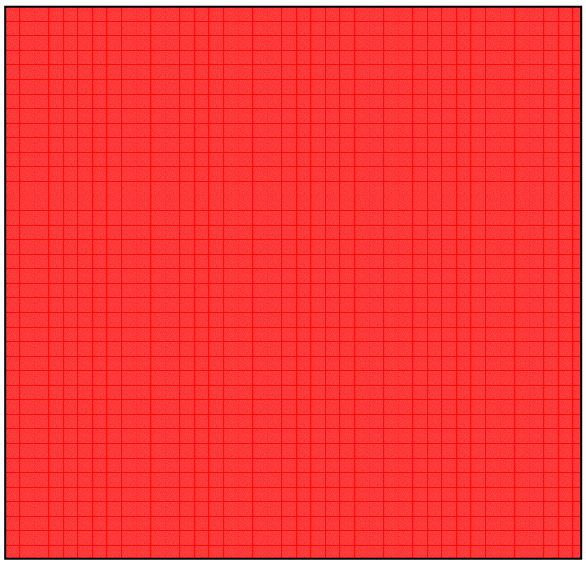
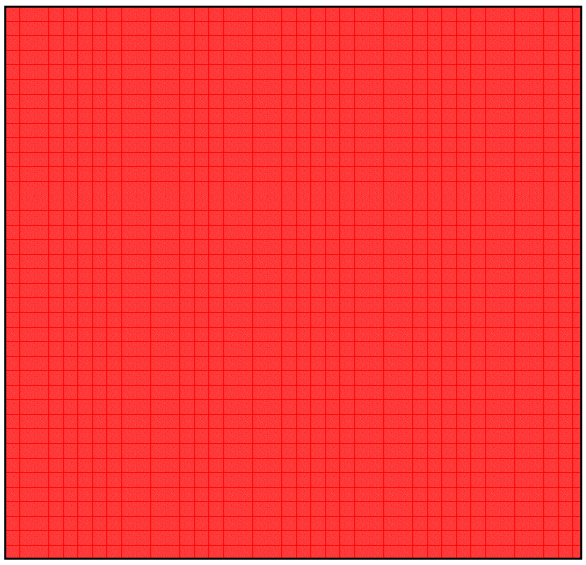
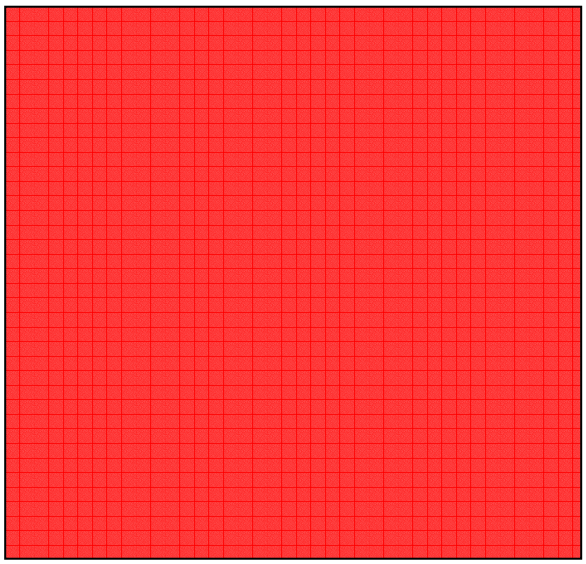
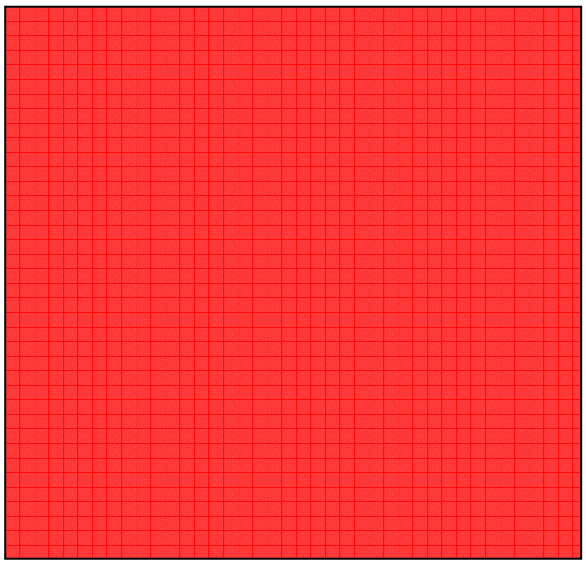



Urban Development and Governance: A Case Study of Albertslund and Ørestad, Denmark

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Synopsis

Governance in many societies has shifted from welfare to entrepreneurial approach. This has been traced from the 1960s where governance was based on welfare approach to recent times, which is based on entrepreneurial approach. To explore how this process exists in reality, this research focused on evaluating the forms of governance that existed in Albertslund in the 1960s and that of Ørestad in recent times. In essence, it was to identify implications of the new turn of governance. It was also to ascertain whether welfare governance no longer existed as a result of this new turn of governance.

It emerged from this investigation that the forms of governance in Albertslund was based largely on welfare as described in theory, but there were some elements of entrepreneurial governance identified in the 1960s. In the case of Ørestad, it has been identified that governance is largely based on entrepreneurial approach, but there are also elements of welfare related activities in the governance process of the area. These findings imply that each regime of governance overlaps into the other. However, the potential of having problems of social exclusion and polarisation in the housing, business and employment sectors in Ørestad was also identified. This was due to the dominance of the private investment in the housing sector and the focus of specific businesses in the area

Recommendations are given to increase more social/affordable houses to attract all social classes to the area to avoid those potential problems. More so, other business activities should be encouraged in the area to extend the diversification of business activities. This could help businesses and professionals who may be excluded to have access to operate in the area. These recommendations have been given to prevent social exclusion and polarisation in the area so that people can enjoy high quality of life.

Preface

This report has been produced by project group 07um1004 of the tenth semester in Urban Planning and Management, Aalborg University. The report is presented as a master thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of Master of Science in Urban Planning and Management.

The choice of undertaking this research has been inspired by the trend of urban development in most western European nations which have been interpreted as a shift from welfare to entrepreneurial governance. In this regard, the study focused on identifying the changes in governance from welfare to entrepreneurial governance in a Danish context. The forms of governance associated with two Danish communities (Albertslund and Ørestad) were evaluated taking into consideration the periods associated with each community's development. Through this evaluation, the implications of governance associated with each community's development were outlined and subsequently some recommendations were given in regards to some problems identified.

The output of this research is based on qualitative interviews. The interviews conducted are attached to this report as appendix A-B. There was extensive use of names and quotations of interview subjects (interviewees) in the analysis of this report. For ethical reasons permissions were sought from each interviewee at the time of the interviews. The system of reference adopted in this report is the Harvard Referencing Method. In this format, a source used in the report is acknowledged by the last name of the author, followed by the year of publication, place of publication and publishers. In cases where a reference source is by three or more authors or editors, the first author or editor's last name is stated and followed by "et al", for example [Hansen, *et al.,* 2004, p.4]. A reference with no year of publication is noted as (n.d) which means "no date" in the report; for example [ørestadsselskabet, n.d.].

This report is made up eight chapters, and each chapter is numbered sequentially. All tables and figures used in the report are numbered in relation to the chapter in which they are presented.

Acknowledgement

I wish to express my appreciation to all the authors whose works were referenced to produce this report. My special thanks go to Björn Emil Härtel Jensen, Majken Rhod Larsen, Jesper Buch Jacobsen, and Nicolai Leth Nielsen for granting me the opportunity to interview them for this research. Without their valuable information the output of this report may not have been achieved.

My final appreciations go to all individuals who contributed in diverse ways to make this research a success especially my supervisor, Professor Anne Lorentzen and Lilian Arthur (nee Ocloo). Thank you all.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Society is dynamic and so could be its forms of governance. For some time now, there has been a change in the forms of governance in most urban areas of the world. As a result of that governance has been subjected to various studies, debates and interpretations [Kulonpalo, 2004, p.6; Brenner, 2004, p.447]. The change in governance in recent times has been interpreted as a shift from *"managerial-welfarist forms of governance to entrepreneurial approaches to governance"* [Brenner, 2004, p.447].

In the 1960s the main features of governance in most western-European nations were based on managerial-welfarist approach to governance. This was an era in which urban developments were mainly the responsibility the national governments [ibid.460]. Where as the entrepreneurial approach to governance is largely a feature of recent times. Entrepreneurial governance is characterised with networking, privatisation, joint public-private projects and partnership [Andersen, 2002, p.94]. It has also brought about socioeconomic changes that have transformed the global economy [Kulonpalo, 2004, p.6]. This implies the change in governance have been examined in historical context and coupled with its implications on various forms of urban development activities.

However, the turn of entrepreneurial approach to governance have been linked with several consequences such as enhancement of image of places other than improving the living conditions of urban areas, social exclusion, polarisation, etc. [ibid.].One may wonder if these consequences affect all societies that have adopted entrepreneurial governance, or there are exceptions. More so, has entrepreneurial governance erased completely welfare governance from society? In Denmark, development of the Albertslund Municipality from the scratch took place in the 1960s. On the other hand, development of the Ørestad district in Copenhagen is currently on-going.

