzan, 2015; Natmessnig & Gebhard, 2015; Jenis, 2015).

The special nature of the new municipal housing project will be that there will be no fixed-term tenancy agreement, no financial commitments as on the private housing market and no down payment requirements as for social housing provided by not-for-profit housing associations (City Councillor for Housing, Housing Construction and Urban Renewal Michael Ludwig as cited in Wittstock, 2015). Therefore the 'Gemeindebau Neu' relates to a major key issue of the present models of social housing as in reality it has become hardly accessible for the poorest parts of the population due to the high entry costs[22]. *"The situation can be summarized as high quality social housing with blind spots."* (Researcher in the field of housing in Vienna I, personal communication, February 24, 2015; translated into English by the author)

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[22] In 2010, the average payment to access a non-profit rental housing unit ranged between 450 and 550 €/m^2 (Korab, Romm, & Schönfeld, 2010, p. 9). Taking the mean of € 500 as a basis, for a 50 m^2 apartment, a household hence has to pay € 25,000 to get in (Kadi, 2015, p. 254). Exceptions are social housing dwellings promoted by the so-called 'Superförderung' where the payment to access amounts to 67.97 €/m^2 (MA 50). However, these dwellings have made up only a relatively small part of the total offer of social housing so far (Korab, Romm, & Schönfeld, 2010, p. 9). The money which is spent for the entry payment is returned to tenants once they move out - deducted by a yearly 1% administration fee (Kadi, 2015, p. 254).

Spatial analysis & distribution of social housing

Compared to other cities the segregation in Vienna has remained relatively low, but is more evident in some parts of the city (Reinprecht, 2014, p. 71). The residences of people with high socio-economic status are concentrated in three different parts of the city: first, the inner city and the neighbouring districts (3.-9. districts); second, a corridor in the northwest of the city with the districts Währing (18. district) and Döbling (19. district); third, a corridor in the southwest of the city including Hietzing (13. district) and parts of Liesing (23. district). Complementary to this, two parts of the city have a high concentration of residents with a low socio-economic status: the south of the city (Favoriten, Simmering and parts of Liesing) and the east of the city (Floridsdorf, Donaustadt, Brigittenau and Leopoldstadt) (Fassmann & Hatz 2004, p. 77).

Within the last decade a polarisation of neighbourhoods can be observed; in 2011, people with lower qualification have become more confined to municipal housing neighbourhoods than they were in 2001 (Hatz, Kohlbacher & Reeger, 2015, p. 99).

The following graph shows the unemployment rate and the average annual net income according to the districts in Vienna.
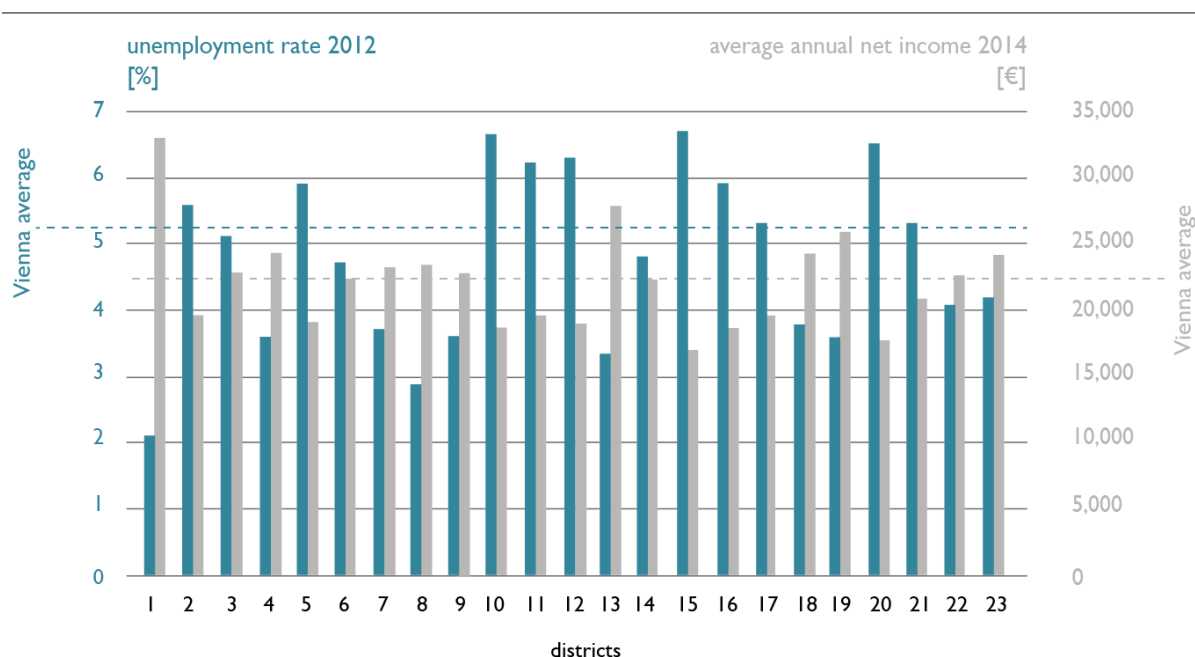

Figure 12: statistic about unemployment and income according to district in Vienna, source: author based on Statistik Austria & BUWOG & EHL (2015, p. 13)

Figure 13 shows the amount of social housing in relation to the overall housing stock according to the districts. The main focus of the private housing construction has been the traditional more prestigious districts of Hietzing, Döbling, Währing and Inner City (Representative of not-for-profit

housing association in Vienna I, personal communication, July 7, 2015). In the period of Red Vienna, the municipal housing estates were built throughout the city, *"[…] and thus had a long-term anti-segregation effect."* (Reinprecht, 2014, p. 64) After WWII, the construction of large new municipal housing areas took mainly place at the northern and southern peripheries. *"In spite of vast green areas and a generous infrastructure these estates became an object of various critics, mostly concentrating on the monotony of the architecture."* (Förster, p. 14)

Some municipal housing developments developed a bad reputation because of a concentration of socio-economically marginalised inhabitants. For counterbalancing an increased potential for conflict, the organisation 'Wohnpartner' was assigned to support professional conflict management (Hatz, Kohlbacher & Reeger, 2015, p. 92).

Share of social housing in the districts in relation to total housing stock of the districts

- under 15%
- 15% - 23%
- 23% - 36%
- 36 - 50%
- over 50%

Figure 13: Amount of social housing in relation to total housing stock in 2014, source: author

As availability of land in the central areas of the city is decreasing, most new buildings – private and social housing together - are erected in the outer districts. The focal point for urban development projects was Donaustadt in the period between 1981 and 2014. About 18% of all newly built dwellings between 1981 and 2014 in Vienna can be found there, including the Aspern Urban Lakeside project - one of the largest urban development projects in Europe soon to house more than 20,000

people (Statistik Austria, 2014; BUWOG & EHL, 2015, p. 56). Donaustadt is followed by Floridsdorf (12%) and Favoriten (11%) (Statistik Austria, 2014) (see map below).

Share of new housing construction in the districts in relation to new housing construction in the whole of Vienna (1981 - 2014)
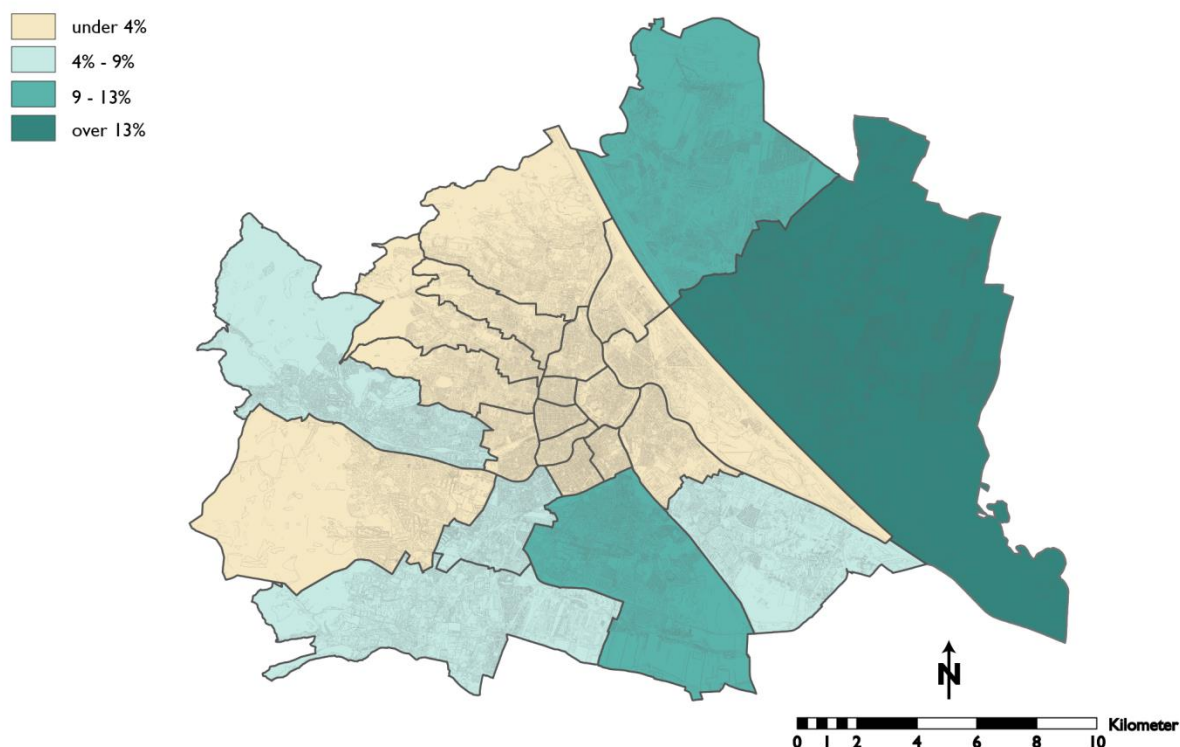
- under 4%
- 4% - 9%
- 9 - 13%
- over 13%

Figure 14: Amount of all newly built housing between 1981 and 2014, source: author

When we look only at the newly built social housing units between 1981 and 2014, we see a corresponding tendency of development. The outer districts, namely Donaustadt, Floridsdorf and Favoriten show the highest share of social housing units built between 1981 and 2014. Furthermore, social housing construction can also be found in the outer part of Simmering and Brigittenau (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna I, personal communication, July 7, 2015). This development can be seen as a rather natural process of urban expansion. *"A city grows from the inside to the outside."* (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015; translated into English by the author) Another factor is that densification in inner-city areas lies most of the time beyond the financial possibilities of not-for-profit housing associations, whereas in the outskirts of the city it has been possible to find rather cheaper land or land which is in the process of becoming urban land (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna I, personal communication, July 7, 2015).

Spatial distribution of Vienna`s social housing schemes 1981- 2014

Figure 15: Spatial distribution Vienna 1981-2014, source: author; a larger map can be found in the annex

Land provision & current challenges

"Social housing in Vienna is everywhere." (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015; Researcher in the field of housing in Vienna II, personal communication, June 25, 2015; translated into English by the author) The fact that social housing is quite evenly distributed across urban space was stressed many times during the interviews and is also shown in figure 15.

Wohnfonds Wien – the organisation responsible for providing land for social housing – still owns a relatively large amount of land in Vienna. In the 1980s and 1990s, when Vienna underwent a process of shrinking, land was relatively cheap and the land which was bought by Wohnfonds Wien in those days is still used to provide land for social housing today (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015). In the year 2013, City Councillor for Housing, Housing Construction and Urban Renewal Michael Ludwig (as cited in Natmessnig, 2013) indicated that Wohnfonds Wien has around 2 million square meters of land which are reserved for social housing. Wohnfonds Wien also has the possibility to buy land at different locations at different prices and thus

'cross-subsidizes' social housing at more expensive locations (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, personal communications, June 29, 2015). The activities of Wohnfonds Wien have contributed to a stabilisation of prices of land and housing (Gutheil-Knopp-Kirchwald, Getzner & Grüblinger, 2012, p. 43). Furthermore, brownfield development has been playing an important role in recent years due to limited land resources and the high costs for infrastructure in the outskirts (Förster, p. 20). Currently, Vienna has a 'historical stroke of luck' with the large contiguous areas for urban development at the former Aspern airfield, around the former North and the former Northwestern railways station as well as around the new Central Station stresses Christof Schremmer from the Austrian Institute for Regional Studies and Spatial Planning (2014, p.14). However, these areas will soon be built up – and future perspectives are uncertain. The challenge will be to ensure contiguous plots of land for future urban development areas which meet the functional a as well as urban-architectural demands instead of supporting accumulations of scattered single objects (Schremmer, 2014, pp. 14-15). The urban development plan 2025 includes this objective of *"[…] urban expansion to create contiguous urban quarters instead of planning future neighbourhoods merely on a plot-by-plot basis."* (MA 18, 2014a, p. 9) However, Christof Schremmer (2014, p.15) sees a lack of adequate planning tools to address the issue of interconnected urban expansion.

"To develop an area without social housing would not work in the Viennese system." (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015; translated into English by the author) Dwellings for middle income groups would not be marketable without subsidies and not-for-profit housing associations have privileged access to housing subsidies, resulting in optimum capacity utilization (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015).

Even though, the not-for-profit housing associations have been indispensable for the housing provision in Vienna in the last decades, finding land is becoming more difficult for them. Paal (2008, p. 144) remarks that *"[…] external pressure and increasing competition – often discussed in relation with globalisation and neo-liberalism – even catch up Vienna."* In a similar way, Kadi (2015, p. 254) notices that the city government *"[…] has increasingly lost grip of rocketing prices in recent years."* € 250 to € 300 per square meter habitable floor space is the upper limit for the purchase of land for social housing in Vienna (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015). This threshold limits the possibilities of not-for-profit housing associations to find land. *"As a not-for-profit developer it is hard to find attractive land, which is affordable."* (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna I, July 7, 2015; translated into English by the author) According to an analysis of the Viennese Chamber of Labour in the year 2014, the cost of land for a bad urban location amounts to € 600 per square meter achievable floor space and for a good urban location to € 1,200 - these figures clearly exceed the maximum limit for not-for-profit housing associations (Tockner, 2014, p.

7). The competition with private housing developers has strongly increased in the last five years. At present the land owners know that there will be a private developer that is able and willing to buy the land, hence, they don`t lower the price which makes it hard to negotiate for the not-for-profit housing associations (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, June 29, 2015). Karl Wurm, head of the Austrian Association for Limited Profit Housing, expressed his concerned that social housing construction will take place only where the land prices are low – for example due to a lack of infrastructure or due to heavy traffic (Wurm as cited in Bohmann Druck und Verlag, 2012, p. 23). As the threshold of € 250 to € 300 has not been adapted in the last 10 years, not-for-profit housing associations demand an increase of the upper limit. *"Ideally would be to increase the maximum threshold by increased subsidizes, so that the rents are not affected; However, even if the rents would go up a bit, it would still be better. Than what is the alternative? A private housing construction means even higher rents."* (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, June 29, 2015; translated into English by the author)

In 2014, the amendment of the Vienna Building Code brought innovations regarding strategic measures for housing developments. The two main instruments which are important for social housing are development agreements [in German: städtebauliche Verträge] and the new land-use category 'fundable housing' [in German: förderbarer Wohnbau] (Stadt Wien).