The forms of governance and its consequences stated above could be identified with development activities such as housing, transportation, education, business investments and job creation in Albertslund and the Ørestad district. How can these issues be established as realities in Albertslund and Ørestad; specifically taking into consideration the era of their developments? Are there any other problems or issues that can be identified with the forms of governance and

developments in these communities? The above issues have therefore generated an interest for assessment in order to ascertain the realities of welfare and entrepreneurial governance and also to draw conclusions on their effects on urban development in the context of Albertslund and Ørestad.

1.2 Research objectives

The objective of this research is to examine two main issues. They are as follows

- To explore how the welfare approach to governance worked in Albertslund in the 1960s and also how entrepreneurial governance currently works in the Ørestad district of Copenhagen. In essence it is an attempt to discover the consequences of these forms of governance in the provision of housing, education, transportation, business investments and job creation.
- To ascertain whether elements of welfare governance are still in practice despite the shift to entrepreneurial governance in a Danish context.

1.3 Formulation of research question

In relation to the objectives of this research, I have formulated a research question. The research question aims to generate understanding and interpret the realities of urban development and governance. This is carried out within the framework of a shift from welfare to entrepreneurial governance and thereby relating it to spatial and socio-economic developments of Albertslund and Ørestad. The following is the research question:

How can different forms of governance be identified in Albertslund Municipality and Orestad district, and what are the implications of the different forms of governance in terms of housing, transportation, education, business investment and job creation?

The attempt to answer the above research question has been inspired by the fact that "*underlying any research problem is a set of philosophical assumption of a given researchers notion of reality*" [Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p.51]. In the quest to determine the reality, formulating a research question is considered eminent because it serves as "*focus, boundaries and directions*" for inquiry [O'Leary, 2004, p.28]. This helps to focus on the theory needed to explore, literature review, data collection, and methods of analysis for the research [ibid. p.29]. In this regard, the

above research question will serve as a lead to explore, grasp and provide an interpretation of issues under investigation from both empirical and theoretical perspectives.

In the attempt to answer this research question, I will employ different types of data (theoretical and empirical) to assess the forms of governance in historical and contemporary context. The assessment of governance in historical context will be linked with Albertslund, while the contemporary context will be Ørestad. Through that the implications of governance on urban development issues set up for investigation will be identified. In this sense, the shift from managerial-welfarist form of governance to entrepreneurial governance in Danish context will be assessed within the framework of Albertslund's development in the 1960s and present day Ørestad as mentioned earlier.

1.4 Research design

The design of this research is aimed at working in a systematic manner. That is taking into consideration; the formulation of research question, types of data collection, methods of data analysis, discussion and conclusion. Yin (2006) describes research design as a "*logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research question and, ultimately, to its conclusions*" [p.5]. In this view, the research design will serve as guide to the various processes employed in conducting the research. That is through the processes of data collection, analysis and interpretations of experiences [ibid.].

1.4.1 Case study

The periods associated with genesis of spatial and socio-economic development in Albertslund and Ørestad is a motivation to adopt a case study inquiry on governance. That is taking into consideration the coincidence of Albertslund's development as a city in the era of welfare approach to governance, and also the time of Ørestad development which is within the era of entrepreneurial governance. The case study is therefore a "*collective study*" jointly investigated for the purpose of understanding these forms of governance and their implications on housing, transportation, educational facilities, business investments and job creation in Albertslund and Ørestad [Sarantakos, 2005, p.211]. The essence of choosing a case study is to aid in obtaining in-depth understanding and interpretations of governance pertaining to Albertslund and Ørestad. Another reason is that in a qualitative research of this nature, it is useful to adopt case study

approach in the research design [ibid.138]. The justification for a case study approach in this study can be seen in the following definition:

> "A case study is 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between the phenomenon and content are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used' " [Yin, 1991:23; as in Sarantakos, 2005, p.211]

In regards to the above definition, little is known in this study about the reality of issues under investigation and therefore the case study will help to obtain in-depth knowledge and understanding. Adams & Schvaneveldt (1991) also informs that a cases study paves the way to examine collective issues in a more extensive manner by directing attention to few cases as compared to a survey where the focus of examination is broad. That is why I have limited the inquiry on governance to Albertslund and Ørestad instead focusing entirely on Denmark.

1.4.2 Literature review

For the purpose of focusing effectively on the objectives of this research and to augment its reliability, a literature review based strictly on analysis of secondary data has been part of this research design. Specifically, the literature review focuses on concepts regarding urban development, globalisation, and urban competitiveness. Analyses of these concepts are considered useful and suitable to make inferences from; in order to address the objectives this research.

Urban development is reviewed in terms of different definitions; adopted frameworks in urban areas for spatial and socio-economic developments; and the dynamics of developments that have been taking place in urban areas. The concept of globalisation is also reviewed in terms of definitions and its impacts on urban development and governance. The review on urban competitiveness was mainly on the rationale for spatial and socio-economic development activities in urban areas. Reviewing all of these concepts have been useful and will be synthesised with the primary data collected to establish the practicality of governance processes and their implications on development activities in the case study areas.

1.4.3 Theoretical framework for analysis

The choice of a theoretical framework for analysis is considered necessary in the design of this research because it serves as a guide for analysis of the data collected for this study. It therefore defines issues or variables that I intend to examine. As emphasised earlier, the foundation of my

research is to examine how different forms of governance works/have worked in the case study areas taking into consideration of a time frame of investigation. In this regard, the theoretical framework is drawn largely on Neil Brenner's work, 'Urban Governance and the Production of New State Space in Western Europe, 1960-2000' (2004). In this work, Brenner shows the shift from welfarist-managerial approach to governance in the 1960s to entrepreneurial approach to governance at the beginning of this decade. In addition to that Brenner shows the implications of these forms of governance in regards to spatial and socio-economic development in western Europe. Brenner's work therefore serves as ideas for consideration in the analysis of my research.

1.5 Research approach (Qualitative and Interpretive)

Qualitative and interpretive inquiry is the approach to this research. According to Schwandt (2007) qualitative inquiry could largely "*mean that it aims to understand the meaning of human action*" [p.248]. Schwandt (2007) again asserts that interpretive inquiry in social science is fundamentally about the attempt to "*understand the meaning of social action*" [p.158]. This approach is also referred to as "*hermeneutics*" due to the fact that it is rooted in the interpretation or understanding of people's actions in the world [ibid. p.159]. Reading into the meanings of qualitative and interpretive inquiries, they tend to be synonymous in terms of functions. In relation to the objectives of this research, it all about the attempt to interpret or showing understanding of how different forms of governance works and its implications to urban development. In this sense, the act of employing an interpretive approach to this research becomes necessary. The data collected to execute this research were subjected to scrutiny to unearth the meaning of governance, how it functions, and its effects on spatial and socio-economic developments in the case study areas.

1.6 Research methodology

1.6.1 In-depth interviews

The key output of this research has been the result of qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews with local government officials of the Municipality of Albertslund and the City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune). These interviews serves as primary data collected for analysis. In view of the qualitative nature of this research, I considered it necessary to conduct in-depth interviews. The aim of interviewing these local government officials was to obtain or extract stories, knowledge and experiences on the forms of governance related to their areas of jurisdiction. In this sense, the local government officials of Albertslund were interviewed on the forms of

governance related to their municipality from the 1960s onwards. In the City of Copenhagen the local government officials were also interviewed mainly on issues of governance related to the Municipality of Copenhagen with emphasis on Ørestad.

Ruben & Ruben (1999) shows that apart from obtaining information from other data sources, interviews serve as a means to discover wider inferences of issues and relate them in contextual positions of social, history, and politics. The interviews conducted with officials of Albertslund Municipality and the City of Copenhagen to a large extent were attempts to obtain social, political and historical facts on governance and their implications on these communities' development. The interviews questions were semi-structured, and conducted in face to face conversation. The choice of semi-structured interviews was for the purpose of obtaining further insights and also clarifications on some questions. The interviews were recorded on a tape recorder, transcribed, and analysed in this report.

1.6.2 Documentary analysis

Apart from the primary data (interviews) used to obtain information for analysis in this report, secondary data have been widely used. The materials comprised of text books, academic articles, documentary report (Ørestad Development Corporation's 2005 Annual Report), and other forms of information published on the internet. Some of the data obtained from these sources were theoretical in content and others very empirical. The empirical data are documented facts related to the case study areas. For instance the Ørestad Development Corporation's 2005 Annual Report. All information obtained from these materials has been vital tools for analysis, and have helped to gain insights on urban development and governance and their function(ed) in Ørestad and Albertslund.

1.7 Data Analysis

1.7.1 Themes for interviews

Making sense of the interview data colleted for this research and analysing them in a rational or logical manner is considered very essential for me to achieve the objectives of this research and also to answer the formulated research question. In this regard, specific themes were developed and analysed for this purpose. The themes developed for analysis are sets of questions. The following are as follows:

- What form of governance is characterised with Albertslund in the 1960s? ;
- What was the framework for urban development in Albertslund in the 1960s?
- What form of governance is characterised with Ørestad?
- What is the framework for urban development in Ørestad?