Through development agreements standards relating to social, technical and transportation infrastructure (e.g.: educational and health facilities, recreation areas, roads) are determined. The city of Vienna actively uses private-law agreements between the public sector and private developers in relationship to zoning measures and building regulations to influence urban planning projects. In these development agreements not only standards regarding infrastructure can be defined, but also a quota for social housing units can be set. This approach is seen as *"[…] reconciliation of interests."* (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015; translated into English by the author) First examples where such development agreements are applied are the project 'Danube Flats' in the 22. district[23] and the project 'Triiiple' in the 3. district[24] (Putschögl, 2015b). *"They do not pay for the zoning, but the developers are committed to do something for the city and thus for the general public in return for the conversion to urban land, which means a massive increase in the value of the property."* (Christoph Chorherr, member of the Viennese municipal council, as cited in Putschögl, 2015b; translated into English by the author) Private developers and the Economic Chamber of

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[23] The project 'Danube Flats' consists of 520 privately financed dwellings and 40 social housing dwellings (which amounts to a share of 7%). Furthermore, the real estate developers have to invest in school and kindergarten infrastructure, in a shore design, and in a mobility management (Chorherr, 2015).

[24] The project 'Triiiple' consists of 600 privately financed dwellings and 30 social housing dwellings (which amounts to a share of 5%). Furthermore, the real estate developers have to invest in school and kindergarten infrastructure, in a connection to the A4 motorway and in walking and biking paths (Chorherr, 2015).

Vienna argue against this practice because it involves increasing costs for the building promoters which were not predictable at the time when the property is purchased (Wirtschaftskammer Wien, 2013). Legal and spatial planning expert Arthur Kanonier from the Vienna University of Technology also insists that the development agreements are an appropriate tool only if the agreement negotiations are transparent because it also concerns the legal certainty for investors. *"Is there any leeway in negotiating? Will the conditions have to be renegotiated each time or is there an underlying model. And if so, which model?"* (Kanonier as cited in Putschögl, 2015c; translated into English by the author)

The land use-category 'fundable housing' was introduced, aiming at supporting social housing construction (MA 50, 2015, p. 10). The actual effects of this new category cannot yet be estimated, but will most probably not be very significant, as the law only states that the standards of the newly built dwellings – regarding size of the apartments and energy efficiency standards of the buildings – have to meet the criteria stated in the Viennese Housing Promotion and Renovation Act [in German: Wiener Wohnbauförderungs- und Wohnhaussanierungsgesetz] and thus, are eligible for subsidies. Not critical is whether such subsidies will actually be provided in the end (Kirchmayer, 2015, p. 2). On the part of the not-for-profit housing associations, the current definition of the land use-category 'fundable housing' falls short of the mark and a more sharp formulation with an upper price limit is requested (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, personal communication, June 29, 2015; Tockner, 2014, p. 9).

The following figure gives an overview about the spatial distribution along a timeline with important dates regarding housing policy from 1981 until 2014.
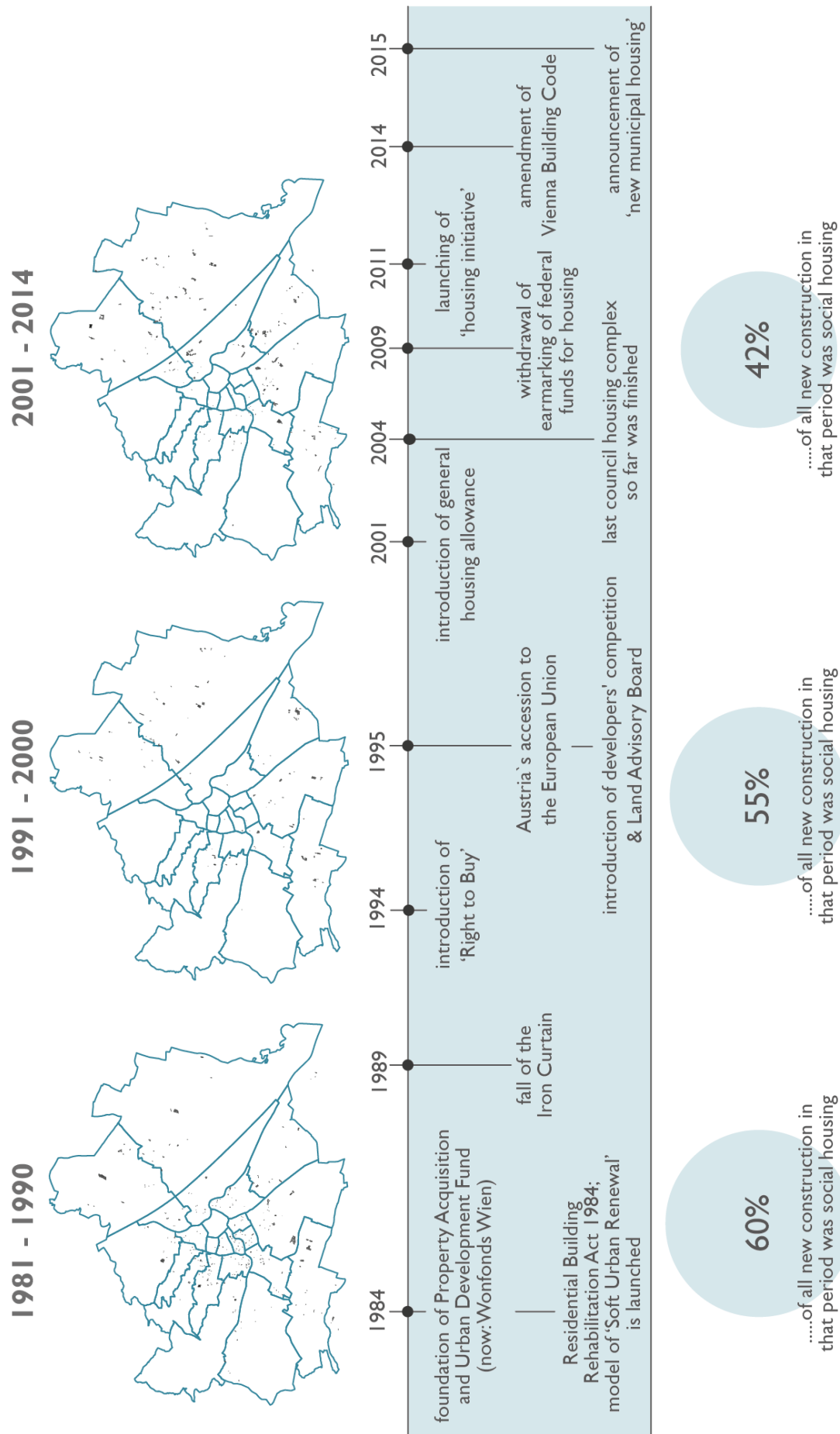
Figure 16: Timeline Vienna, source: author

4.2. Copenhagen

The municipality Copenhagen [in Danish: København Kommune] is the capital and largest city of Denmark; and as such it fulfils many important political, administrative and cultural functions. Nevertheless, the municipality of Copenhagen is still a small town: its surface is only 86.22 km² and it currently has 580,184 inhabitants (Danmark Statistiks, 2015a; Denmark Statistiks, 2015b). However, a dense urban fabric continues beyond the administrative city limits of the municipality Copenhagen. About one-third of the total Danish population lives in the metropolitan area of Copenhagen (Region Hovedstaden) (Jensen, 2002, p. 82). In order to meet the reality of the integrated area, not only the municipality of Copenhagen, but also the first ring of suburbs surrounding the municipality Copenhagen will be considered in the analysis (see figure 17).

A special case is the wealthy neighbourhood of Frederiksberg. It is completely surrounded by the municipality of Copenhagen (see figure 17), but it is no formally part of the city; Frederiksberg is an independent enclave of its own since 1858 (Fredriksberg Kommune).

The municipality Copenhagen consists of 10 districts: 1. Indre By, 2. Østerbro, 3. Nørrebro, 4. Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave, 5. Valby, 6. Vanløse, 7. Brønshøj-Husum, 8. Bispebjerg, 9. Amager Øst, 10. Amager Vest (City of Copenhagen).
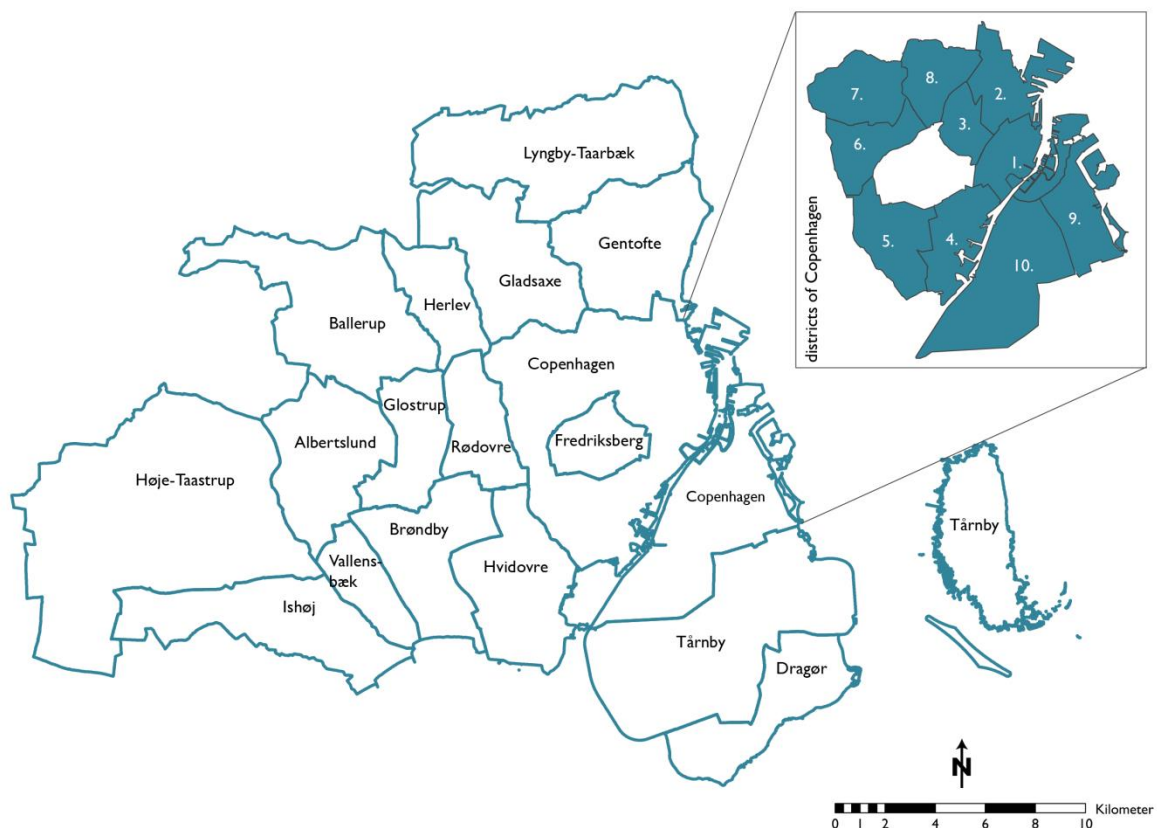

Figure 17: map of Copenhagen, source: author based on Miljøministeriet

Historical development and today`s situation

The growth of Copenhagen municipality was connected to the rise of the nation state and industrialisation. The fast growing manufacturing industry entails a rise in urbanisation and a huge demand for housing in the city (Andersen & Jørgensen, 1995, p. 14). Already in the 1920s and 1930s the upper and upper-middle classes left the over-crowded city of Copenhagen and moved out to the attractive coastal areas north of the city (Andersen, 2004, p. 151). With the increased development of the welfare state after World War II moving out from the dense city centre of Copenhagen was no longer something that only the wealthiest groups could do. It now became possible for a majority of the population, leading to fast suburban growth (Kvorning, 2002, p. 125). The expansion of the suburbs has been strongly influenced by the concept of the so-called 'Finger Plan'. The 'Finger Plan' of 1947 was the first attempt to frame the urban growth; the result was an inner city as palm of a hand with fingers of urban expansion drawn around the S-train lines (the suburban train) running from the suburbs to the city centre. Two main ideas behind the 'Finger Plan' can be noted; firstly, to provide rapid transit services to Copenhagen's inner city, and secondly, to obtain easy access to green areas as the areas between the fingers should be kept as greenspaces free from urban expansions (Andersen & Jørgensen, 1995, p. 16).
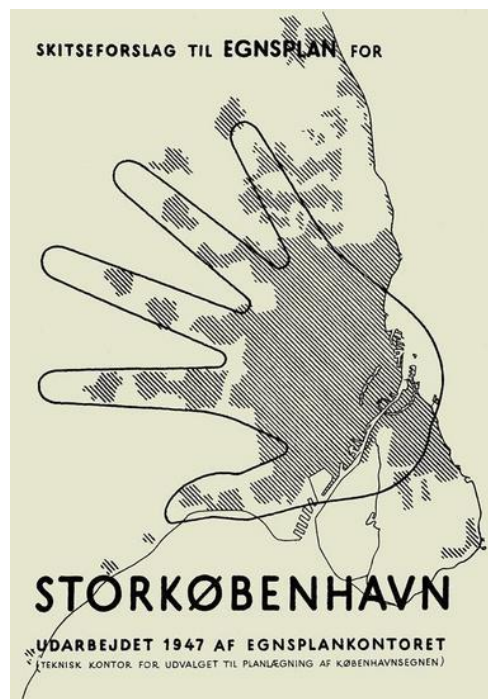

Figure 18: Finger Plan of 1947, source: Gyldendal

Individual motorisation eroded some of the principles, but the Finger Plan was still considered as main guideline for urban development in the Copenhagen area. In 2007, the contemporary Finger Plan version was incorporated as a legal regional plan; in 2013, the plan was revised (Ministry of Environment Denmark, 2007; Ministry of Environment Denmark, 2013).

In the 1970s and 1980s the city of Copenhagen struggled with processes of de-industrialization and suburbanization. There was a strong outward movement of people, but also service jobs moved towards the suburbs, resulting in long term economic, employment and social problems. *"This cocktail of factors resulted in a financial squeeze and forced the city of Copenhagen to obtain expensive loans to finance running welfare costs."* (Andersen & Winther, 2010, p. 694) In the early 1990s, the municipality of Copenhagen almost went bankrupt. Due the serious financial problems the national government intervened with major infrastructure projects (Andersen & Winther, 2010, p. 695). The projects were meant to revitalize the economy and included the Øresund Bridge from Copenhagen to Malmö in Sweden, a new metro system, expansion of cultural institutions and refurbishing of inner city areas (Kristensen, 2001). The measures proved to be successful; the city experienced a powerful growth in the 1990s. Particularly the rise of service- and knowledge-based economy has led to new job opportunities and to population growth in Copenhagen (Andersen & Winther, 2010, p. 695). While in 1991 there were only 1.09 million people living in the city of Copenhagen and its surroundings, by 2011 the number had climbed to 1.21 million inhabitants (Danmark Statistiks 2015a). Copenhagen and its surrounding areas are set to experience a boom in the number of residents for years to come. *"A popular notion is that the city of Copenhagen grows by approximately 1,000 people every month."* (Representative of city of Copenhagen I, personal communication, June 19, 2015)
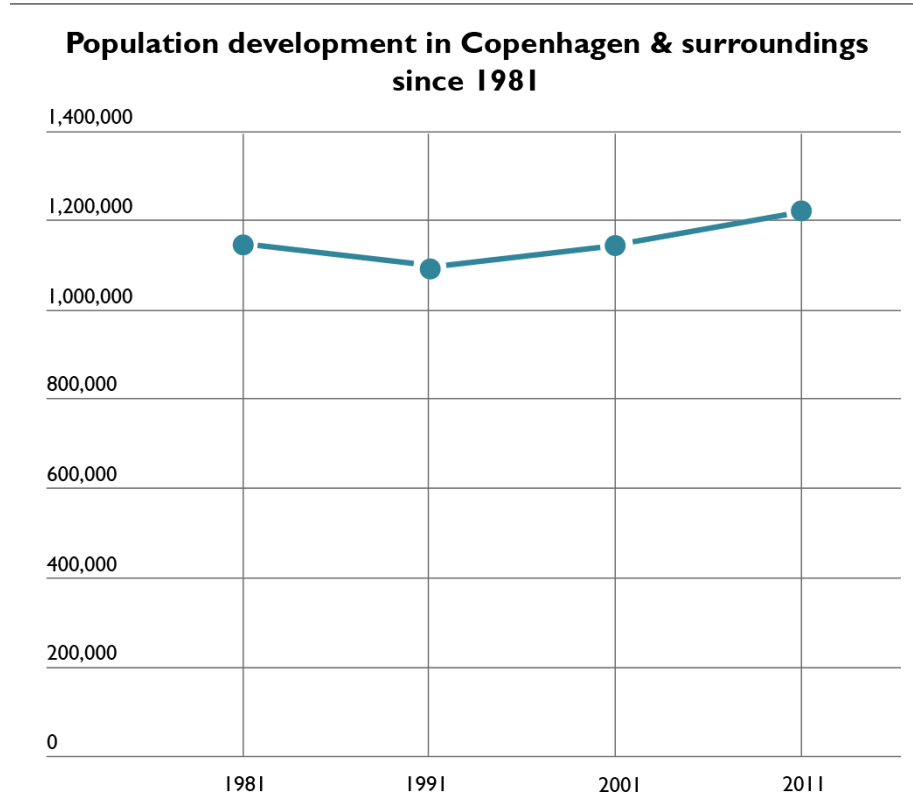

Figure 19: Population in Copenhagen & surroundings since 1981, source: author based on Danmark Statistiks 2015a

Welfare & Housing Market

The Danish welfare regime is strongly linked to the images of the Scandinavian welfare mode (Esping-Andersen, 1990). The characteristic features of the Scandinavian welfare regime are *"1) redistributive character 2) citizenship based universalism implying 3) a high degree of equality and a relatively high level of material wellbeing."* (Madsen, 2006, p. 6)

Housing policy is a major concern of the Danish welfare state, especially after World War II. In 1947, the Ministry of Housing[25] was established and has been a central actor regarding social housing policy (Kristensen, 2002, p. 252). *"During the whole post-war period, there has been a permanent conflict of interest between the government on the one hand and the decentralised housing associations on the other, regarding how much to be built and regarding the level of subsidies."* (Kristensen, 2002, p. 258)

The National Building Fund [in Danish: Landsbyggefonden] was established in 1967 with the purpose of providing financial support and assistance to not-for-profit housing associations. The National Building Fund is financed through payments in the form of compulsory contributions from tenants as well as payments from repaid mortgage loans. Instead of decreasing the rent when the mortgage is paid off, the surplus contributes to a saving with two-thirds of the amount going to the National Building Fund and one-third going to a local fund which all not-profit housing associations have (Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, 2014, p. 8). The funds resources can be used for renovation work and more recently also to finance new construction (CECODHAS, 2011, p. 48). .

In the last decades the decentralisation of responsibilities to the municipalities has been a dominant trend. Until 1994 a national quota system determined how many new social housing units could be built annually in each municipality; since 1994, decisions about the construction of new social housing must be approved by local authorities (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014, p. 79). This change enables municipalities to have a greater influence on the quantity of newly built social housing units.

The Danish social housing sector consists of housing for rent at cost prices and includes housing owned by not-for-profit housing associations and a small amount of public owned dwellings, which is ordinarily used for emergency housing. The not-for-profit housing associations are economically subsidised by the state, but owned collectively by the association members themselves. A high degree of tenant involvement has always been a key particularity of the Danish social housing system (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014, pp. 77-78). By law, social housing must be rented at cost rents, which

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[25] The name of the Ministry of Housing was changed to Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs in 1998 (Kristensen, 2002, p. 259). In 2001, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs was closed down under a liberal-conservative government; but a Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs was re-establish under a centre-left coalition led by the Social Democrats in 2011 (Kristensen, 2007, p. 17; Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs). After the election in 2015 and the change of government, the Immigration, Integration and Housing Ministry was established (Udlændinge-, Integrations- og Boligministeriet, 2015).

are based on historic costs and thus rents do not respond to market forces (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014, p. 80). Since 2006, sale of social housing is permitted, but only for empty flats and with the approval of tenants, housing associations, municipality and the Ministry of Social Affairs (CECODHAS, 2011, p. 30). By the end of 2010, 61 social housing units were sold to local tenants and one vacant social housing unit was sold to an external buyer (Wamsler & Due, 2011).

Norris & Shields (2004, p. 9) outline: *"The main aim of the Danish housing policy is – through a comprehensive supply of housing - to ensure that good and healthy housing is available to all of the population."*

The four main sectors in the housing market of Copenhagen and its surrounding area consist of owner-occupied housing (29% of the housing stock), social housing (2%), cooperative housing (21%) and private renting (16%). Social housing currently makes up about 29% of the total housing stock in Copenhagen and its surroundings, whereby 27% are counted among rented flats from not-for-profit housing associations [in Danish: almene boliger] and 2% are owned by the municipalities.

Copenhagen & its surroundings' housing stock (2014)			
owner-occupied flats	174,287	29%	HOME OWNERSHIP 29%
privately rented flats	95,994	16%	RENTAL SECTOR 45%
rented flats from municipality	9,630	2%	SOCIAL HOUSING 29%
rented flats from not-for-profit housing associations	161,951	27%	
cooperative flats	127,231	21%	OTHER FORMS 26%
other legal forms	32,926	5%	
in total	602,019	100%	100%

Table 2: Housing stock of Copenhagen and its surroundings (2014), source: Danmark Statistiks (2015c)

A growing phenomenon is the cooperative movement [in Danish: andelsboligforening] – especially in the city of Copenhagen, where it makes up about 33% of the total housing stock; by comparison, social housing only makes up about 20% in the municipality of Copenhagen (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Copenhagen I, personal communication, July 3, 2015; Københavns Statistik 2014). Cooperative dwellings are an intermediate form of housing situated between ownership- and rental-based housing; the property is collectively owned by the residents who each have the right to a specific dwelling (Danish Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, p. 5).

The dynamics of this shift towards cooperative housing is apparent in the following figure which shows a comparison between the housing stock in 1996 and 2013 in Copenhagen municipality. The figure further points to an increase in owner-occupied flats and rented flats from not-for-profit housing associations, while the amount of privately rented flats has decreased (Københavns Kommune, 2013a, p. 2). Statistical data about prior years or about the whole case study region (and not only Copenhagen municipality) could not be found.
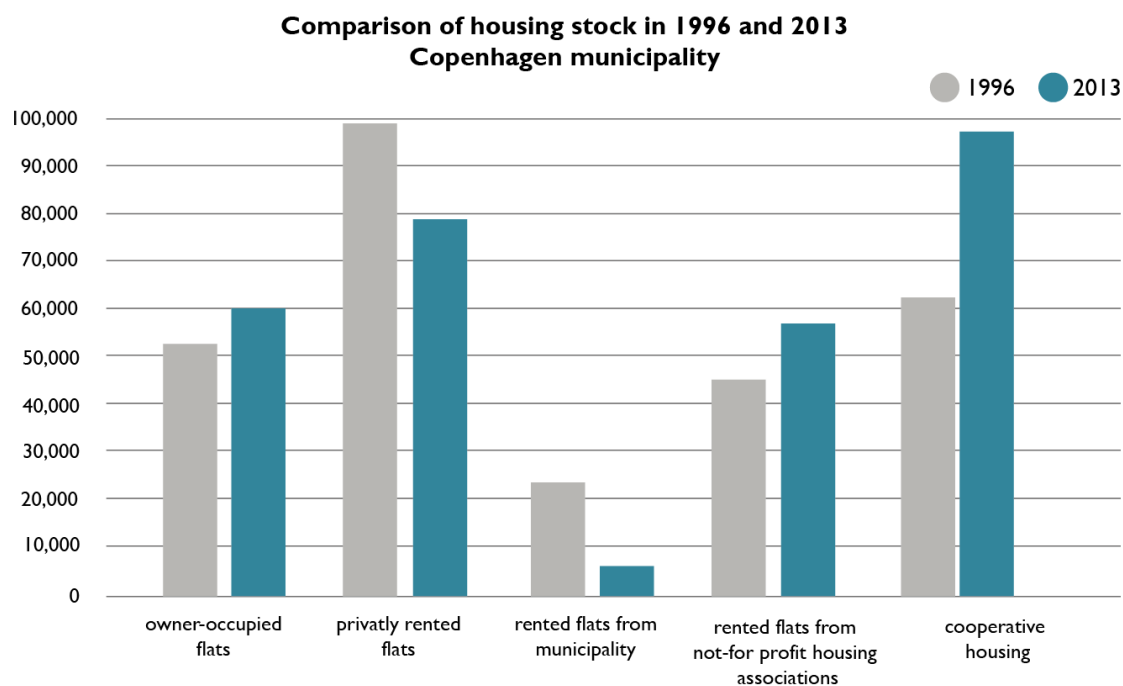
Figure 20: Comparison 1996 and 2013 Copenhagen municipality, source: author based on Københavns Kommune (2013a, p. 2)

In principle, access to social housing is available for everyone; access depends on the position on waiting lists. There are no income limits or any other formal restrictions on who may join a waiting list for social housing. In the Copenhagen area – as one of the most dynamic areas of Denmark – the time on a waiting list can last 10 to 20 years (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014, p. 81) Besides the waiting lists, the local municipal governments have the allotment right for a certain percentage of the vacant apartments in the social housing (Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration, 2011, p. 27).

As there are no regulatory barriers to competition between profit and not-for-profit providers, the housing market of Copenhagen can be defined as a unitary rental market.

Due to industrialization, the Copenhagen municipality has grown rapidly since the mid-19th century which has produced a huge demand for housing and led to dense and unhealthy housing conditions. All housing was constructed on market conditions. Faced with a serious housing need and multiple cholera epidemics, the government began to support housing associations operating at not-profit

basis in the 1930s, which marked the birth of social housing (Skifter Andersen, Andersen & Ærø, 2000, p. 73). In 1933, the first Danish act on subsidies for non-profit housing associations was adopted (Kristensen 2007, p. 32). The number of not-profit social housing associations grew in the following decades and especially after World War II as a result of the urgent need to provide housing. "*The social housing sector had its heyday in the 1960s and 1970s.*" (Kristensen, 2007, p. 32)

In the mid-1970s a shift in social composition in relation to tenure occurred; owner occupied dwellings - "*[…] as the by-product of the welfare state […]*" (Andersen, 2004, p. 164) - became the preferred form of housing in Denmark and in also the Copenhagen area. As a result, immigrants and socially marginalised groups without resources moved into social housing. The gentrification of the old city centre of Copenhagen facilitated this movement and changed earlier low-income neighbourhoods into middle class ones which pushed out poorer inhabitants (Abrahamson, 2005, p. 11). "*The gradual 'deterioration' of the social composition of the public housing estates led to discussions of ghettoisation and identification of 'trouble areas'.*" (Abrahamson, 2005, p. 11) As a response to the increasing concentration of social problems in certain housing areas, the Danish government[26] introduced a new strategy called 'Bringing the ghetto back to the community – breaking away from parallel societies in Denmark' in 2010. The strategy which became known as 'ghetto plan' proposed area-based policies for marginalised and troubled neighbourhoods. Areas were labelled as ghettos based on three criteria: a share of more than 50% residents with non-Western backgrounds; a rate of 40% or greater unemployment among adults aged 18-64; and a high rate of crime conviction (presence of 270 or more inhabitants with criminal backgrounds for every 10,000 residents) (Danish Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, 2014, 4). "*One can say, that the 'ghetto list' is both a curse and a blessing. One the one hand, these areas attract special political attention and also investments in terms of employment, educational, housing improvements and other types of activities. On the other hand, it also tends to stigmatize them.*" (Baskerville, Jürgens, Lord & Overton)

The municipality pays 10% of the buildings costs of social housing projects – including land price and construction price - and has therefore some influence on architectural standards and can assign tenants to certain dwellings – either to influence the social composition of the social housing estate or to provide dwellings in emergency cases (Representative of city of Copenhagen I, personal communication, June 19, 2015; Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Copenhagen I, personal communication, July 3, 2015). Assignments are not necessarily done on the basis of need. It may happen that local authorities and housing associations give priority on troubled estates, for example, people with jobs in order to improve the social composition (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014,

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[26] The ghetto plan was passed in the Danish Parliament in 2010 by the former right-wing government in corporation with the Danish Folk Party in a law on the housing sector (Elm Larsen & Hornemann Möller, 2013, p.14).

pp. 81-82). This can be seen in the light of the strong focus of improving the social mix in neighbourhoods.