All of these themes are centred on analysing governance and the policy framework behind the provisions of educational, transportation, and housing facilities as well as business and employment. As part of the analysis of interview data, I employed extensive use of quotations of interviewees. The essence was to support pertinent issues and points that arose in the analysis of subjects under inquiry. I consider the extensive use of quotations as important for a qualitative analysis since it helps to draw up much insights and interpretations of data.

1.8. Structure of Report

The structure of this report is represented in the following figure**:**

Chapter 1 Introduction	Introduction	Research objective	Research question	Research design
	Research approach	Research method	Data analysis	
Chapter 2 Literature Review	Introduction	What is urban Development	What is globalisation	Urban competitiveness
Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework for Analysis	Introduction	Understanding entrepreneurial approach to governance	Critique of urban governance	
Chapter 4 Case Study Presentation	Urban development and governance of Albertslund in the 1960s	Urban development and governance in Ørestad	Welfare and entrepreneurial regimes of Albertslund and Ørestad	
Chapter 5 Analysis of Ørestad Development Corporation	Introduction	How is the Ørestad district managed?	Development activities and public-private partnerships	
Chapter 6 Analysis of Expert Interviews on Albertslund and Ørestad	Introduction	What form of governance is characterised with Albertslund in the 1960s?	What is the framework for urban development in Albertslund in the 1960s?	
	What form of governance is characterised with Ørestad?	What is the framework for urban development in Ørestad?		
Chapter 7 Discussion	General aims	Housing in Albertslund and Ørestad	Transportation in Albertslund and Ørestad	
	Educational facilities in Albertslund and Ørestad	Business investments in Albertslund and Ørestad	Job creation in Albertslund and Ørestad	
Chapter 8 Conclusion	Conclusion			

Figure 1.1 Structure of the report

The following describes the structure:

- **Chapter 1: T**his is the introduction of the report. It presents the background of the study, objectives, statement of problem, research question, research design, research approach, research methods, data analysis and report structure.

- **Chapter 2:** This chapter is a literature review. It reviews different literature sources on urban development, globalisation and urban competitiveness.

- **Chapter 3:** This chapter presents the theoretical framework for analysis. It is a theoretical discussion on governance which outlines the shift from welfare governance to entrepreneurial governance and its impacts on urban development. The main themes discussed are the following: understanding entrepreneurial approach to governance; and critique of urban governance.

- **Chapter 4:** In this chapter, a documentary review of the case study areas is presented. It focuses on urban development and governance of Albertslund in the 1960s; urban development and governance in the Ørestad district; and concludes with an outline of welfare and entrepreneurial regimes of the case study areas.

- **Chapter 5:** Analysis of the Ørestad Development Corporation is carried out in this chapter. The analysis is focused mainly how the Ørestad district is managed by the Corporation, the development activities and public-private partnerships in the area.

- **Chapter 6:** This chapter presents analysis of interviews with local government officials of Albertslund and the City of Copenhagen. This analysis serves as key source of information for discussion. The analysis is centred on the forms of governance characterised with Albertslund and Ørestad; and the framework for development in these areas.

- **Chapter 7:** This chapter presents a discussion of the research findings. It undertakes a critical analysis of all the findings of this research and through that the research question is answered.

- **Chapter 8:** This chapter is a conclusion of the entire research.

1.9 Limitations of work

To some extent, information obtained from the interview with officials from the City Of Copenhagen was inadequate as expected. This is because one of experts came very late for the interview. There was an agreement between the interviewees and my self to have the interview within an hour. However, since this person came late, I could not ask so many question since that might conflict with the agreed time schedule. The most unfortunate thing was that this official in question is supposed to be the most knowledgeable person on Ørestad issues since he has been working on issues concerning the area for some time**.** It therefore hindered the opportunity to obtain more information on Ørestad for analytical purposes.

Another limitation was that; I requested for an interview with an official of the Ørestad Development Corporation, but this could not be realised. The contact person in the corporation rather referred me to access their annual report and website for all information about the Ørestad Development Corporation. I presume an interview would have resulted in getting more useful information than what was obtained from the annual report.

I lost a bit of the interview recorded at Albertslund. This happened at the time of transcribing this information. I mistakenly erased this information from the recorder, hence missing a bit of what the person talked about. All the same I managed to make use of what was left because what had been lost was not very significant.

The on-going development of the Ørestad district in one way or the other is considered to have limited the scope of issues addressed. For instance I could have discussed more issues concerning the types of businesses and residential houses for analysis. The would have help to unearth more insights of state of governance in the area

Due to my poor Danish language skills, I could not access many information related to the case study areas because these materials were in Danish. It would have been useful to delve deeper into the subjects of discussion if I had good Danish skills.

Even though I managed to achieve the aim of this research, it would have been more useful to have done further investigations on some of the issues identified if I had some extra time and resources.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Urban development can be identified as an unquenchable thirst or hunger for every society. This is in view of the facts that societies are concerned with engaging in activities to improve citizens' lives and also enhance national progress. To achieve that, societies employ different strategies depending on visions of each society. Such developmental activities could be job creation, transportation, environmental improvements, housing, recreation, health, among others.

In the introduction of Anthony Giddens' book, 'Capitalism and Modern Social Theory' (1971) he states:

> "in modern era, men no longer accept the conditions of life into which they are born as necessarily given for all time, but attempt to impose their will upon reality in order bend the future into shapes which conforms to their desires" [p.xi].

A reflection of this statement implies societies are not satisfied with the levels of their development at a point in time and therefore choose to alter them into what they perceive as satisfactory. In other words, societies tend to confront the challenges around them and shape them for the better. Such alterations in my estimation take different shapes, but they are largely targeted at making life comfortable and progressive. In urban development context these alterations could be seen in terms improving the physical or built environment, socio-economic regeneration, among others.

Analysts such as [Xu, & Yeh, (2005); Brenner, (2004); Segbers (2005)], have emphasised that globalisation and place competitiveness contributes to shape the direction of urban development and governance in recent years. Whether this is factual or not, it is a task for review in this chapter.

Considering the above as a preamble, the focus of this chapter is to review urban development, globalisation and regional competitiveness. These three concepts are subjects of review because they will be used as background information for further analysis into what this research seeks to investigate. In this light, the review is an attempt to answer some questions. The initial question is: *What is urban development and its functional dynamics?*

The aim of this question is to generate a broader understanding of urban development; the framework for urban development; and the dynamics of traditional functions of urban development- termed as urban metamorphosis in this chapter. These dynamics are in the context of land use and physical developments to contemporary function in terms of business, industrial location, community, producing, consuming, socialising, etc.

The next sets of questions are:

- *What is globalisation and its impacts on urban development and governance?*
- *What are the motivations for urban competitiveness?*

The attempt to answer these questions in this literature review is essential to comprehend these concepts in theory and thereby generate interpretations into the empirical analyses of this research. At this point, it is important to begin with a discussion of what urban development entails.

2.2 What is Urban Development?

To understand urban development from either general or specific terms, it is important to lay bare how each term is understood from an analytical point of view. That is 'urban' and 'development'. According to Healey, *et al* (1995) it is not easy among analyst to define "*what an urban area is"* [p. 10]. This difficulty emerges from the "*ambiguity and tensions in discussion of the city*" [ibid.]. Analysts have defined the term urban from diverse perspectives. Among such diversities are as follows:

> "Political scientists have described the city in terms of its administrative units and political organisation. Urban economist has viewed cities as sets of input-output relations (export/import). Sociologist has focused on the distinctive communities and power relations of city life, and on arena for the organisation of collective consumption. Human geographers and planners have been interested in the dynamics of urban spatial organisation…." [ibid., p.11].

Healey, *et al* (1995) makes us understand from the above that irrespective of each individual's view on the term urban, it is not easy to focus on a specific or exact definition for it. This implies people's definition for the term urban could be bias in relation to their interest or background. It could also be an issue of perception though. As a planner my interest in defining the term urban is influenced by my interest in the dynamics of urban spatial organisation which coincidentally falls in line with the objective of this research. This is concerned with how an urban area is transformed in spatial context, politically, economically, socially, and more so how these activities are managed.

Healey, *et al* (1995)'s idea for the term urban is:

> "an ensemble of diverse social relations, with different cultural referents and spatial dimensions, which co-exist in the confined arena of urban areas. Further, the particular nature of the ensemble of relations to be found in place "makes a difference", to the possibilities for economic development, to the environmental qualities of a place, and to the quality of life people who live and work there" [ibid., p. 18].

The above presupposes that, the organisational connections forms the orientation of these authors with respect to what an urban area is. This could be identified through the social relations of people within a place, and their collective zeal to effect changes; both economically and environmentally. In essence, it is to improve their quality of life and also make these places progressive.

Taking an inspiration from the work of Louis Wirth, 'Urbanism as way of life' (1938); Levy (2001) defines an urban area in terms of "*density and diversity*", and therefore constitute "*what makes a city a city*" [p.16]. That is a city constitutes of "*specific geographical layout, based on co-presence*" [ibid]. This definition can be interpreted in terms of spatial function and social interaction. That is a geographical area with a human population of different social, economic, political background or status.

So far, understanding the term urban has been generally a concentration of different social relations which are harmonised spatially within a demarcated area. However, the term urban is also defined in an explicit spatial context. It is defined as "*continuously built up landmass of urban development*" [Demographia, 2007p.1]. This definition might appear general in context but it indicates clearly that an urban area is associated with continuous spatial development. In this regard an urban area may have a direct complementary link with development.

In theoretical context, analysis of urban areas includes its "*spatial structure*" [Paddison, 2001, p.7]. The spatial structure of an urban area can therefore be associated with development in this regard. To this effect, there is the need to know what development means in the first place.

Irrespective of any place in question; development of a nation, urban, sub-urban, or rural area, seems to be very broad in context. This is because development appears in different shapes in terms of definition and underlining principles or framework. Development of an urban area may be seen as very broad and vague except when specific aspect or activity is identified or linked

with it. It is therefore ambiguous in my judgement to emphasis on a common approach or definition for urban development since visions and framework of every society differs.

According to Corubolo (1998), the definition for development remains a discourse. He asserts that definition for development is an "*object of controversy*" but there is extensive "*agreement that it should correspond to a general improvement in living conditions*" [ibid., p.1]. He explains further that on a large scale, the controversy over a common definition for development is associated with people's concern for ways through which improvement of living conditions could be attained.

It is legitimate for people to raise these concerns because in my judgment, improving living conditions for people could be subjective due the differences in societal needs. Society is dynamic and human social, economic and environmental needs[1] differ. Choosing a specific means will probably generate a controversy; and not all societies will accept every strategy to improve their living conditions. Many communities may have similar policy framework for urban development but generally, I consider the designs and implementation of these frameworks to suit the needs and aspirations of each society. In this view, the needs, aspirations, values, and ideals of each society seem to have some degree of variance in terms of development. This could justify Corubolo (1998)'s statement that defining development remains a discourse. It is therefore subject to analysis and debate.

All the same, I tend to agree that development corresponds to improving living conditions on a general scale. However, my stance is not into the details of how it could be achieved but on a superficial level; I consider it as an activity that effects change, growth or advancement of society in a social, economic, political and environmental context.

My views could be subjected to some limitations since development can also be associated to several endeavours. This could be seen in terms of science, engineering, technology, among others. Though this research confines itself to spatial developments that complements with socio-economic improvements and governance, I still consider that most developments in urban context is about fostering growth and change. After all changes that take place in the spatial, economic,

[1] The needs of society from a social, economic and environmental could be explained further as follows: social in terms of housing, health care, education, transportation, recreational or cultural activities, etc; economic in terms of businesses and employment; and environment in terms of sanitation, pollution control, maintenance of environmental landscape, built environment, etc.

social, and political settings of urban areas ends up explicitly or implicitly to improve living conditions of citizens.

I am not the only believer of development as function of change. Yeboah (2006) asserts that "*in all cases development practice has assumed a norm of good change which enlarges people's choices*" [p.2]. This is an indication that development is about positive change. However, the question is how positive is this change. Is it a change that will satisfy all persons in society or one that has no adverse effect on the way of life of people? Is it a positive change to urban governance or the business environment of society? Is it a change that will result in social cohesion rather that exclusion and polarisation?

Reading further into Yeboah's thesis[2] on development, he shows that change in development context could be about a specific society's inward looking policy on eradicating spatial unevenness. Again it shows dynamics of change from inward looking to outward looking strategies. Such outward strategy is seen within the framework of globalisation led development.

Another believer of development to be embedded with change is Said Muhammad al-Attar. In al-Attar (1983) he defined development as "*growth plus change*". This definition also appears very short in expression but broad in content. It is conceived to consist of:

> "an increase in national income, a rise in the standard of living, the adoption of new technology, the acquisition of new skills and capabilities, change in the modes of thought and behaviour, occupational diversity, socio-economic reforms, the establishment of new institutions, and broader participation of the masses in development process" [ibid., p.1].

The above components of development could be seen to be within the confines of economic, social and political process. This process is considered to manifest itself persistently within two major paradigms. These are "*increased in productivity, which will lead to increased income; and social justice in terms of more equitable distribution of income*" [ibid]. The former is linked to society's capability of utilising resources to generate goods and services, while the latter is associated with people's capability to engage significantly in development and contribute to the use of goods and services produced in society [ibid].

[2] In this particular work the author (Ian Yeboah) describes in specific terms the nature of development in Ghana, a West African nation which was based on eradicating spatial unevenness in its post independence era in the 1960s and later approach to Structural Adjustment Programme in the 1990s. This was a World Bank prescribed policy that urged the nation into deeper private sector development. Through that government had to deregulate its direct operations.

Linking the above definition to urban development, there is an implication that urban development is about society's capability to effect changes in a progressive manner through social, economic and political process. Such development will also manifest in the spatial or built environment which they have as a society. In entirety, this definition appears a bit abstract in content but also useful for one to understand the component of urban development.

The term "community development" is used as synonymous to urban development in Ferguson & Dickens (1999). Community development is defined as "to *produce assets that improve the quality of life for neighbourhood residents*" [Ferguson & Dickens, 1999 p.4]. This definition appears laudable in content but it is also relevant to enquire about how these assets could improve the quality of life of people. Is it about people's capability to access good and affordable housing, road networks, business, transport facilities, education facilities, jobs, and recreational facilities, among others? What are the frameworks or milieu put in place by societies to access quality of life and also to develop?

2.2.1 Framework for Urban Development

Frameworks for cities or nations to embark on urban development programmes differ. Some authors and analysts have been able to identify such frameworks from economic and political perspectives. The application of these frameworks also differs in terms of countries or regions of the world, but generally each framework tend to be embedded with common characteristics.

Savitch & Kantor (2002) identifies two major driving forces behind most urban development projects from theoretical perspectives. They call them "*economic and political logic*" [ibid., p.29]. Again, they emphasise that cities are faced with competition from their local and international counterparts and hence must endeavour to improve economic growth. In other words, cities must prioritise strategies that will boost their economic growth in order to compete with their competitors on the market. This development approach is rationalised as economic logic. When one attempts to link this idea into the case of recent economic development taking place in Copenhagen's new district (Ørestad), there could be a conclusion that it was partly designed within the above framework. That is the economic logic behind this development in Copenhagen is to compete with other cities/regions both local and international. How can this be actually established as a fact? Later discussions in this research will attempt to cement the economic logic associated with the development of Copenhagen's Ørestad district.

The other factor which tends to shape urban development initiatives is described as internal political force. This is also rationalised as political logic. Under this framework, political leaders engage in development projects in order to win the support or sympathy of the general public. In this sense, urban development is politically motivated or induced. However, Savitch & Kantor (2002) query the significance or need for urban development to be influenced by these forces. I also share the same concern about why these forces should be the main rationale for urban development. Is there any other rationale? The question is does these forces really matter? If they do; to what extent will it benefit society generally?

Having identified the above factors to drive urban development, it is also important to identify the main types of urban development strategies.

Savitch & Kantor (2005) again identifies two types, which are "*market and social* centred" urban development strategies. These strategies are classified to be distinct from each other. They provide an understanding that:

> "Social centred cities put a priority on collective enhancement. Proponents of social centred policies seek to distribute benefits directly and widely. Tangible evidence of these policies can be seen in green belts, low and moderate income housing and historic preservation districts, as well as by material exactions from the private sector" [p.143].

In simple terms, social centred developments can be linked to welfare policy of the state, and hence the products of these developments could be interpreted as public goods. Universally, welfare states provide the public with health, education and other social services [Adams, 1994, p.74].

Social centred urban development was associated with distinguish planners such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier whose works have inspired both urban planning and architecture. Ideas of these planners were based on transforming urban areas through the provision of physical infrastructure to solve social problems. That is, how urban areas should develop and be managed. These ideas included providing housing units that inspired family values, promoted social solidarity instead of segregated layouts settlement based on race or class [Fishman, 1999, p.4]. In other words they were forms of urban development concepts which did not promote social exclusion or polarisation. However, there is a caveat that these ideas are achievable if they are "*embodied with a genuine rationality and justice in the structure of society*" [ibid., 5].

Such social centred ideas are laudable and visionary in content but they are conceived as normative or idealistic types [Fishman, 1999, p.6]. If such concepts are seen as normative then which realistic concepts can be adopted to avoid social exclusion or polarisation?

On the opposite side, Savitch & Kantor (2005) describes market centred cities as inspired by the work of Peterson (1981) as:

> "'efficiency maximising organisation', and weigh their gains by the criterion of economic growth. This strategy places the highest priority on attracting jobs, increasing population, adding buildings and revenue. Market-centred strategies target benefits to business or stress benefits that will accrue to individuals through market behaviour. In addition, market strategists rely on supply side methods to create capital. Their objectives are to stimulate the marketplace by removing restrictions on capital flow or infusing that flow with public/private funding. Ideally, this should entail limited public intervention, such as deregulating land use or lowering taxes" [Savitch & Kantor, 2005, pp.143-144].

The above indicates that market led development is outside the domains of the welfare state where the government dominance is widely felt. In this case, market forces can be rationalised as the main players to drive development, hence limiting governments' roles. Goods and service produced in society are no longer public good but rather private good since they have limited or no regulation from the government.