A look at the statistics about housing construction in Copenhagen shows that - as in the case of Vienna - the peak of housing construction was reached in the 1960s. From the 1970s until the 1990s, the housing construction declined quite strongly; the decline has started with the economic crisis in the mid-1970s, and continued just as strong due to the structural problems of Copenhagen and the strong suburbanization process. Only since 2000, is the overall housing construction growing again; population growth has prompted a boom in residential new construction. The picture is different for social housing construction, which has registered a further decline until today. Housing construction has increasingly shifted to the private market in recent years. After the elimination of the national quota system regarding the distribution of social housing developments in Denmark in 1994, local authorities are blocking the construction of new social housing in their municipalities because they do not want an influx of people with social problems and with need of welfare assistance (Scanlon & Vestergaard, 2007, p. 4). This was also the case in the city of Copenhagen; in the period between 1995 and 2008, the policy of the city government was to only accept few new social housing projects as housing policy was redirected to attract a more affluent population group (Researcher in the field of Housing, personal communication, November 17, 2014). Moreover, the city of Copenhagen sold a large part of the social housing stock which was owned by the municipality in the 1990s to avoid a financial collapse (Cucca, 2012, p. 482) In the period between 2000 and 2013, only 11% of the new residential construction was social housing in the city of Copenhagen and only 22% in the whole case study region (Copenhagen and surroundings). To put that into a context, in the period 1980 to 1989 social housing made up to 64% of the new construction (Københavns Kommune 2013a; Danmark Statistiks, 2015c).
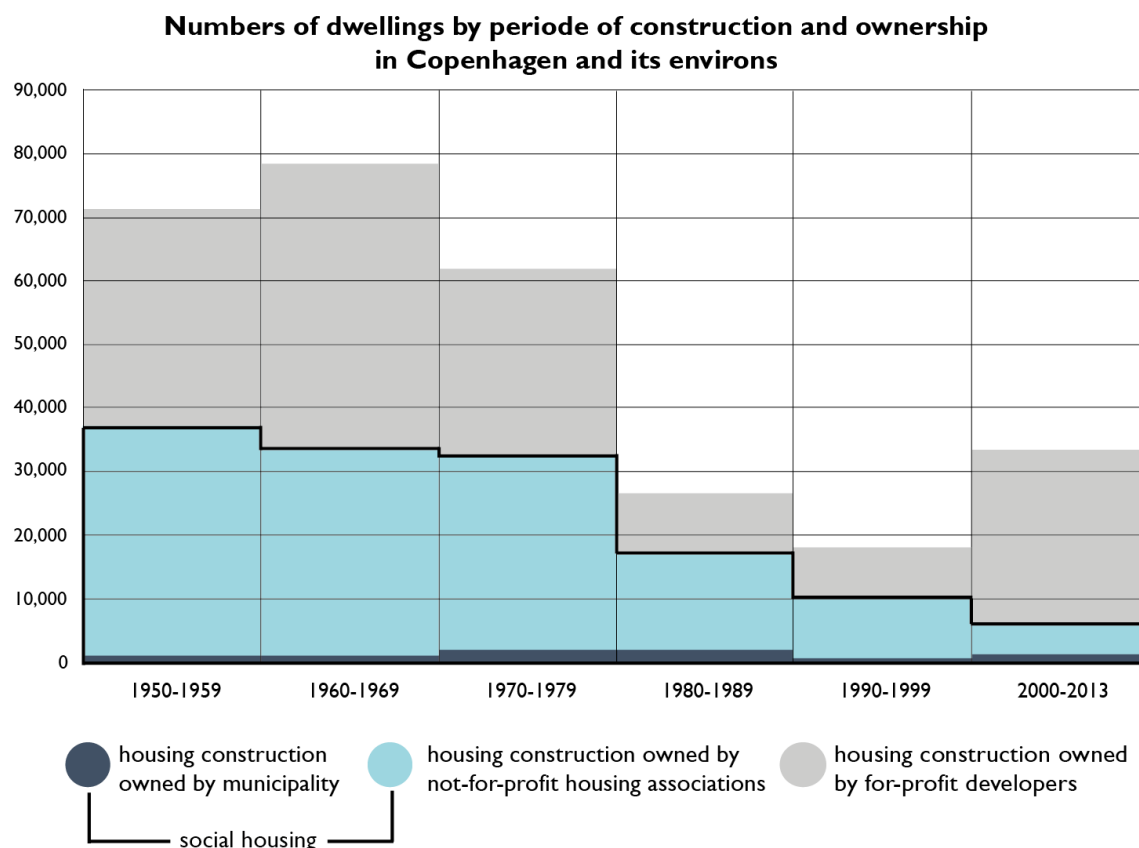
Numbers of dwellings by periode of construction and ownership in Copenhagen and its environs

Figure 21: Housing construction since 1950 in Copenhagen, source: author based on Danmark Statistiks (2015c)

In the last years the approach towards social housing has changed radically. *"We want more social housing. There are not enough apartments in Copenhagen, and especially not in enough affordable apartments."* (Representative of city of Copenhagen I, personal communication, June 19, 2015) Living in Copenhagen city has become barely affordable for ordinary people with an ordinary income. The issue of the thigh level of housing prices and a shortage of dwellings has become a political priority again. In 2006, the former Lord Mayor of the city of Copenhagen Ritt Bjerregaard (from the Danish Social Democrats) attracted attention with her main campaign promise to build 5,000 affordable homes for DKK 5,000 in five years – the so-called '5x5 housing plan'. The plan failed however, as in the year 2008, only twelve such flats had been built (Bjerregaard, 2008). In 2009, the city government of Copenhagen approved 860 new social housing units; this was the first time in 15 years that such a broad construction of social housing started (Carlsen, 2009). However, the new emphasis on promoting social housing does not appear to have solved the issue of affordable housing. Particular criticism is levelled at the high prices for social housing – which make them unaffordable for key workers such as teachers, nurse and bus drivers (Hansen, 2008; Madsen, 2014). For instant, a newly built, 111m² social housing unit at Sluseholmen in the South Harbour area costs approximately DKK 10,839 [about € 1,452] (Madsen, 2014). *"It's a terrible choice to be put across, but expensive social housing is still better than no social housing. Although the social housing is expensive at the beginning, they*

are cheaper over the years." (Anne Vang, member of the city council of Copenhagen, as cited in Hansen, 2008; translated into English by the author)

Figure 22: Neighbourhood Sluseholmen, source: author

Spatial analysis & distribution of social housing

The segregation pattern of Copenhagen and its surrounding area can be described as that of a modern city where the upper classes occupy the best located neighbourhoods along the seaside and the working class dominates next to large manufacturing places and harbour industries (Andersen, 2013). People with high socio-economic status are concentrated first of all in the north and north-west of the city centre of Copenhagen as well as in the historic core – the inner city. In contrast, they are rather absent in the suburbs south-west of the city and the western part of the city itself, where people with low socio-economic status dominate. Andersen (2004, pp. 161-162) claims that the differences between the poorest and most affluent areas have increased in the last decades in the Copenhagen area. "*It should be stressed that the decisive factor in this towards an increasing social imbalance at the neighbourhood level is not the unequal distribution of low income earners between neighbourhoods, but that of high income earners.*" (Andersen, 2004, p. 162) The number of high income earners in poor neighbourhoods has evidently decreased and the majority of high income earners have become concentrated in the high income and very high income areas (Andersen, 2004, p. 162).

The following figure gives an overview about the unemployment rate and income each municipality and district in the city of Copenhagen respectively.
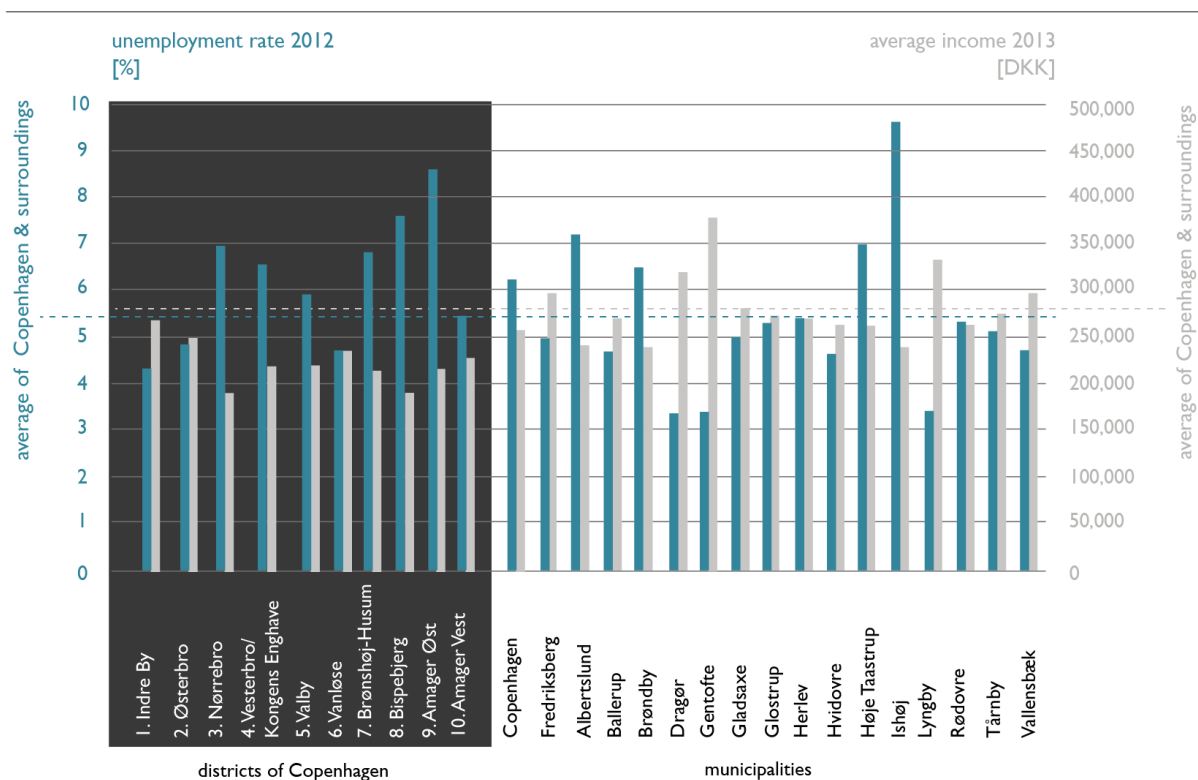
Figure 23: statistic about unemployment and income according to municipality and district, source: author based on Danmark Statistiks (2015d) & Københavns Kommune

In the post-WWII period social housing was often constructed as high-rise buildings on the outskirts; the highest proportion of social housing can be found in the municipalities south-west of the city of Copenhagen that were transformed from villages to suburban areas in the 1960s and 1970s (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014, pp. 78-80). The surroundings north of the city of Copenhagen have always been dominated by the upper and upper-middle class, and here is also where you can still find the wealthiest neighbourhoods, which are described as Copenhagen's Beverly Hills (Researcher in the field of housing in Copenhagen, personal communication, November 17, 2014; Wonderful Copenhagen). In the municipality of Copenhagen itself 20% of the total housing stock is social housing; the highest share of social housing can be found in the districts of Brønshøj- Husum, Bispebjerg and Valby (see figure 24).
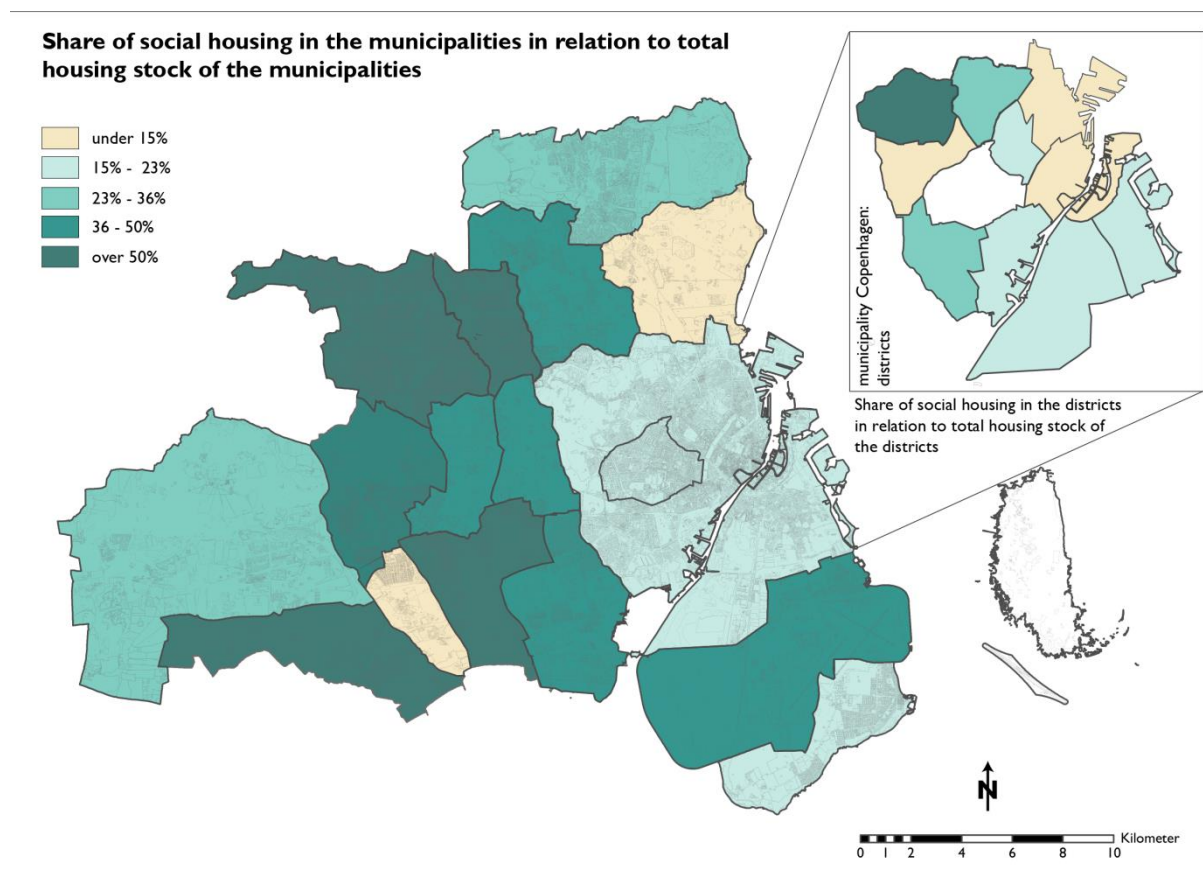
Share of social housing in the municipalities in relation to total housing stock of the municipalities

- under 15%
- 15% - 23%
- 23% - 36%
- 36 - 50%
- over 50%

municipality Copenhagen: districts

Share of social housing in the districts in relation to total housing stock of the districts

Figure 24: Amount of social housing in relation to total housing stock, source: author

Since the local government has to give permission and to provide a part of the finance, municipalities are able to strongly influence the composition of the local housing market by promoting or preventing social housing. There is a strong connection between the leading political party at the local level and the kind of housing prevailing. Especially in the period before 1980 some local governments chose to block new social housing. Consequently, the distribution of tenure is not only an outcome of market forces but also the result of political processes (Skifter Andersen et al., 2000, p. 79).

When we look at the housing construction in the Copenhagen area, naturally the city of Copenhagen – as the capital and big city - stands out. 44% of all new housing construction between 1980[27] and 2014 was developed in the city of Copenhagen. Therefore the following maps show the share of new construction separately for the city of Copenhagen and for its surroundings
Looking only at the surrounding area, the most new housing construction from the 1980s onwards were carried out in Fredriksberg (12%), Høje-Taastrup (12%), Ballerup (10%) and Gladsaxe (9%) (Danmark Statistiks, 2015c).