Savitch & Kantor (2005)'s view of identifying market led development as efficiency maximising organisation which weighs their gains by the criterion of economic growth is well taken. However, my concern is whether the welfare or social led development has no place for efficiency maximisation towards economic growth. Does social centred development prioritise mediocrity in attracting businesses, creating jobs, the increasing population, building and revitalising houses and generating revenue? These concerns stem from the fact that within the welfare state; the state creates jobs, establish businesses, has concern for the population increase, provides housing and generates revenue through taxation. In this regard, how different is social centred development is from market centred development?

Though these concerns are raised, there is a paradox. There is a clear distinctive orientation between social and market centred development by virtue of the former being mostly government regulated and the latter being regulated by market forces (private sector/entrepreneurs). Having taken note of market and social centred urban development, it is also important to identify how these factors may have influenced or altered the characteristics of urban development lately.

2.2.2 Urban Metamorphosis

Urban development patterns in European cities, regions and other urban areas of the world have undergone different changes over the years. These changes are indicative of functional dynamics of urban areas. Throughout the nineteenth century several European capitals and large cities experienced significant upgrading and growth programme, which is still manifested in their "*appearance*" as of now [Hall, 1997, p.1]. Though one can still identify the physical appearance of urban development, urban landscape, land-use patterns of the past; further identification could be made in recent times about the structure and functions of urban areas. This implies that urban development has taken a new twist. What does this new twist represents and its consequence on society? What are the policies or rationale behind such changes?

Metamorphosis of urban development has been examined in different context by several analyst and academics. According to Adams (1994) the beginning of urban planning was influenced largely by architecture, engineering, surveying concepts. In this regard, emphasis was more on the physical aspect of development rather than the social and economic centred development. This indicates that recent urban planning/development has taking a different direction and it is important to identify the current reality.

One of the ways in which urban development has been analysed is in terms of spatial expansion and how they are measured. Urban expansion is measured partially as "*mere quantitative extension of previous suburbanisation process, with a wider decentralisation dwellings and related services and infrastructure*" [Dematties, & Governa, 2001, p.27]. On the contrary, there are new issues identified with recent urban expansions. This manifest as "*qualitative changes such as spatial fragmentation, less regular centre-periphery gradients, the weakening of spatial hierarchies in outer suburban areas and the rise of new centrality patterns*" [ibid.].

In other words urban structure has shifted from the traditional compact nature to a more defragmented form, which is characterised with outer urbanisation [ibid., p38]. This new form of spatial organisation does not enhance social cohesion as in the case of previous urban form but foster urban "*fragmentation*".

It also epitomise social and economic transformation associated with "*post-Fordist"* transition [ibid.]. If the new form of spatial transformation promotes fragmentation instead of social cohesion, then what are the consequences? Does such a development results in conflicts or any

form of social dysfunctions or anomies? More so, does fragmentation of urban space affects business activities and locations, transportation networks and residential patterns or rather enhances linkage between them?

Andersson (2001) also identifies urban metamorphosis in terms of its processes and outcomes. The process of change is identified in terms of "*demographic, social, political, cultural, economic, technological and environmental resources*". The outcomes of these changes in spatial context are as follows:

> "Urban systems (e.g. Shift from urban hierarchies to urban chains and networks); land use (e.g. new urban forms and realities, edge cities, dispersal urban areas); built environment and townscape (e.g. urban renewal, place promotion policy, public-private corporation); Social ecology (e.g. new forms of social and composition of neighbourhoods); Urban life (e.g. urban forms of new lifestyles, privatism, security and safety)" [Andersson, 2001, p.47].

Among all of these process of change identified above, Andersson (2001) elaborates on urban economic transformation from mass production between the 1950s and 1960s to what he describes as "*service specialised niches"* [p.46]. This implies the Fordist mass production era is over, and currently the focus of enterprise is to make gains from these new specialised services. In other words, industrialisation age in western Europe is over and new production trend is centred on quality and growth. The interesting thing about this economic transformation is its consequences on urban development. Specifically, the concern for these new specialised services is about their influence on governance, social infrastructure, and the general function of urban areas as compared to the industrial age where governments had so much control over socio-economic welfare of society. In addition to that is what actually characterises present state of urban development.

Several issues have been identified as a result of the shift from industrialisation to specialised services production. What has been identified is a change of occupational compositions, decline in manufacturing jobs, coupled with the expanded globalisation of the economy, which has led to weakening of the correlation between business, labour and government [ibid.]. According to Bluestone & Harrison (1982) the end of industrialisation age have led to "*systematic disinvestment in the nation's basic productive capacity, and to devastating social impacts on local communities when plants shuts down or move their operations elsewhere*" [Andersson, 2001, p.46].

Fainstein & Campbell (1996) attribute the above development to market competition which tends to be the driving force for economic change. They explain that firms in the western world shuts down plants (industries) and relocate in different regions with a cardinal aim to reduce cost of production. Through such developments, economies of previous industrial regions in western Europe are diversified into service production. Economic restructuring of urban areas have also been coupled with state "*deregulation and the promotion of private sector property development*" [p.6]

These issues provoke a political question as to whether governments' are not committed to welfare of society or not? Alternatively, do welfare provisions of the government really exist? From a socio-economic perspective, does it imply that industrial employees have to retrain to meet the new form of production? How would society adjust to these new forms of business environment and urban governance in general?

The demise of industrialisation age in western societies has "*called for a new kind of city, while cities had to be modified"* [Andersson, 2001, p.46]. In this regard, what kind of city should these "*deindustrialised"* cities look like and how should they be modified to suit current demands of urban development?

Brenner (2004) also identifies recent changes in urban development from pro-welfare to entrepreneurial governance as radical. Numerous activities usually linked with state control and public action such as providing public goods ("*public and social security, infrastructure and basic services, education and rule enforcement"*) are gradually being shifted to non-governmental entities, individuals and private organisations [Segbers, 2005, p.1]. Urban areas have therefore become "*machines for wealth creation*" and engage extensively in "*growth promoting activities*" [Hall, 2001, pp. 343-344]. This form of urban management and development will be discussed extensively in the next chapter. All the same, this development is explained as "*significant expression and catalysts of 'glocalisation strategies' oriented towards a fundamental rescaling of national state space*" [Brenner, 2004, p.449].

What could be inferred from the above is that spatial developments are carried out based on new policy directions or philosophies based on globalisation and competitive challenges. In this regard, major economic guidelines of states are delegated to "*subnational institutional levels*", and mores so "*major socioeconomic assets are reconcentrated within the most globally competitive urban*

regions and industrial districts" [ibid., p.450]. These developments lead to the point of understanding globalisation and subsequently, its impacts on urban development and governance.

2.3 What is Globalisation?

The term globalisation has some how become a widely used concept which is applied in multiple contexts. All sorts of activities including urban development taking place worldwide have been attributed to globalisation in recent times. Stipo (2007) differentiates globalisation in terms of ancient and modern. The former was based on land conquest through military incursions, and the latter is based on international cooperation on enlargement of trade and its tools. Globalisation is considered as old activity that has been in existence for over centuries [Léautier, 2006, p.1].

According to Léautier (2006): "*cities today find themselves in a global space where they are asked to compete with each other - even without desiring to do so-and many times without traditional support they have enjoyed from their national governments*" [ibid.]. Globalisation can be interpreted from the above as a compelling phenomenon that has caused urban areas to be competitive. I am therefore tempted to consider Léautier (2006)'s views on globalisation as an act of social change. Andersen (2002) also identifies the effects of globalisation as social change. If globalisation has become a compelling issue for society, then what are its implications on urban development and governance? Is there any implication to this effect that spatial and socio-economic functions of cities/regions are structured today to meet the demands of globalisation? Before I get on to outline various urban development issues associated with globalisation, it will be necessary to explain what globalisation stands for.

According to Reich (1998) the term globalisation has no common definition, explicit meaning and comprehensible agreement on whether it is used as a historical era, a procedure, a theory or new paradigm. It could be inferred from this point that meanings associated with globalisation are used in subjective contexts. In other words, they are subjected to different activities and interpretations. Globalisation is described as "*highly contested concept with many connotations and meanings*" [Segbers, 2005, p.3]. Léautier & Mehta (2006) also adds their views to the fact that globalisation has many definitions including economic, social, political, cultural and physical globalisation. The following is how they define globalisation in social, economic, political and physical context:

> "Economic globalisation is determined by the activities of multinationals, as well as by transport and logistics links, the flows of exports, and tourism trends. Social globalisation is

> determined on the basis of such issues as gaps between the number and perspectives of youth and the elderly, skills and education gaps across generations and communities, labour standards and employment conditions, economic migrants, health issues such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis, and differential access to income, information, and technology. Political globalisation considers political links among cities due to company location, trade links, media access and interest, investment flows, and the changing relationship between the state and the individual, as well as the state and the global markets. Cultural globalisation examines the importance of international television, film, music, sport, shopping opportunities, casinos, restaurants, bars, and so on. Physical globalisation (sometimes called regionalisation) considers sprawl beyond city and country boundaries, distributed and linked services, the decline of hubs or cores and the simultaneous growth of small cities and mega cities [Léautier, & Mehta, 2006, p.70].

The above provides different interpretations of globalisation with regards to how it is seen in social, economic, political, physical and cultural context. Globalisation is again defined as:

> "a process fuelled by the world wide interplay of increasing dense capital and communication flows enabled by new technologies. These flows connect (and disconnect) countries, societies, cities, firms and individuals. While perceptions and interpretations of these trends and the capabilities to cope with them differ, it becomes ever more difficult, if not impossible to 'opt out'. Globalisation apparently is all- encompassing" [ibid.].

This definition tends to depict globalisation as a newly emerged phenomenon that connects places through business and communication on international scale. In another context globalisation is defined as:

> "double-edged, dialectical process through which: the movement of commodities, capital, money, people and information through geographical space is continually expanded and accelerated; and, relatively fixed and immobile spatial infrastructures are produced, reconfigured and/or transformed to enable such expanded, accelerated movement" [Brenner, 1999, p.435].

All of the above definitions are laudable and well taken. They tend to show different orientations of the term globalisation. For the purpose of this research, I do consider Brenner (1999)'s definition as more appropriate. Inference from this definition indicates globalisation as an activity that affects urban development and therefore becomes relevant for this research. With this understanding, it is important to know how globalisation may impact urban development and governance.

2.3.1 Impacts of globalisation on urban development and governance

Impacts of globalisation on urban development and governance are manifested in several ways. It is important at this moment to outline some of these impacts. After learning from different literature sources, I have the understanding that globalisation has come with a new functional

outlook on urban areas and issues for one to discuss. According to Body-Gendrot & Beauregard (1999) "*globalisation changes the local; it also reconfigures intellectual space*" [Beauregard, 2001 p.261]. Such concerns tend to be an impetus for one to inquire and understand how globalisation has affected urban development and governance.

In daily communications of present times, the world is commonly described by many as a global village. What makes the world a global village? An inference could be made from the views of Brenner (1999) in which he highlights on capitalist restructuring of post 1970s. He shows that the world is experiencing strong concurrent socioeconomic interdependencies. This is being strengthened "*in close conjunction with the production, reconfiguration and transformation of territorial organisation at once on urban-regional, national and supra-national spatial scale*" [p.435]. This new development is opposed to the late nineteenth century mode of capitalist globalisation which was organised within national boundaries. This implies globalisation concept of today is a network of interrelations that cuts across national borders. This orientation leads to a probe into how globalisation may impact urban development and governance in recent times.

Beauregard (2001) outlines the impacts of globalisation on cities in four dimensions. These are *urban form*, *public space*, *governance* and *convergence*. However, three of these factors are being considered for discussion in this chapter. They are examined as follows:

- ***Urban form***

Globalisation has been associated with urban form in different contexts. Some issues identified includes: discouraging welfare provisions of the state and rather encouragement of place competition. This has compelled urban areas to be "*competitive to attract investors, households and to raise tax revenues*" [Beauregard, 2001, p. 252]. Urban areas have worked closely with investors to build urban places such as entertainment complexes, museums, among others. This implies that governments' sole management of cities and provision of infrastructure have been deregulated hence promoting investing opportunities for entrepreneurs.

In another context, globalisation enhances the promotion of cities as a place to live. Cities are developed to become attractive place for people to reside and work. Cities offer "*parks, safe neighbourhoods, waterfronts developed for residences and recreation*". These public spaces are developed strategically for the purpose of environmental sustainability and improvement of quality of life [ibid.]. This form of development indicates that cities in western European as well

as other parts of the world have become specialised service production centres that attract highly skilled labour. In this regard, the above amenities are put in place to attract such people to reside in the city and also enjoy its recreational facilities. This tends to show the competitive nature of cities as compared to the past.

- ***Public space***

Development of public spaces (parks, plazas, boulevards, river fronts, museums, etc) in recent times is "*globally-driven*" and also tagged to "*economic growth*" [ibid., 254]. They have become "*raw materials for city marketing*" and also attractive place for businesses and tourist [ibid.]. The activities of businesses and tourist on public spaces tend to contribute to local economies. Public spaces have therefore become "*contested spaces*" for local residents, businesses and tourist [ibid., p.255]. In this view, urban areas could be seen to have become more of consuming, productive, and creative. In another development, public spaces are no longer under the sole control of local authorities. They are managed through public-private partnership [ibid., p.225]. These developments indicate that globalisation has really altered the traditional function of urban areas and their governance.

- ***Governance***

As stated before, the traditional functions of local authorities was purely management of urban areas. Currently, as a result of globalisations local authorities have adopted the strategy of managing cities together with the private sector. In this regard, "*globalisation is widely assumed to weakened local institutions, making them more dependent on transnational elites, multinational corporations, and a highly competitive global economy*" [ibid., p.226]. The partnership between local government authorities and the private sector in urban management appear good in both theory and practice as it tends to reduce the ever increasing burdens of the local government. As recalled in "*Kofi Annan (2002) that the Arabic translation of the word "globalisation" means literally world of inclusivity"* [Sach, 2004, p.20]. It could be inferred from this view that governance in the era of globalisation is about partnership or co-operations. However, such co-operations may weaken the traditional functions of local authorities as stated above; simply because some roles played by the local authorities are shifted to the private sector. This concern may be debateable in my view because I consider the weakening functions of local authorities as a result of globalisation to have different merits and demerits for every society.

Could one conclude from this statement that local authorities can no longer manage urban areas without the support of other private actors in present day globalise world? Is it because governments can no longer establish and promote business investment and therefore have to rely on these transnational and multinational corporations? I presume this task may be too enormous for governments considering the rigorous state of global competitions and the growing demands of communities. In this regard, the tendencies for governments/local authorities to depend on private enterprises or non-state institutions become an indispensable option.

According Segbers (2005) reasons for public- private sector partnerships differ. All the same, he emphasise that "t*wo fiscal aspects range prominently: either to reduce financial obligations related to certain functions, or to raise revenues by selling state assets, or both*" [p.6]. Klaus Segbers adds that non-OECD[3] countries may have additional intentions to engage in public-private partnership in order to catch-up with the OECD standards of development [ibid.]. Xu & Yeh (2005) also attest to the fact that local governments depends on the private sector to finance most economic expansions, since they have limited capabilities at their disposal.

Brenner (1999) identifies the impacts of globalisation on urban development and governance as "*state rescaling*" [p.440]. That is where governments have adopted a new strategy by reducing its function of being the sole manager of urban development and governance. Neil Brenner states categorically that:

> "state rescaling can be viewed as neo-liberal strategy of 'deregulation' to dismantle the nationally configured redistributive operations of the Fordist-Keynesian order, frequently undermining the social welfare functions of municipal institutions [ibid] "

The undermining social welfare functions of municipal institutions implies globalisation has brought a new definition to urban development and governance to society; therefore altering the traditional functions of governments or municipal authorities. Urban development and governance is now within the ambit of "*public-private partnership*" [ibid.]. The impacts of globalisation outlined so far is an indication that functions of urban area have undergone significant changes which has put cities/regions in competitive position globally. It is imperative to understand why competition has become significance urban development and also its possible impact on urban governance.

[3] OECD is an abbreviation for Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. It is currently made up of countries from the European Union, Japan, Canada, Mexico, United States, New Zealand, Korea, Turkey, and Australia.

2.4 Urban Competitiveness

Why has competition become an agenda for urban development in many parts of the world? Have urban development activities become competing products among most societies? Is there any impact as a result of urban competitiveness on the nature of urban development and governance in recent times? If there is any thing of that kind; then what can one observe in terms of spatial, social and economic development of places? These are legitimate questions for inquiry in order to understand why cities/regions including Copenhagen engage in developments that portrays their competitiveness with others.

Porter (1995; 1998) provides an understanding in his competitive city concept that cities do compete among themselves; and more so the competitions between cities are primarily not different from the ones between nations [Xu, & Yeh, 2005, p. 285]. What do cities or urban areas actually compete for? Is it about power, money, territorial space or prosperity? I presume prosperity may be the answer. As Xu & Yeh (2005) asserts "c*ities are under increasing pressure to pursue effective competitive strategies if they are to prosper*" [p. 286]. In this view, urban areas develop strategies that will promote their competitiveness and also to improve the quality of the place [ibid.]. These developments are also designed strategically to enhance "*local and economic growth through active pursuit of infrastructure projects for attracting private investmen*t" [ibid., p. 283].

The term "competitiveness" has several definitions. Among these definitions is that of the United States Competitiveness Policy Council: "*ability to produce goods and services that meet the test of national and international markets while citizens earn a standard of living that is both rising and sustainable over the long run*" [OECD, 1997, p.35]. This definition indicates that competitiveness is associated with the creative strengths of communities, which is capable of ensuring continuous positive development in citizens' lives and also the community.