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[27] The difference to Vienna with the focus from 1981 onwards arises from the statistical data available

In the city of Copenhagen, the district of Amager Vest with the new mixed-use commercial and residential development of Ørestad was the focal point of urban development. About 27% of all newly built dwellings between 1981 and 2014 in the city of Copenhagen can be found there; followed at some distance by the district of Nørrebro where 15% of all new construction was carried out in the period between 1980 and 2014 (Københavns Kommune, 2015a).
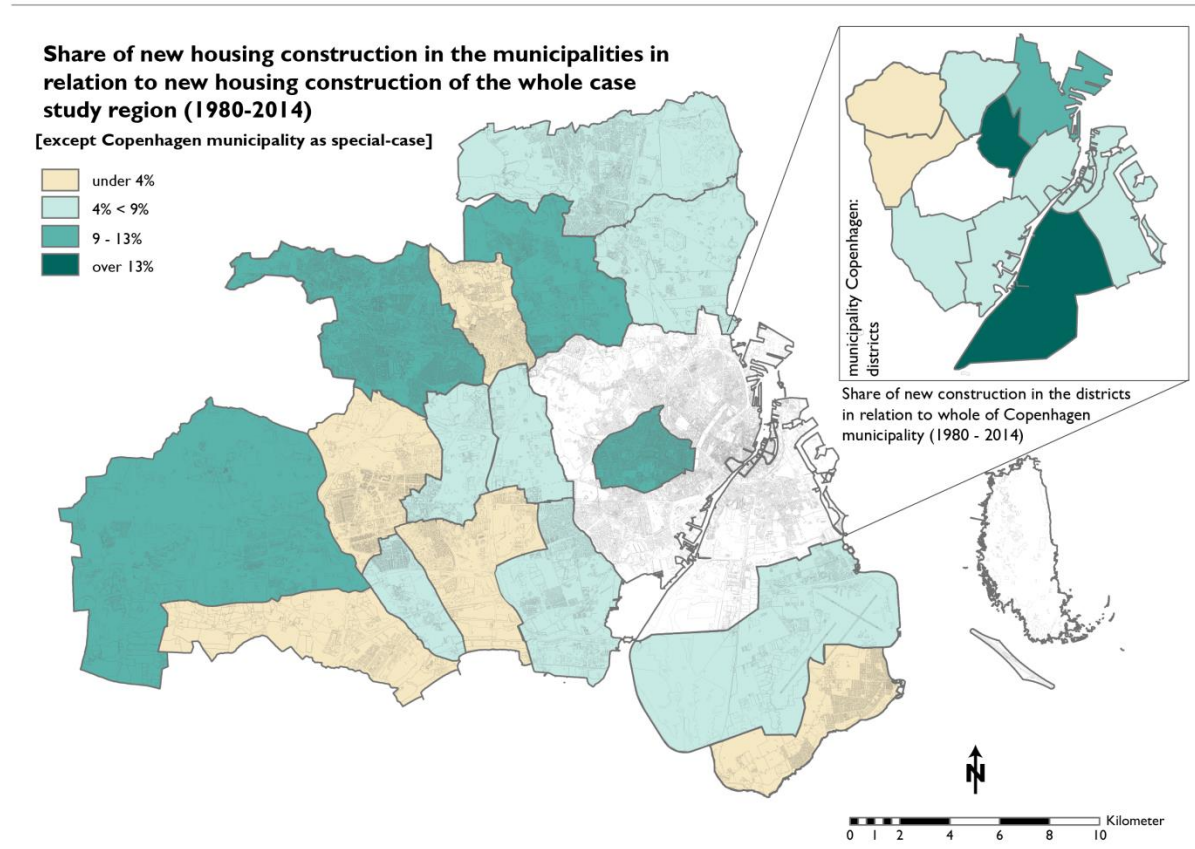

Figure 25: Amount of all newly built housing units between 1980 and 2014, source: author

When we look only at the social housing units built between 1981 and 2014, we see that in the surrounding area of Copenhagen, most social housing developments were carried out in Høje-Taastrup, Fredriksberg and Gladsaxe. It must be pointed out that the social housing developments in Høje-Taastrup were dominated by large-scale residential developments – especially in the 1980s; whereas in Fredriksberg and Gladsaxe smaller projects with less housing units were carried out. The rather high share of social housing in Fredriksberg is a bit surprising as Fredriksberg is known as conservative municipality which is run by the Conservative People`s party [in Danish: Det Konservative Folkeparti] for almost a century now and *"[…] has sometimes quite different opinion than we here in Copenhagen."* (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015; Steensgaard, 2005, p. 224)

In the municipality of Copenhagen the social housing developments concentrated strongly on the district of Nørrebro, followed by Amager Vest and Valby (see figure 26).
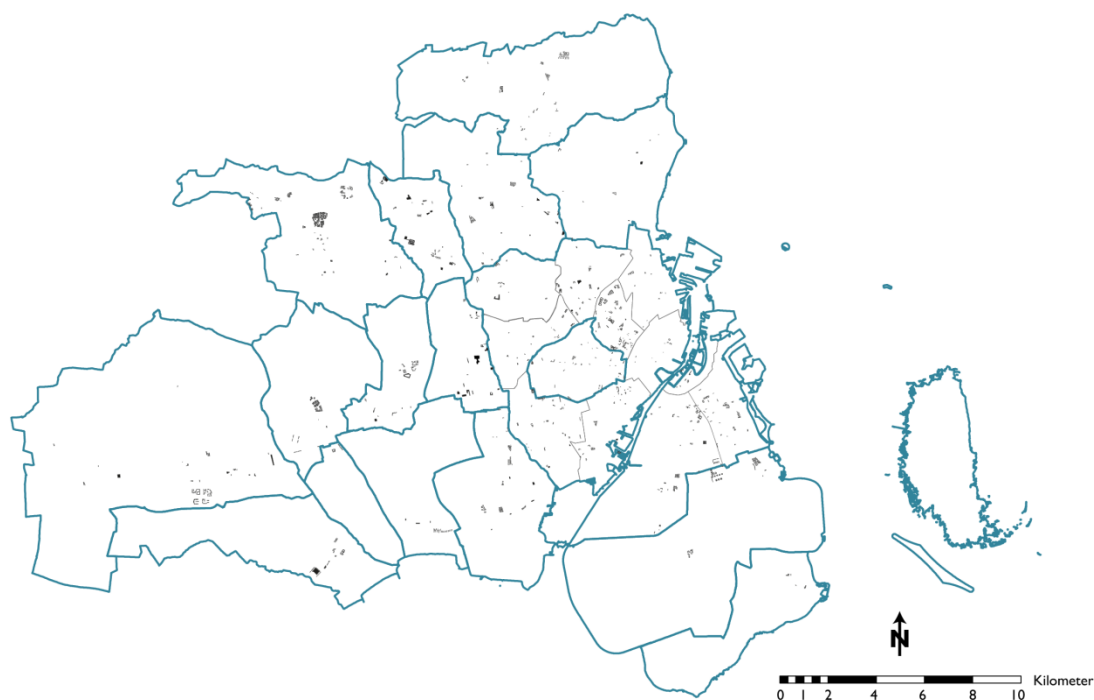

Figure 26: Spatial distribution Copenhagen and its surroundings 1981-2014, source: author; a larger map can be found in the annex

Cooperation between the different municipalities about a common approach towards social housing development does not really exist in the Copenhagen area. *"There is no communication about the interpretation of the social housing law."* (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015) Even though the borders are not barriers to spatial patterns of interrelations for the inhabitants, the borders are very present in the minds of the local authorities.

Land provision & current challenges

"The big two challenges in the last years were to be able to build enough social housing units and to find adequate land." (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015) In recent years – as a by-product of increased social problems in older social housing estates – there is a growing awareness of the location of social housing estates; before the distribution was *"[…] more random."* (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015)

In February 2015, the Danish Parliament[28] passed the amendment of the Planning Act and the Act on Social Housing (mixed residential composition) [in Danish: lov om planlægning og lov om almene boliger m.v. (blandet boligsammensætning)] which gives the municipalities greater opportunities for developing neighbourhoods with mixed residential composition. The amendment follows the demand of the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen Frank Jensen - from the Danish Social Democrats – who proposed in 2013: *"We can try to make agreements with private developers, but we need new tools if we want to achieve our goals. What I would suggest to the government and parliament is that through the Planning Act we get the opportunity to make demands on developer to build social housing."* (Lord Mayor of Copenhagen Frank Jensen as cited in Koch Stræde, 2013; translated into English by the author) The amendment changes the framework for local planning regarding the land-use categories 'Housing' and 'Housing and service industries' so that it is possible for municipalities to demand that up to 25% are built as social housing in new urban development areas (Københavns Kommune, 2015b). Furthermore the municipalities of Copenhagen, Aarhus, Odense and Aalborg - Denmark's largest municipalities - have the opportunity to provide financial support to ensure the same development in otherwise unattainable plots. One of the reasons for the regulation is to ensure a social mix in new developments and that social housing is scattered throughout the city (Dover, 2015; Kulager, 2015). The 25% regulation can only be applied by areas without an already existing land use and development plan, whereas the financial support for purchasing land will be applied in areas where there is already a land use and development plan (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015). The new regulations were introduced as a pilot scheme for 10 years. However, since the recent change of government in Denmark in 2015 and the fact that the social housing law is a national concern, there is the possibility that the new government will take back this regulation (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015).

As the not-for-profit housing associations apply with social housing projects, the actual process of finding land lies not in the realms of responsibility of the municipalities. However, the municipalities have to approve the project, otherwise it cannot be realised. The assessment for the approval regards amongst other things size of the project, architectural design and energy efficiency (Representative of city of Copenhagen I, personal communication, June 19, 2015). The city of Copenhagen added a new assessment criterion regarding the approval of social housing developments in 2015; the city has adopted a new policy at which locations new social housing units will be approved by the city. In neighbourhoods where there is already a share of more than 25% social housing in relation to the total housing stock, no new social housing construction will be approved. Instead, neighbourhoods with less than 20% will be the new focus point of new

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[28] The amendment of the Planning Act and the Act on Social Housing was passed in the parliament under the former coalition government between the Social Democrats and the Social Liberal Party (Researcher in the field of housing in Copenhagen, personal communication, November 17, 2014)

construction of new social housing units. In areas with a share between 20 and 25 percent social housing, the approval is decided in each individual case depending on if the social housing project can contribute positively to the area (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015). *"The main focus will be where there are very few social housing today. Those we start with; it will be, for example, Nordhavn, Carlsberg and Enghave Brygge to name just three of the relevant areas. We must ensure a mixed and cohesive city without ghettos, whether wealthy ghettos or ghettos for socially vulnerable."* (Morten Kabell, Chairman of the Technical and Environmental Committee, as cited in Heltoft, 2015; translated into English by the author)

As delimitation for neighbourhoods the school districts of Copenhagen are used (see following map).
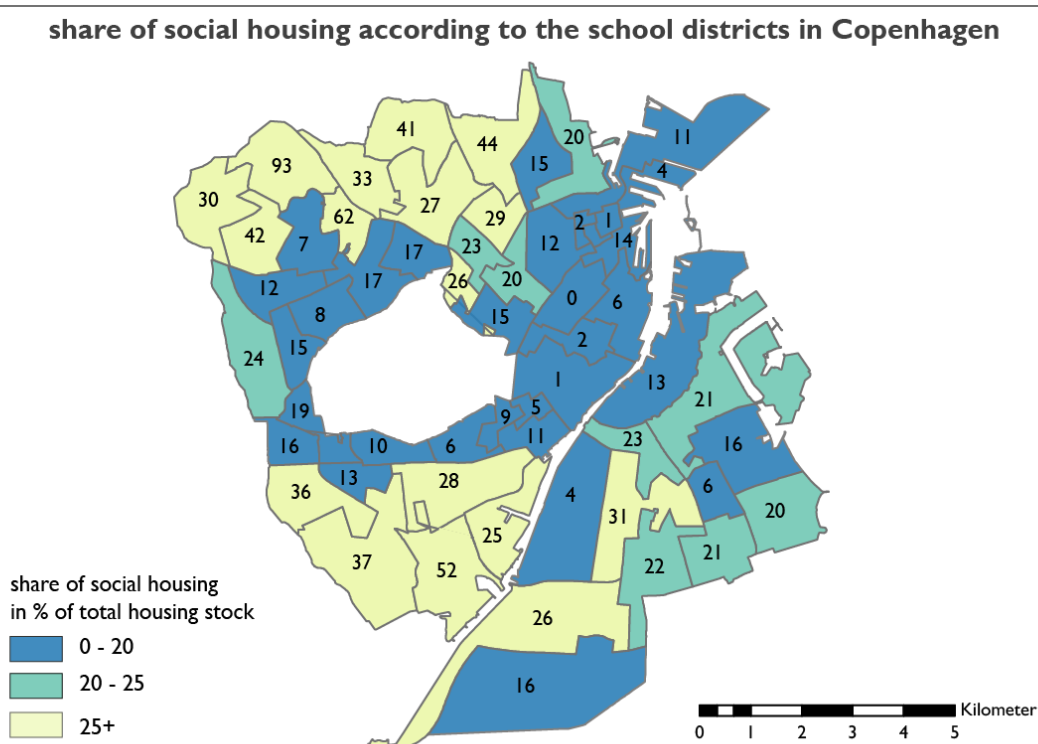

Figure 27: school districts of Copenhagen and amount of social housing, source: author adopted from Københavns Kommune, 2015b

The unit of school districts is not a coincidence, but was chosen to foster in an early stage in life the encounters of people who come from different social background. *"We want to promote a Copenhagen where the wealthy and locals with modest incomes live together and to know each other."* (Lord Mayor of Copenhagen Frank Jensen as cited in Heltoft, 2015; translated into English by the author) The map also illustrates that the city of Copenhagen has a rather unevenly distributed social housing sector. This can be explained by the different ways of housing provision and land supply. In Copenhagen, large social housing estates were allowed and built especially in the period between 1960 and 1975, but also in the 1980s and 1990s, which separated social housing from other tenures (Skifter

Andersen et al., 2013, p. 19; Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015).

This new policy of course significantly limits the areas where new social housing may be built in the future within the city of Copenhagen. It should be noted here that most of the areas with a share of 0% to 20% of social housing are in the historical centre and already fully built up. The following maps shows the school districts with more than 25% social housing in black (no approval of new social housing construction), leaving the white districts as the areas where new social housing can be build. Furthermore, the action plan areas of the Municipal Plan 2011 are shown in blue; action plan areas are the focal points of current and future urban developments.
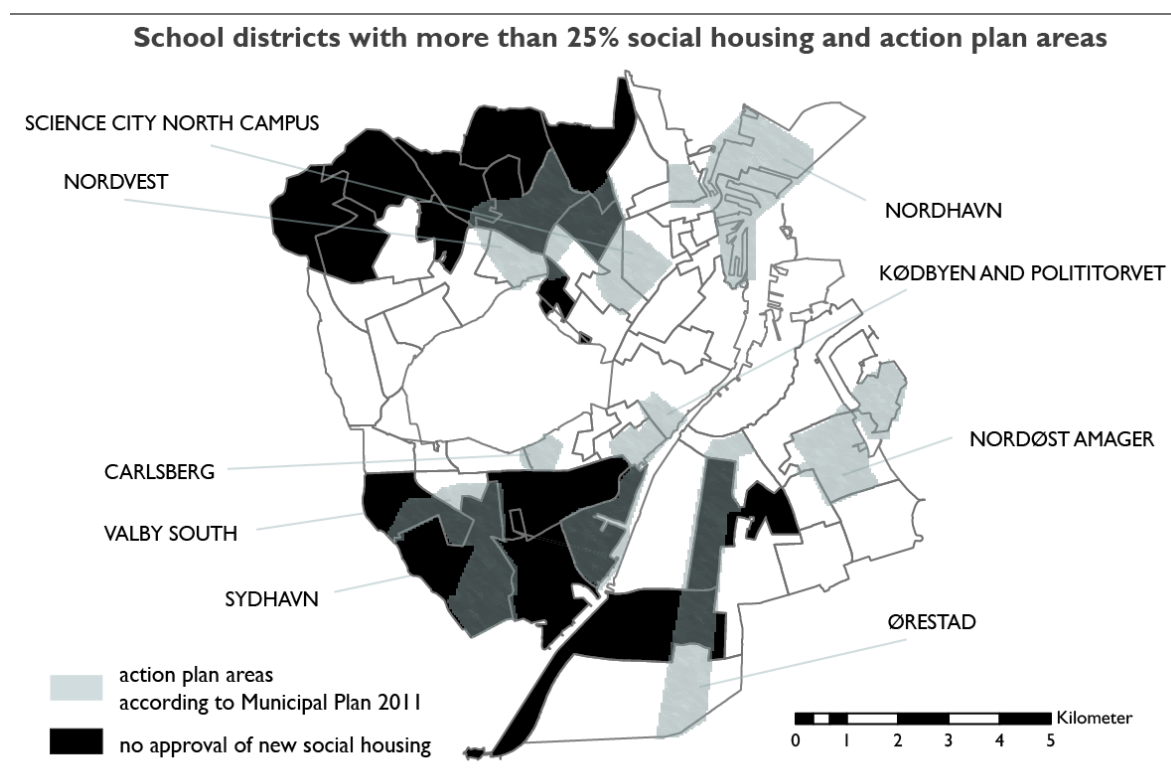

Figure 28: school districts where new social housing will be approved in white, source: author

Copenhagen has at the moment a share of about 20% social housing in relation to the total housing stock. The aim for the future is to maintain this target value (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015). Through the amendment of the Act on Social Housing the municipalities have two major tools to support social housing. By means of the 25% regulation and in terms of financial support for purchasing land for social housing, the city of Copenhagen is confident to meet the challenge of the housing shortage and to ensure a socially mixed city (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015).