In urban development context, production of goods and services may be seen to improve community life and progress, but one can also emphasise that these products are put in place to appear unique from that of their global competitors. Examples of such products are the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao, Millennium Dome in London, Eiffel tower in Paris, London Eye in London, Turning Torso in Malmo, new Wembley stadium in London, etc. These structures are unique and serve as tourist attractions that generate revenue for the state, recreation for citizens and visitors, create jobs for people and at the same time exemplify community progress and

symbol of competitiveness. As described in Porter (1998) the use of sophisticated methods, technologies and offer of unique products are all influenced by rival competitions. It could be inferred from this view that urban development taking place in most parts of the world employ unique methods in order to stand out against other cities. Such developments are also described as "*flagship projects with local significance*" [Xu & Yeh, 2005, p.286]. In this regard, Copenhagen's Ørestad development project could be described as one of such flagship projects which aim at putting the city on the world competitive map. This is evident by its uniqueness in Denmark and also across the Scandinavia region.

One could also determine from the above that competitiveness of urban areas is about place marketing. However, I wish to emphasis that place marketing is not the main focus of this research, but all the same it is important to show it as an element of urban competitiveness. Cities are marketed through "*image building and repackaging the 'place product' by emphasising the uniqueness of local identity*" [ibid.]. These place products are established to attract "*international organisations and firms, tourism and so on*" [Andersen, 2002, p.94]. There is also an observation that "*the largest cities market themselves as global competitors*" [ibid.]. In this regard, urban competitiveness could be seen to concern it self with establishing uniqueness of a place through its spatial, economic and social development.

The acts of competitions among cities and nations is no crime, neither is bad for their image. However, the issue of concern is why cities engage in flagship projects, and adopt all sort development strategies in the name of competition. Is competitive led development the best for present day societies? Is it not enough for places to develop just to improve the welfare of its citizens to make life comfortable? In other words should competition be the driving force for city or national development? These concerns might be controversial; but on a positive note, competitions potentially bring out the best development capabilities of a community. The potential of cities or nations to embark on outstanding development projects to improve quality of life of citizens will also characterise the competitive advantage of specific places over others.

2.5 Summary and conclusion

The thrust of this literature review has been to examine urban development in general, its framework and dynamics, and also the concepts of globalisation and urban competitiveness. The choice of reviewing various literature sources in this chapter has been basically to obtain different

interpretations and understanding of concepts examined in order to assess better what this research seeks to achieve.

In retrospect, various orientations of urban development, and the framework for communities to engage in development have been discussed and learnt in this chapter. These include identification of urban development dynamics in different shapes. What is of interest is the understanding of impacts urban development on governance (shift from welfare/mass production era to entrepreneurial/specialised service production). The concepts of globalisation and urban competitiveness have also been examined and further insights have been gained in regards to their impacts of urban development and governance. This literature review has therefore set a foundation for further probe; that is by developing a theoretical framework for analysis and to obtain empirical data from other literature sources and stakeholders associated with the case study areas. Fundamentally, the probe will be centred around the research question to gain insights on different forms of governance (welfare and entrepreneurial) and their implications on urban development. The probe will also focus on how these forms of governance works in reality and thereby help to identify the facts and practicality of these concepts in the case of Albertslund and Ørestad.

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework for Analysis

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a theoretical framework for analysis regarding urban governance in the case of Albertslund Municipality and Ørestad district. The choice of a theoretical framework for analysis is necessary in this research because in my judgement, the act of governing urban areas is socially constructed and therefore must be subjected to theoretical scrutiny. Agreeing with McCloughlin (1993)'s argument that human practices are based on theories; hence I consider it important to examine the theoretical foundations of such social constructions of society. In this regard, urban governance is chosen as a theoretical framework for analysis in this research in order to outline regimes of governance (welfare and entrepreneurial) in theory. The use of these paradigms serves as a guide for analysis to generate insights into what is set to be achieved in this research.

In specific terms, the theoretical framework attempts to answer the question of how urban areas have been governed from the 1960s to present times in order to identify their implications on urban development. This is based on identifying which actor(s) has/have been in charge on governance, which type of governance have been applied, how they have been executed, and also how these process have affected urban development within the concerned time frame of this research. Within the range of this research it is not possible to consider any period beyond what has been selected for assessment. In essence, the selected time frame falls within the periods of urban developments and governance of the case study areas (Albertslund and Ørestad).

In order to obtain insights, understanding, interpret these concepts and relate them into the periods of development in Albertslund and Ørestad; the concept of governance is discussed within a historical ambit of welfare/managerial system of Fordist-Keynesian[4]era to postFordist

[4] "The term Fordist/Fordism is derived from Henry Ford's mass production methods and rules of management applied in his car factories in America in the 1920s and 1930s. Fordism involves a virtuous circle of growth based on mass production, raising productivity based on economies of scale, rising incomes linked to productivity, increased mass demand due to rising wages, increased profit based on full utilisation of capacity, and increased investment in improved mass production equipment and techniques" [Amin, A. 1994 p.9]. Fordism in sum is an era of "*intensive accumulation with monopolistic regulation of the economy*". The thrust of Fordist intensive accumulation is asserted to be the mass production dynamics. It relies upon intensified work, in depth division of task and mechanisation to boost productivity and various forms of monopolistic regulation to maintain this dynamics [ibid.].

entrepreneurial developments. That is taking a retrospective assessment of the nature of governance from the 1960s to present time. This will help to acquaint and relate theory with practical trends of governance experienced in western Europe from the past to the present in a Danish context. It will therefore serve as basis for analysing regimes of governance in Albertslund in the 1960s and present day Ørestad. On the other hand, critiques on entrepreneurial governance will also be discussed in theoretical context. This will also serve as a foundation to analyse further into the research; negative effects of entrepreneurial governance. The figure below shows the main focus of the theoretical framework:

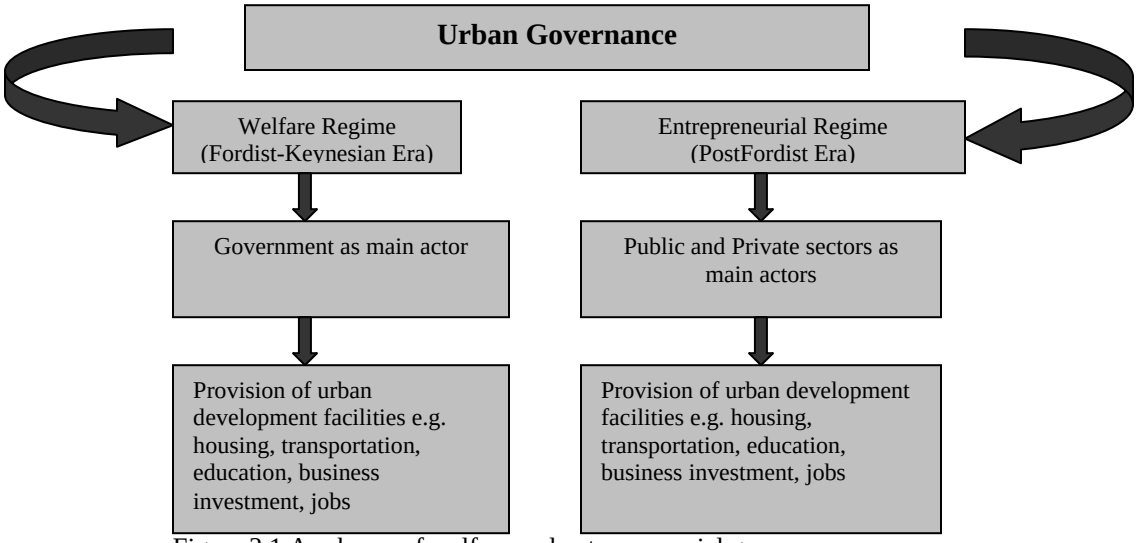

Figure 3.1 A schema of welfare and entrepreneurial governance

Emphasis on urban governance in this research will be based largely on the work of Neil Brenner[5], who has carried out a comprehensive work on this subject. Brenner's work appears more abstract in content, but since knowledge is produced in different shades, the works of other theorist/authors are considered in this framework to concretise Brenner's ideas.

Keynesianism is also derived from the theories of John Maynard Keynes in book *"The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money"*, published in 1935. The theoretical foundation of Keynes' economics is centred on promoting mixed economy involving the public and private sector. Keynes advocates for government's intervention in economic management with introduction of fiscal and monetary policies created to boost employment and promote business activities.

Fordist-Keynesianism ideas have been codified as an identification of a socio-economic era of governance in the 20th century. Fordist-Keynesian is therefore an acclaimed economic and managerial paradigm widely applied in the 20th for local and national development.

[5] Brenner is an academic and researcher at the New York University, United States. His work in question is "Urban governance and the production of new state spaces in western Europe, 1960-2000

3.2 Understanding entrepreneurial approach to urban governance

Entrepreneurial approach to urban governance, particularly in western societies has been on the table of discussion among policy makers and also been critically analysed by many academics in the field of urban studies. Reflecting on these discussions and analysis is the understanding of entrepreneurial approach to urban governance as a new phenomenon which has emerged in the urban economic geography of capitalist western societies. Among observers of this new phenomenon in the western world is Ash Amin. In his edited book, *Post-Fordism* he asserts:

> "it seems that capitalism is at a crossroads in its historical development signalling the emergence of forces-technological, market, social and institutional- that will be very different from those which dominated the economy after the Second World War" [Amin, 1994, p.1].