On the part of the not-for-profit housing associations the new regulations are viewed as very helpful. To find land for social housing projects in the area of Copenhagen has become more difficult in the

last years (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 3, 2015). In 2004, a maximum limit of building costs (land costs and construction costs) for social housing projects was introduced; in 2015, the average permitted building cost per metre square was DKK 22,410 [about € 3,000] for Greater Copenhagen and DKK 18,030 [about € 2,415] for smaller town and rural districts (Alves & Andersen, 2015, p. 10). This cap was introduced to ensure the affordability of rents, but it has also limited where housing associations could build (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014, p. 80). As the municipality of Copenhagen is now allowed to give loans to cover the amount which exceeds the permitted building cost of DKK 22,410, not-for-profit housing associations *"[…] are able to battle with private developers […]"* in neighbourhoods where land prices were out of reach before (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015). The development area Nordhavn is one of the neighbourhoods where the instruments of financial support from the municipality of Copenhagen are used to ensure that the target of 20% social housing will be achieved (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015).

There are also critical voices towards these new regulations. Hans Thor Andersen, research director of the Danish Building Research Institute at the Aalborg University, does not believe that the 20% target rule is a miracle cure and points out that spatial proximity does not automatically leads to social cohesion (Andersen as cited in Kulager, 2014; translated into English by the author).

The municipality of Copenhagen owns some land and most goes to the development of social housing, but the interests of the city are not homogeneous and sometimes contradictory; the city`s interest is sometimes also based on economic calculations which means to get the most money out of the development of land (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 3, 2015; Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015). In 2007, the development corporation 'By og Havn' was funding to develop the areas in Copenhagen. Even though the company is publicly owned - the ownership of the company is divided between the municipality of Copenhagen (95%) and the Danish state (5%) – the company acts profit oriented. As 'By og Havn' owns lands in big development areas, the city of Copenhagen has to negotiate with them about social housing, what can be *"[…] a bit of a struggle."* (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015)

The following figure gives an overview about the spatial distribution along a timeline with important dates regarding housing policy from 1981 until 2014.
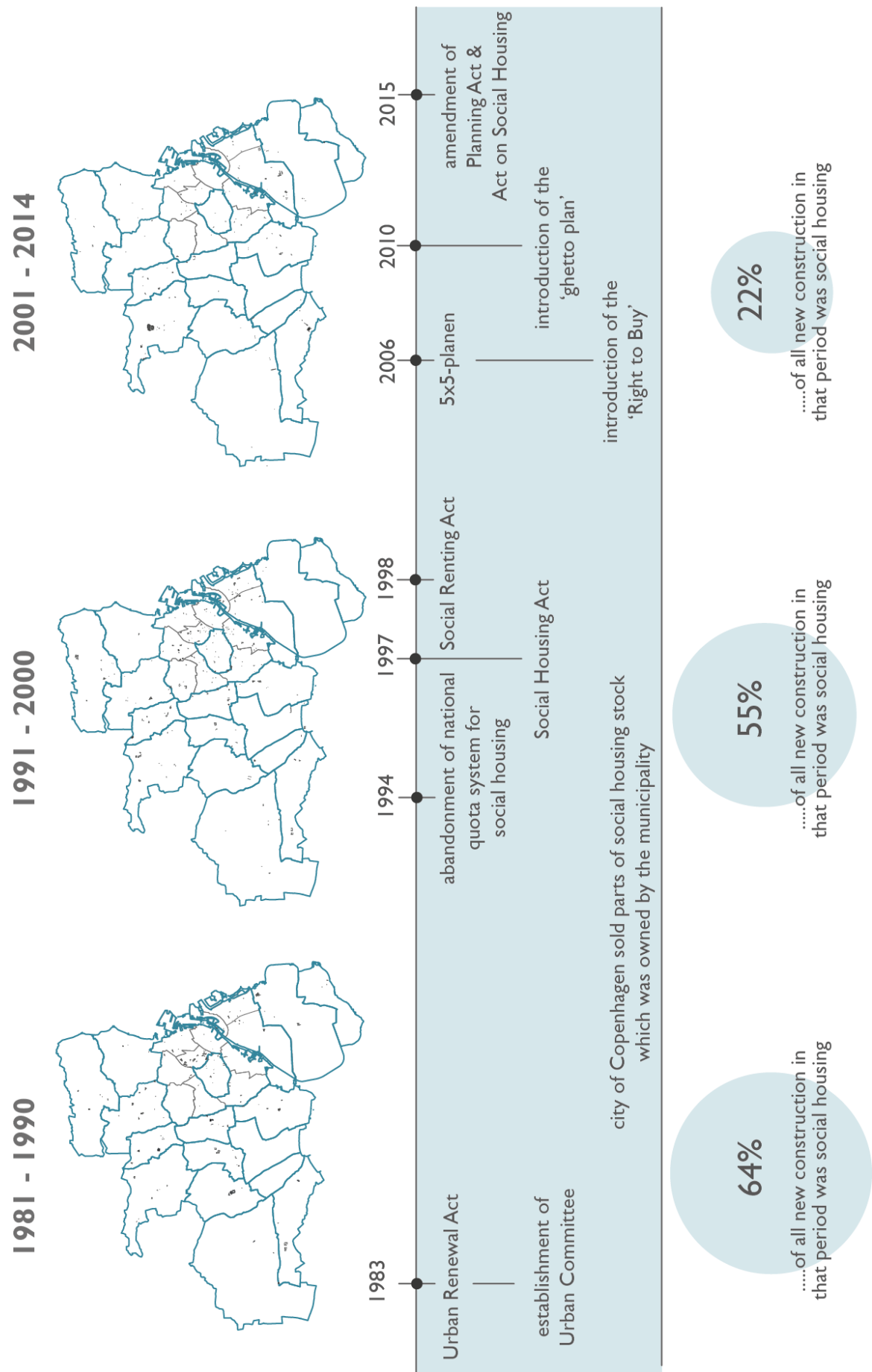
Figure 29: Timeline Copenhagen and surrounding areas, source: author

5. Comparison & Discussion

In order to better understand the case studies we need to have a closer look at the differences and similarities analysed in this research.

5.1. Housing market: Unitary, but quite different

Below you find a comprehensive overview about the tenure structures in Vienna and Copenhagen and its surroundings.
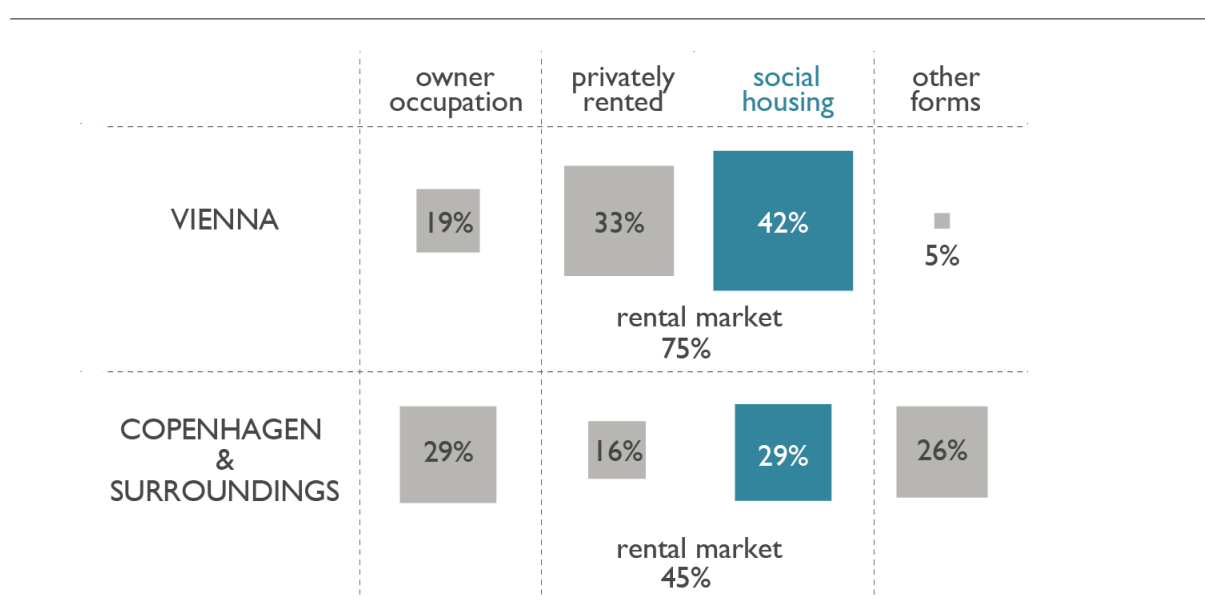

Figure 30: Comparison of tenure structure in Vienna and Copenhagen & surroundings, source: author

Kemeny's theory of unitary and dual rental markets provides a good basis for analysing the housing markets in Vienna and Copenhagen. The rental market is formed by the two segments of the social rental market and the private rental market sector. Social housing can only influence the rental market when it offers an accessible alternative to profit housing of comparable or even better quality. A unitary rental market – characterised by the absence of regulatory barriers for competition between profit and not-for-profit providers – is the precondition for the social rental sector to enter into competition with the private, profit-oriented rental market. Vienna and Copenhagen and its surroundings follow a broad understanding of social housing and they are characterised by a unitary rental market as the profit and not-for-profit rental sector stand in direct competition with each other. In Vienna, there are fairly high income limits for the access to social housing, on average only 10-20% of the population are excluded (Amann & Mundt, p.11). In Denmark and Copenhagen, the main rule of housing allocation is the time spent on the waiting list and there are no formal

restrictions on who may or may not join a waiting list for social housing (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2014, p. 81).

"Vienna is different." With this short sentence Wolfgang Förster starts his essay on *80 years of social housing in Vienna*. And this seems to be true regarding the tenure status: social housing makes up 42% of the total housing stock and about 60% of all Vienna households live in social housing apartments, thus the city government remains in control of a large part of the housing in the city (Förster, p. 1). Over the last three decades, not-for-profit housing associations have become the dominant forces on the market. Even though ownership of an investment property is becoming more attractive and desirable due to multiple crises appearing in the financial markets in the last year, the number of owner-occupiers in Vienna is growing only slowly. As such Vienna still has a share of rental housing far above the European average (BUWOG & EHL, 2015, p. 6; Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, June 29, 2015). These facts make it difficult to compare Vienna with any other city in the world; Vienna is rather outdated regarding housing in a world dominated by neoliberal logic (Researcher in the Field of Housing in Vienna II, personal communication, June 25, 2015).

Since the 1980s, the balance between rented housing and owner occupied housing shifted dramatically in Copenhagen and the surrounding area, leading to a reduction in the share of rental apartments. This is mainly due to changes in tax regulations in which private ownership and private cooperative housing has been encouraged and made them attractive to the middle class (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015). In 2014, an analysis published by Arbejdernes Landbank and boligsiden.dk shows that due to the low interest rate it is cheaper to own an apartment than to rent an apartment in Copenhagen at the moment. This particularly applies to new apartments; the expenses[29] to rent a 80m^2 apartment in Copenhagen cost about DKK 9,650 [about € 1,293] a month, whereas the costs only amount to DKK 7,550 [about € 1,012] a month when you own the apartment (Hansen, 2014). The record-low of the Danish interest rate levels is predicted to continue to drive an increase in investments (Sadolin & Albæk, 2015, p. 9). The effect of increasing levels of home ownership is firstly, to reduce the share of rental market and secondly, to narrow the social mix within the rental sector. Today, social housing makes up 29% of the total housing stock in Copenhagen and the surrounding area. The Danish housing policy is characterised by being more general and universalistic compared to Austria and Vienna, directed towards all groups in society as there are no limits for eligibility for social housing at all. However, the social housing sector in Denmark and in the Copenhagen area is left for those without any resources and has the image as *"[…] a place for losers."* (Researcher in housing field in Copenhagen,

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[29] direct costs in the form of rent and property tax after the first year

personal communication, November 17, 2014; Representative of city of Copenhagen II, personal communication, July 7, 2015)

5.2 Spatial patterns of social housing

Socio-economic segregation in the two cities has increased in the last decades. Hans Thor Andersen (2004) claims that that ghettos of wealthy residents are emerging in Copenhagen and the surrounding areas as high income earners have become concentrated in some neighbourhoods and are absent from other areas of the city. Hatz, Kohlbacher & Reeger (2015) analyse the segregation patterns in Vienna and found out that since 2001, socio-economic features have become more prominent in explaining segregation patterns. Neighbourhoods are becoming more polarised and people with lower qualification are more tied to municipal housing neighbourhoods than before.

When we compare general housing construction with the social housing construction in the period from 1981 until 2014, we see a very similar tendency. This is true at least at the level of the districts or municipalities; a more in depth analysis was not possible because of the lack of more detailed data. In Vienna, the outer districts, Donaustadt, Floridsdorf and Favoriten, show the highest share of social housing units built between 1981 and 2014. These districts were also the growth districts in relation to the overall residential housing construction in this period. In Copenhagen the growth districts for residential housing construction were Amager Vest and Nørrebro; in the surrounding areas Fredriksberg and Høje-Taastrup have the highest share of housing construction. These areas were also where the most social housing developments were carried out.

If one compares, the trends of the different decades it can be seen that in the 1980s more social housing construction was carried out in inner-city locations than in the later periods. This is connected to the fact that in the 1980s, the focus was on the refurbishment of the old city (1983: Urban Renewal Act was passed in Denmark; 1984: model of Soft Urban Renewal was launched in Vienna).

When asked about if and how spatial aspects are considered by the development of social housing, locational factors and land price are the two aspects which are examined. In Vienna as well as in Copenhagen and the surrounding areas, upper price limits to purchase land for social housing exist. Locational factors refer to how the social housing development inserts itself in the neighbourhood, to accessibility and infrastructure (Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, June 29, 2015; Representative of city of Copenhagen I, June 19, 2015). The experts interviewed – in Vienna and Copenhagen - stated, locational factors are not seen as a big issue. *"If the essential infrastructure is missing, then the building promoters have to take care of it."* (Representative of not-for-

profit housing association in Vienna II, June 29, 2015; translated into English by the author) *"In Copenhagen you are never far away from services or a biking path."* (Representative of city of Copenhagen II, July 7, 2015)

5.3 Growing Housing Demand

Based on the investigations carried out within the framework of this thesis, it can be stated that the expected population growth within the next decade presents a major challenge for the cities and their surroundings. Several interviewees highlighted the strong population growth in relation to the increasing pressure on the housing market. The following figure illustrates the population forecast for 2025 with the year 1981 as initial point.
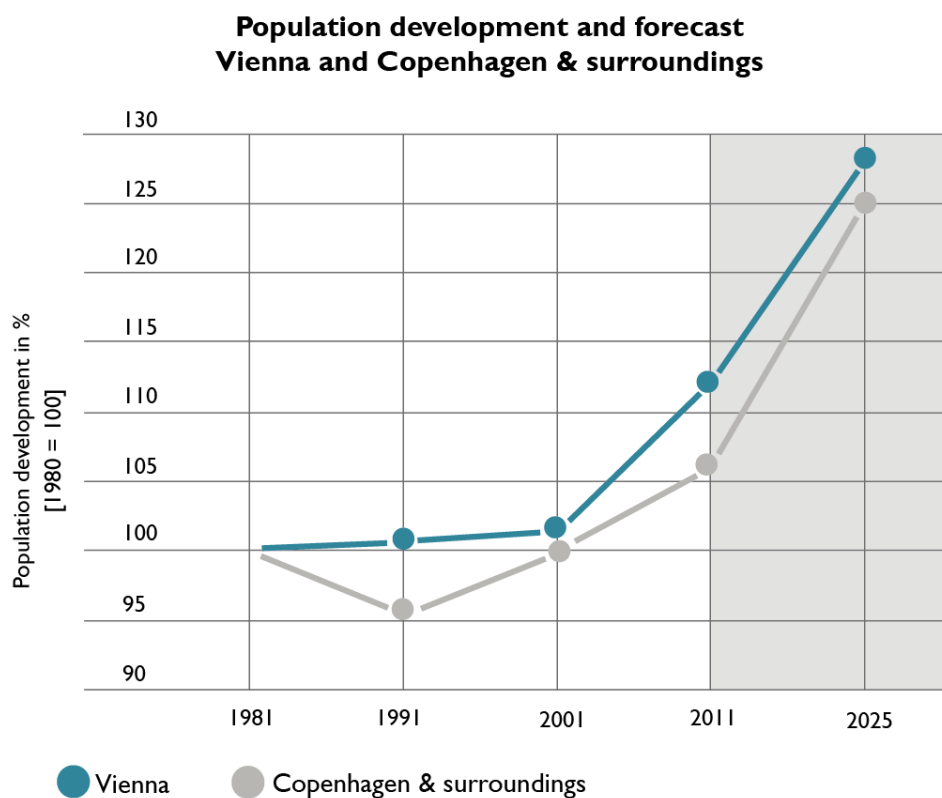

Figure 31: Population forecast for 2025, source: author based on MA 23 (2014) & Danmark Statistiks (2015e)

As the city of Copenhagen is expected to grow by 90,000 new inhabitants until 2025, 8,200 social housing units will have to be built in the city of Copenhagen until 2025, if the share of 20% social housing of the housing stock shall be maintained (Heltoft, 2015). Viewed as a whole, today's predictions are that by 2025 Copenhagen and the surroundings areas will grow by 18% compared to 2011 (Danmark Statistiks, 2015e). By 2025, the population of the city of Vienna is expected to reach

1,964,307 people; this corresponds to an increase of nearly 15% compared to 2011 (MA 23, 2014, p. 20). 10,000 new social housing units per year are needed in Vienna to meet the demands of the growing population according to experts (Bock, 2015).

5.4 Challenge: Housing needs land

The strong housing demand has resulted in climbing prices in the rental and ownership market which are making residential development a lucrative business for investors in both cities and their surroundings. In the course of rising land prices due to increased competition to acquire land, the major challenges for the future – which were frequently mentioned in the expert interviews with the different stakeholders – will be to build enough social housing; and as a kind of pre-condition for that to find suitable and affordable land for social housing developments. In Vienna as well as in Copenhagen and the surrounding areas, upper price limits to purchase land for social housing exist and the gap between these price limits and the actual prices for land in good locations results in not-for-profit providers being in a weaker position than private developers in the competition to acquire land.

HOUSING NEEDS LAND

QUANTITY
build enough social housing

LOCATION
find suitable and affordable land

Figure 32: two major challenges regarding social housing in Vienna and Copenhagen, source: author

As argued in chapter 3, the location of housing matters and has an influence on people`s everyday life. Patterns of social segregation can be explained, partly, by the fact of socio-economic inequalities and of individual market power, and partly, by the fact that the spatial distribution of housing is framed by a set of rules and ideals underlying public policies and intervention. At the local level, the planning system impacts housing outcomes through its functions of allocating land for residential development, affecting thereby the composition of the housing market as well as the mix of inhabitants in the municipality and in the neighbourhoods.

If we come back to the different forms in which the local authority can contribute to land provision for social housing developments, we see the main focus lies on facilitating land development rather than on active land development. The cities and municipalities have mostly withdrawn from active

land acquirement; the task of buying and providing land was outsourced in Vienna and Copenhagen. Wohnfonds Wien in the case of Vienna and By og Havn in the case of Copenhagen are the responsible organisations for acquiring and providing land. Even though these organisations are publicly owned, the intentions differ essentially. In Vienna, where there is a political tradition that housing should not left to the free-market mechanisms and there is a consensus that land owned by Wohnfonds Wien should be used for the development of social housing which of course has effects on the importance and position of social housing developments in the housing market. The interests of the city of Copenhagen are more ambivalent and sometimes in contradiction to the efforts of fostering social housing.

Regarding the facilitation of land development and the support of land supply for social housing developments, both cities have recently introduced new tools to meet the challenge of land provision for social housing. One can see that there are similar pressures challenges in the two cities; however the instruments to deal with these differ in some aspects.

In Vienna, the general policy is not to leave urban development and housing completely up to the private market (Förster, 2013, p. 3). Legally binding development agreements between the public and private developers are the central tool for controlling urban development projects and to ensure social housing developments. The local planning authority negotiates with private developers about the amount of social housing to be provided. A critical question is how transparent these negotiations and agreements are. The most important criticisms of experts regarding the present model of development agreements is that there are no generally applicable rules regarding what percentage of planning gain the city authority is pursuing. *"If there are no rules, one is dependent only on one's negotiation skills."* (Christof Schremmer from Austrian Institute for Regional Studies and Spatial Planning as cited in Krutzler, 2015) Besides the potential lack of transparency, negotiations are often long and costly, and that can slow down the development process. Another new possibility to coordinate social housing developments is the land-use category 'fundable housing'. Even though in the *Vienna Housing Annual Report 2014* published by the Municipal Department 50 (Housing Promotion and Arbitration Board for Legal Housing Matters) the introduction of the new zoning category is described as *"[…] another milestone for supporting and advancing affordable construction and housing in the city […]"* (MA 50, 2015, p. 10), the interviewees considered the actual effects of this change of the Vienna Building code rather doubtfully (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015; Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, June 29, 2015). The demand of not-for-profit housing associations to link the land-use category 'fundable housing' with a maximum price limit was not met (Schremmer, 2014, p. 15).

As the previous sections demonstrated, Vienna has maintained a special position among European urban housing markets. However, there are critical voices warning that the pride

about this rather unique social housing system should not obscure the fact that living in the city for poorer households has become more difficult (Holm, 2014; Kadi, 2015)

With the objective of promotion a cohesive and diverse city, a new policy aiming to encourage social housing development in more desirable neighbourhoods was introduced this year in Copenhagen. It has become an official policy for the city of Copenhagen to provide 20% not-for-profit housing in the new development areas to maintain the existing overall share 20% social housing in the city of Copenhagen. *"Copenhagen was named the world's best city, and the city's popularity can be seen in population growth: Each month we grow about 1,000 Copenhageners […] At the same time there has been a concentration of problems in certain urban areas. […] This means that the distance between the functioning parts of the city and the disadvantaged urban areas has increased and threatens the cohesion of our city."* (Københavns Kommune, 2013b, pp. 4-5) As a response to the unequal distribution of social housing developments, the city of Copenhagen only approves new construction of social housing in neighbourhoods with less than 25% social housing when compared to the total housing stock. The policy can be seen as a means of creating a socially mixed city by reducing spatial segregation. To achieve the aim of a mixed city, two instruments are available for the local planning authorities: First, if they decide to designate an area for housing they have the possibility to indicate that a percentage (up to 25%) of that area that is to be used for social housing and second, they can offer financial support to not-for-profit housing associations which enables them to purchase and build in some of the more expensive districts of the city. The exact proportion which has to be dedicated to social housing development is specified in negations between the local planning authorities and the developers. The difference to Vienna is that the city of Copenhagen has clearly declared 20% as target aim. In the case study area, the possibility of financial support is limited to the city of Copenhagen as this regulation is only valid for Denmark`s biggest municipalities. Nevertheless, all Danish municipalities – and thus also the municipalities surrounding Copenhagen - have the instrument to promote a certain amount of social housing through the land-use plan.

The change in the framework of land-use category in Copenhagen is directly - and solely - directed towards the support of social housing development. In Vienna, the development agreements are the main instrument to ensure the desirable urban development. Social housing is thereby only one aspect, the development agreements enables the local authority also to ensure requirements for social or technical infrastructure aiming at providing an attractive housing environment.

The local authorities of the city of Copenhagen clearly speak about achieving social mix in the neighbourhoods with the help of social housing. Hence, the significance of social housing development has changed in the course of promoting housing diversity across urban space (Københavns Kommune, 2013b). In Vienna, social housing policy has always been aiming at ameliorating the social mix in the city (Förster). The local government sees the long-standing

tradition of social housing construction as safeguards of good social mix. The emphasis for the future is to ensure a good living environment through the provision of suitable social and technical infrastructures as well as green spaces parallel to new housing developments (MA 18, 2014a).

The following figure gives an overview over the objectives, policy and instruments of the cities in the context of location for social housing and provision of land.
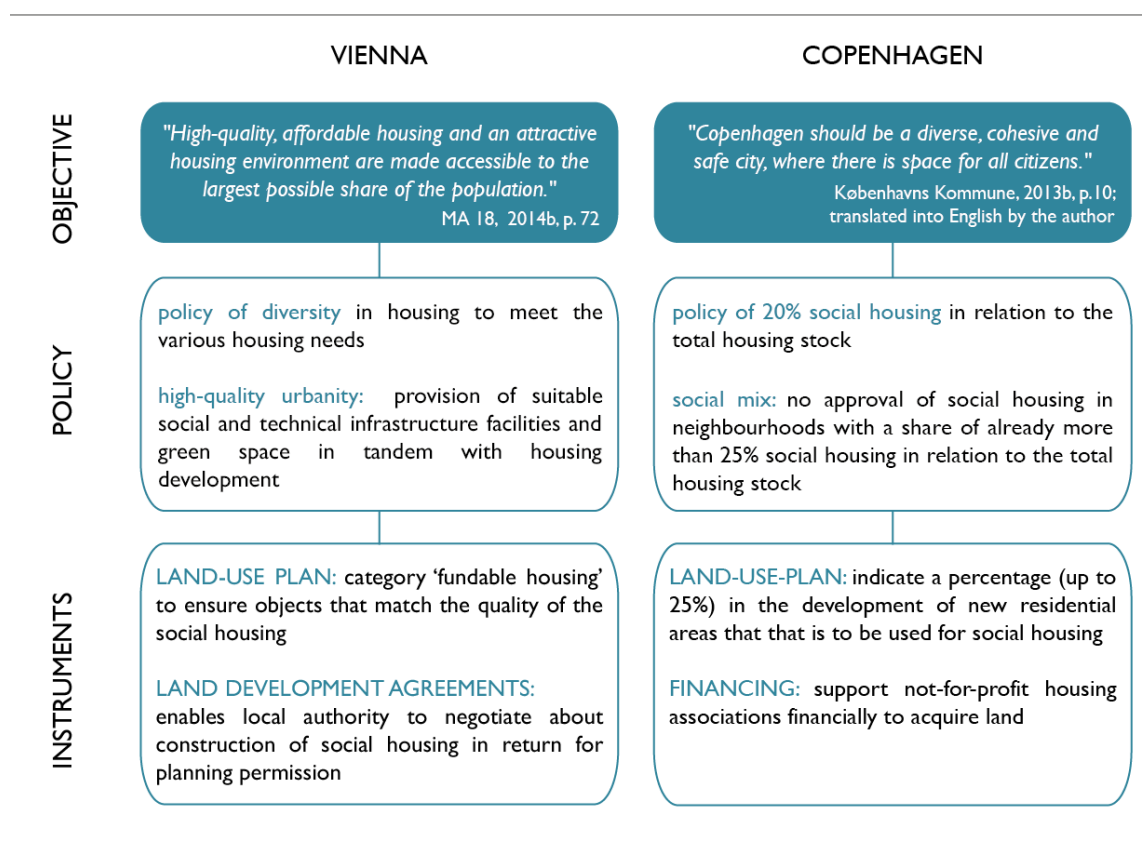

Figure 33: Comparison of objectives, policy and instruments related to social housing in Vienna and Copenhagen, source: author

To sum up, the introduced policies and instruments in Vienna and Copenhagen are related to the concept of inclusionary housing. It is based on the premise that the developers interests in housing projects offers an opportunity to extract some of the resulting development`s gain. This can be redirect towards the provision of social housing. In Copenhagen, the land use plan enables the planning authority to demand a share of a market-rate residential development for social housing projects. Vienna, the share of social housing is negotiated through development agreements – which correspond to the concept of planning gain.

In the context of aiming at a mixed neighbourhoods, it is worth noting that on parts of the not-for-profit housing associations in both case studies, a tenure mix on the level of buildings is seen as preferable because this would mean a more complex management of the estates (Representative of

not-for-profit housing association in Vienna II, June 29, 2015; Representative of not-for-profit housing association in Copenhagen II, July 3, 2015).

The aim of social mixed neighbourhoods is contradicted to some extent by the current price level for social housing. Paradoxically, social housing does not go synonymously with affordable housing; the new social housing developments are not designed to favour households at the lowest income levels. This is true for new social housing developments in Vienna and Copenhagen, and might be part of the political will. *"Certain qualities have to be respected […]. Other instruments or policy fields have to support the poorest sections of society."* (Representative of city of Vienna, personal communication, June 15, 2015; translated into English by the author) *"I am pro attractive social housing even if that means that it is more expensive in the beginning."* (Representative of city of Copenhagen, personal communication, July 7, 2015) The universal approach towards the provision of social housing covers a vast majority of the population, but still excludes people at the lower end of the income scale and an increasing orientation on the middle class can be observed due to the fact that living in social housing is increasingly dependent on the availability of financial capital. The not-for-profit social housing sector in Vienna is no real alternative for most low income households due to the rising down payment requirements. Furthermore, the municipal housing sector is characterised by low mobility rates, and access to this sector is therefore difficult (Kadi, 2015, p. 258; Klein 2012, p. 15). A similar picture is presented in Copenhagen, where there is criticism that the local authorities support the construction of luxury apartments locking out single people, young people and people in difficult economic situations (Kristiansen, Schmidt, Fejerskov, 2015; Madsen, 2014). As a consequence marginalised groups and vulnerable households have to find other affordable (albeit possibly below standard) niches in the private rental housing market.

6. Conclusion

"[…] the housing question cannot be dealt with in isolation from social processes. Constraints and scarcities, as well as desires and hopes, have been central to this ongoing development, not only for the dwellers and inhabitants of a city, but also for those involved in production and provision and the municipal administration." (Klein, 2012, p. 7)

Considering the importance of the housing sector to society and city development as well as the universal need for adequate and affordable housing, this thesis is an attempt to contribute to the understanding of processes which are linked to the provision of social housing. In the course of this thesis, policies and current debates on housing, at first, on European level and then, on the local level of the two case studies, were illustrated. The aim of this thesis has been to analyse the spatial configuration of social housing schemes in Vienna and Copenhagen and its surrounding area since the 1980s and to compare how urban planning influences the location of social housing developments in the two case studies.

One of the starting points of this thesis was the hypothesis that neoliberal practice has influenced European housing markets since the 1980s. This was the time when housing policies changed in most countries and most welfare states have experienced a neoliberal restructuring of some sort since then. However, the analysis of Vienna and Copenhagen showed that in these two cases a strong redistributive orientation of housing policy lasted until the 1990s and thereby, longer than in other Western European cities. In Vienna, the post-war housing consensus has largely been maintained, with not-for-profit housing associations holding a very strong position in the housing market in general and in new housing constructions. Nevertheless, in the context of Austria`s accession to the European Union in 1995 and the Eastern enlargement in 2004 which resulted in a geopolitical repositioning of Vienna from the fringe into the heart of Europe, measures like the Right-to-Buy option for social housing, the flexibilization of the federal financing structure and the termination of construction of new municipal housing show a general trend towards the principles of market orientation (Kadi, 2015). A similar situation can be seen in Copenhagen and the surrounding areas: when faced with the city`s poor financial situation around 1990, an aggressive urban policy in favour of attracting more affluent groups was introduced leading to privatisation of municipal owned dwellings and a strong decrease in the construction of social housing (Andersen & Winther, 2010).

The characteristics of social housing and the spatial patterns of social housing schemes are linked to political decisions and political will. The policy of discouraging social housing developments in

Copenhagen in the period from 1995 until 2008 was a political action; the current prioritization of making land available for social housing is also based on political will and action. In Vienna, the remarkable continuity in the housing policy is based on a broad consensus beyond political boundaries; social housing is seen as a key pillar for the urban development in the future. In that sense, the location of social housing is not just a descriptive factor, but can be seen as a major element in understanding broader urban policies and objectives of a city.

Whereas in Copenhagen and its surroundings there is a strong understanding about the spatial patterns of social housing, resulting in a new policy approach, the degree of knowledge in Vienna about spatial configuration of social housing is less pronounced. A clear indicator for this is that there is no aggregate information about all social housing developments available. Elaborated information about the spatial location is available about the municipal housing estates, but not for housing provided by not-for-profit housing associations, which have become the most dynamic actors on the housing markets regarding new constructions. Contrary to this, in Copenhagen a new policy on the basis of the understanding of the spatial distribution of social housing has been adopted this year. The awareness in Copenhagen is a response to problems of large troubled social housing estates and is an attempt to change the role of social housing, and thereby counter ghettoisation.

Even though the spatial distribution of social housing since the 1980s corresponds with the overall housing construction patterns in the two case studies, the local authorities saw a need to introduce new instruments to be able to exercise a controlling influence on the location of new social housing developments. As a result of their increasing attractiveness as a place to live in, land prices have been soaring in Vienna and Copenhagen. The investigation of the case studies and the interviews reveal that increased competition to acquire land is the major challenge for the future regarding the spatial structure and location choice of social housing schemes.

The city of Copenhagen and the surrounding municipalities have now the possibilities to actively indicate a desirable amount of social housing in new urban developments. Furthermore, the municipality of Copenhagen committed itself to only approve new social housing complexes in school districts with a share less than 25% social housing in relation to the overall housing stock of the school districts. By overlapping these areas with the action areas of new urban development, a trend scheme where the focal points of new social housing construction will be becomes visible (see figure 28 in chapter 4.2). Such patterns for the spatial development of social housing cannot be portrayed for Vienna as the local planning authority in Vienna does not have the possibility to actively reserve a certain share for social housing in the land use plan. At present, the share of social housing in relation with private residential projects is determined on the basis of negotiation (development agreements). The designation of land as 'fundable housing' is a useful extension of the spectrum of planning

instruments in Vienna, but it does not imply that the land will actual be used for social housing. It may only have a slightly dampening influence as private developers might refrain from buying it because of higher and more specific demand of quality and thus, higher construction costs. In that sense it is a passive instrument. A more active approach would be – as in the case of Copenhagen – to define a share of social housing as a supplementary provision of already existing residential land use categories. Another essential difference is the possibility of the city of Copenhagen to financially support not-for-profit housing providers to acquire land and to compete with private developers for desirable land. A similar assistance has also repeatedly been requested from the not-for-profit providers in Vienna to make the purchase of land easier. The criticism on the part of not-for profit housing associations and planning experts in Vienna is based on the fact that there is no adequate instrument that can stem the rocketing prices of recent years. The concern of planning experts is that the lack of instrument to earmark land for social housing will lead to isolated projects and developments without urban qualities.

The increased focus of social housing developments as a tool to prevent social segregation and promote a socially cohesive community has revealed also a fundamental discussion about the socio-political function of social housing and how to spend public subsidies. The scarcity of subsidies has always been the subject of controversial discussions: Should the local government strongly support only a few social housing dwellings with very low rents? Or should the local authority support a larger group with the disadvantage of increased rental costs? In addition to this fundamental issue of public subsidies, the increasing spatial residential segregation of households by income and social class has led to the issue of where to provide housing for low and moderate income households. The local government *"[…] would be able to get more housing square meters out of the millions* [in neighbourhoods with cheap land prices] *than, for example, at the Carlsberg grounds in Valby, where land prices are significantly higher. Should everybody have a place in CENTRAL Copenhagen? That is not a natural law."* (Researcher in the field of housing in Copenhagen, November 17, 2014)

Criticism is being voiced that a variety of different tenure groups does not necessarily mean greater social interaction between them which would lead to social inclusion. Another important aspect, which should be considered in the discussion, is the question, what kind of social mix is pursued. There is fundamental criticism concerning the overly expensive rent level or entry prices for social housing which excludes vulnerable households. Especially in Copenhagen, the target group who can afford to live in newly built social housing differs essentially from the residents in the so-called 'ghettos' and the vulnerable neighbourhoods of the city. It must therefore be concluded that the newly introduced policy in Copenhagen aims at a tenure mix and a greater diversification in the housing market, but it is not necessarily a policy of mixing social groups or of actually countering socio-spatial segregation.

The city government in Vienna wants to counteract the tendency of social housing being out of the reach for poorer households by building new municipal housing. However, finding land and good locations for the municipal housing projects is going to become more difficult. The future will show whether the new municipal housing projects will be able to continue the successful anti-segregation strategy of the historical model of the Red Vienna or if municipal housing is outsourced to the edge regions of the city, and thus, reinforces a segregation effect by pushing lower income groups out.

In times of an austerity policy, where an increase of subsidies is not very likely, the big challenge for the future will be if social housing can be viewed as a mean to promote socially mixed communities AND as a mean to provide enough affordable housing for vulnerable households and groups with lower income.

Further research

The intention of this research was to understand the challenges regarding social housing developments, location and land availability for social housing. Nevertheless, there are still a number of issues that could be only touched upon in this thesis. The approaches to influencing the location of social housing developments described in this thesis have recently been introduced. Future research is needed to evaluate the actual effectiveness and success of these approaches - in terms of their ability to make land available for social housing developments and, especially in the case of Copenhagen, in terms of their ability to achieve a diversity of tenure and social mix in neighbourhoods. Furthermore, it would be interesting to broaden the research and to look at other European cities with similar challenges and to obtain a more profound understanding of the relationship between housing and planning instruments. Another approach to the issue of location and social housing is the assessment of social housing projects according to the accessibility to services, facilities, green space or public transportation. Moreover, the relation between the Single European Market, particularly the European rules on state aid, and the issue of land acquisition for social housing is another aspect which should be pursued further.

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GLOSSARY

Access to housing

Accessibility (=ability to get access to housing) is one of the conditions which determinants housing options for individual households and is related to the issue of affordability (Skifter Andersen, 2012, p. 10).

Growing accessibility problems are emerging from a shrinking de-commodified rental sector and a growing, but expensive homeownership sector. Whereas social housing facilitates access based on entry criteria other than the ability to pay, a growing share of the market access is purely based on financial ability and resources. It therefore follows that the poor are 'locked out' from the housing market (Kadi & Musterd, 2014, p. 4).

Affordability

Stone (2006: 153) notes that *"[…] affordability is not a characteristic of housing - it is a relationship between housing and people."* The term affordability refers to the percentage of disposable income a household spends on all housing costs. Thus, the housing affordability problem relates partly to the ongoing cost of housing, and partly to household income levels. Generally, no more than 30% is considered as affordable (Laimer, 2012, p. 30).

Housing costs includes rents or mortgage payoffs, taxes, maintenance and operating expenses (energy costs and water supply) (Laimer, 2012, p. 30).

According to EU-SILC data, housing cost in Vienna have increased notably in the last decade. Whereas in 2004, households on average devoted 16% of their income on housing; in 2014, this had increased to 24% (Kadi, 2015, p. 257; Statistik Austria, 2015, p. 57).

In Copenhagen, the housing costs amount to 37% of the income after tax of a typical young family (calculated by Nykredit). The housing costs are slightly higher than a few years ago when 35% of the income was devoted on housing, but still far from the situation in 2006, when the costs peaked at 53% (Skovgaard, 2014).

To look only at the ratio of between housing expenses and household income would not, however, do justice to the issue of affordability. The housing stock is diverse in terms of the size, age and quality of housing units. Forms of housing deprivation might occur due to affordability issues. Households may live in housing that does not meet physical standards of decency, in overcrowded conditions, with insecure tenure, or in unsafe or inaccessible locations (Leishman & Rowley, 2012, p. 379). For an overview about different definition of housing affordability see Stone (2006).

Comparative Approach

Within urban studies and also within housing research, comparative analyses are sometimes a double-edged sword. On the one hand, a comparative approach adds contextual characteristics and insights to the understanding of certain processes. On the other hand, the specific contexts and insights can be critically questioned with regard to their comparability and transferability; this is especially true for international contexts where the political and institutional frameworks often differ substantially (Franz, 2013, p. 25). McFarlane (2010, p. 725) notes that *"[c]omparative research is experiencing resurgence in urban studies, yet there has been little effort to critically debate how comparison might take place [...]."*

Regarding debates on methodology, comparative research faces two key challenges: *"the case study, and scope and identification."* (McFarlane, 2010, p. 730) If a comparative research is useful or not depends on the particular research approach. The advantage of investigating one individual case lies in the depth of analysis, whereas its weakness is the ideographic description. A comparative research goes beyond the ideographic description (McFarlane, 2010, pp. 731-732). Regarding scope and identification, McFarlane refers to Nijman`s (2007 as cited in McFarlane 2010, p. 731) four challenges:

i)   spatial unit of comparison,

ii)   the relation of cities with the state

iii)   the relationship between globalisation and the urban

iv)   the challenge of temporality and the understanding of urban trajectories within specific historical context

Housing demand

Housing demand is very much influenced by the development of the number, the size and the structure of the households. The household dynamics in turn are determined by demographic trends (population size, age structure, fertility, life expectancy, immigration) as well as lifestyle changes (Ginski, Koller & Schmitt, 2012, p. 21)

Housing market

Prices and quantities in housing markets are determined by the interaction of the construction sector (the supply side) with the households (the demand side). Social housing approaches developed following the failure of the market to deal with problems associated with the supply and quality of housing (Forrest & Murie, 2014, p. 16).

Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism has become one of the most common foci within the contemporary urban political literature in recent years (see e.g. Peck, 2001; Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Goonewardena, 2003; Wilson, 2004).

Hackworth (2007, p. 9) defines neoliberalism as *"an ideological rejection of egalitarian liberalism in general and the Keynesian welfare state in particular, combined with a selective return to the ideas of classical liberalism."*

Neoliberalism is embedded in society; Brenner & Theodore (2002, p. 351) call it *"actually existing neoliberalism"* which means that the neoliberal way of thinking is reproduced in institutional frameworks, policies and political processes.

Residualisation

Malpass defines residualisation as a process in which the social rented sector is *"[…] largely, if not completely, confined to those amongst the low paid, the unemployed, the elderly, single parents, the disabled and others, who were so disadvantaged in the housing market that they were unable to obtain adequate accommodation privately."* (Malpass, 1983, p. 44)

Residualisation is about a changing role for social housing in the housing system – from a broad tenure, providing decent and affordable housing for large parts of society to an 'ambulance service' for those unable to support themselves (Harloe in Pearce & Vine, 2014, p. 658). This process can be observed across Europe, with social housing *"[…] widely understood to be in retreat and on the defensive."* (Malpass & Victory, 2010, p. 3)

For Pearce & Vine (2014, p. 659) the residualisation process is driven by tenure restructuring supported by government policy. Residualisation is seen as a negative process due to the negative effects of spatial concentrations of low-income households which are linked to issues of social exclusion and stigmatization. Possible negative effects that could emerge as a consequence of a spatial concentration of poor households are: a lack of relevant social contacts, fewer opportunities in the labour market, less political power and the prospect of a 'culture of poverty' (Van Kempen & Priemus, 2002, p. 239).

It should be noted that although the literature about residualisation mostly concentrates on social housing, it is not necessarily a tenure specific phenomenon; any tenure could become residualised (Pearce & Vine, 2014, p. 659)

Right to adequate housing

The right to adequate housing is recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The right to adequate housing contains entitlements to:

- security of tenure
- housing, land and property restitution
- equal and non-discriminatory access to adequate housing
- participation in housing-related decision-making at the national and community levels

Access to adequate housing can be a precondition for the enjoyment of several human rights, including the rights to work, health, social security, vote, privacy or

education (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights).

Subsidies

Through housing subsidies, the state can promote the production and consumption of housing. There are supply-side subsidies and demand-side subsidies.

Supply-side subsidies (=Object subsidies)

Subsidies directed towards producer of housing, often also referred to as 'brick and mortar subsidies'. They are granted for the promotion of housing construction or the promotion of housing renewal projects (Laimer, 2012, p. 31).

There are many possible forms of supply-side subsidies, to the most significant one are (Oxley & Smith, 2012, p. 31):

- grants
- loans at low rates of interests
- loan guarantee
- tax concessions

Demand-side subsidies (=Subject subsidies)

Subsidies directed towards consumers of housing, serve to fill the gap between affordable housing expenses and market prices and can be divided into two sub-categories: implicit or explicit (Yates, 2012, p. 398)

Implicit subject subsidies are income supplements which are not related to housing circumstances.

Explicit subject subsidies are linked to the consumption of housing; major form is housing allowance.

Housing allowance

Provided to consumer of housing intended to reduce the proportion of household income devoted to housing, bt also to increase the quality of housing consumed (Oxley & Smith, 2012, p. 30).

Supply-side subsidies in the form of direct government grants for provision of social housing were dominant after the Second World War. During the 1970s and 1980s there was a changed towards increased use of demand-side subsidies, primarily in the form of housing allowances (see Hills, Hubert, Tomann & Whitehead, 1990; Oxley, 1987; Stephens, Whitehead & Munro, 2005).

Tenure

Housing tenure describes the legal status under which people have the right to occupy their accommodation. The most common forms of tenure are (Diaz, 2009, p.2): Home-ownership and renting (including social rented housing and private rented housing)

The tenure structure outcome is a result of past history, institutional and legal developments, housing policy and wider socio-economic drivers (Gibb, 2002, p. 326).

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