Amin's assertion indicates that forces or factors which dominated capitalist economies in pre-World War Two have changed. Ernest Sternberg (1993) also identifies some of these new factors which have emerged in the post Second World War era. Among these factors are the following:

- "Information age- which will generate wealth through exercise of knowledge, trade information activities and the potentialities for information technologies".
- "Post-modernity age- which will extend the frontier of consumerism into all areas of social and private life, including aesthetics, art, leisure, recreation and pleasure"
- "Global interdependence, to convey a sense of the pervasive globalisation of production, finance, distribution and trade within the contemporary economy, a process which increasingly bestraddles and shapes local and national fortunes"
- "New mercantilism, which national coalitions (industry-government-labour) will seek to develop strategic technological advantage as a basis for national prosperity"
- "New age of corporate control, in which global corporations and banks will exercise systematic power over markets, firms and states; shaping consumption patterns in every day corner of the world and run by a new global class of executives and professionals living in select world cities"
- "New age of 'flexible specialisation' characterised by new principles of production, including specialist unit decentralised management and versatile technologies and workforces to satisfy increasingly volatile markets" [Amin, 1999 pp.1-2]

The new wave of development could be seen to have an influence on contemporary urban governance. These changes have led to shades of analysis among academics and others concerned. Among academics who have engaged in extensive analysis of entrepreneurial approach to urban governance is Neil Brenner. He also shows awareness of how the new turn of entrepreneurial governance has been discussed and digested among people. According to Brenner:

> "the orientation of urban governance from the managerial, welfarist mode of the Fordist-Keynesian period to an entrepreneurial, competitiveness oriented framework during the post-1970s period has been analysed extensively during the last decade by critical urbanist" [Brenner, 2004, p.449].

Extensive analysis of this new form of urban governance indicates its importance to all concern. Brenner's statement raises one's curiosity concerning the transformation or dynamics of urban

governance that is being experienced as of now. Even though it is important to know of the new urban governance of present times, it is also necessary to have knowledge of the type of urban governance of the past. That is, the transformation from welfarist mode of Fordist–Keynesian governance to entrepreneurial governance. In essence, it is to provide a solid platform to develop a framework for analysis into these forms of urban governance experienced in societies. In order to know these forms of governance in detail, it is imperative to understand what urban governance means and also to identify the underlining principles, policy or events that have brought about this transformation.

The term governance seem to have different contextual meanings and also seen to have a linkage with government in many cases. Healey (2004) defines the term governance generally in a contextual distinction between government as "*collective action arrangement designed to achieve some general benefits, and government refer to the formal organisation of the public sector*". In this regard, governance is seen as not unilateral but rather bilateral/multilateral function performed to achieve a common goal. Herrrschel & Newman (2002) make almost the same distinction by defining government as "*concentration of formal institutions*" and governance as "*more flexible, networked arrangements involving private as well as public actors*" [p.13]

Though definitions of governance may differ it seems to have a common contextual focus. In this context, the term governance is seen as "*relationship between civil society and the state, between rulers and the ruled, the government and the governed*" [McCarnet *et al*., 1995, p.94 as in Corubolo, 1998, p14]. Urban governance is therefore seen to be embedded with positive "*contributions such as greater democracy, increased citizen participation, reduced centralization and dependence on the national government and public-private or public-community relationships*" [Batley, 1996; Gilbert, 2006: 400 as in Guarneros-Meza, 2007, p.105].

Comprehension of urban governance in this regard, is a "*particular form of arrangement to formulate and implement urban policies*" [ibid.]. Governance process consist of citizens, local associations, interest groups and private actors, who collaborate to achieve a common purpose, such as the provision of public services or projects aimed at boosting development. Governance also consist of institutions and actors drawn from within but also beyond government, and obscure boundaries with tasks for handling social and economic issues [Stoker,1998 as in ibid. pp. 105-106].

Brenner (2004) also informs us specifically that the concept of urban governance is weaved in a web of "*social, political and economic forces that mold the process of urban development within modern capitalism*" [pp.455-457]. This implies the nature of governance is a determinant of these forces. However, there is a caveat that:

> "urban governance occurs at a range of geographical scales insofar as the process of capitalist urbanisation encompasses individual cities, metropolitan regions, cross-boarder agglomeration, national city-system and supranational urban hierarchies" [Lefebvre, 2003(1970) as in Brenner, 2004, p.457].

Another view to buttress Brenner's point above is that, "*constitutional reform, party political projects, global competitiveness, European grant chasing and emphasis on 'harmonisation'*" tend to facilitate restructuring of governance in western Europe [Herrschel & Newmann , 2002, p.75]. Urban governance is therefore manifested in different forms- depending on the issues or prevailing situations which the state or regional authorities intend to tackle. It could also be seen in the context of actions which the authorities will take within the confines of their interest towards urban development. Governance process is therefore not static or prototype. It undergoes dynamic processes depending on the directions of goals set to be achieved by state or regional authorities. This indicates that the nature of governance in Copenhagen and Denmark as a whole has not been static since time in memorial. It has undergone changes to meet present demands and policy directions of the Danish society. Dynamics of urban governance can therefore be studied and compared in the case of Albertslund and Ørestad.

Brenner (2004) outlines different conditions which influence the directions of governance. Among such conditions is the fact that:

> "the urban geographies of state space may also reconfigured in conjunction with distributional pressures that emerge as competing localities, cities and regions within a national territory struggle to channel public resources and private capital into their jurisdiction" [Brenner, 2004, p. 457].

Brenner (2004) again emphasise that governments' influence or concern for urban development has increased significantly since the strengthening of "*organised capitalism in the twentieth century*" [ibid]. He recounts this as an era where nations in western Europe started big investments "*in the construction of large-scale infrastructures for capital circulation and reproduction, involve in large sophisticated long term forms of urban, regional, and spatial planning*". This was aimed at mitigating uneven geographical developments [ibid.]. It tends to show how prevailing situations or needs of society influenced the directions of governance. These developments epitomise the state as sole manager of production and reproduction of social

infrastructures in this instance. In this case, the state is identified as the main player, monopolist or instrumental planner in management of urban areas, and again seen to play the role of welfare provider for the society.

Since governance has been identified to be influenced by social, political and economic factors; specific process and dynamics of governance in western Europe from the 1960s to present will be outlined in the following sections of this chapter. This will take into consideration social, economic and political factors, and would be emphasised mostly from the analysis of Brenner (2004) as stated in chapter 1(Introduction). The essence of this presentation is to develop an avenue for understanding governance process from the past to present day.

3.2.1 Urban governance: Early 1960s –Early 1970s

The period between early 1960s and 1970s was the emergence of spatial division of labour in nations of western Europe. This period is characterised within the context of geographies of spatial Keynesianism. There were top-down connections involving large-scale metropolitan regions. Major firms engaged in mass production were clustered in these metropolitan regions. In addition to these clustering, "*smaller cities, towns and peripheral zones, in which branch plants, inputs and services providers, and other subordinate economic functions were located*" [Brenner, N., 2004, p.458]. These activities were organised within a national framework to establish "*capitalist production and collective consumption*" to guarantee urban and regional growth, and to mitigate the problem of uneven spatial developments in specific countries in Europe [ibid., p.459].

The issue of high population densities in metropolitan regions also paved a way for governments to establish "*the bulk of large-scale public infrastructure investments and welfare services throughout the Fordist–Keynesian epoch*" [ibid. p.460]. This implies that the policy framework adopted in western Europe to manage national territories were designed in the interest of establishing socio-economic welfare by the state. In other words, urban governance was 'pro-state welfare' in context. National policies to enhance economic development, including urban economic development were drawn mainly at state level instead of regional or local level; hence a top-down planning approach. On a broader note, the scope of governance was seen as*:*

> "national social and economic policy initiatives – including demand-management policies, nationalized ownership of key industries, the expansion of public sector employment, military spending and major expenditures on housing, transportation and public utilities – served to underwrite the growth of major urban and regional economies" [ibid. 460].

The above statement indicates urban management in that era was widely dominated by the state. At this point, socio-economic development policies were centred on achieving government's interest and thereby worked unilaterally to achieve them.

Though these developments featured prominently in urban management during the early 1960s, by the early 1970s a new development had emerged. According to Brenner (2004) it had become evident that the vision of overcoming "*uneven spatial development through the promotion of balanced urbanization within a relatively closed national economy was as short-lived as the Fordist accumulation regime upon which it was grounded*" [ibid]. If that was the case, then what trigged this development and also what were its consequences for society? Reasons and consequences of this change in governance in the 1970s will be outlined in the next section.

3.2.2 Urban governance: Early 1970s –Early 1980s

Urban governance from the early 1970s to the early 1980 took another form. This period was characterised with conflicts between conservatives on one side whose interest was to maintain the state's commitment to balancing national growth and welfare concerns within the ambit of "*redistributive project of spatial Keynesianism*". On the other side, conflict of interest was on a "*newly formed political coalitions concerned to introduce more decentralized frameworks of territorial development and urban governance*". These debates led to destabilization of the well established national level of economic development and urban governance which dominated under spatial Keynesianism.

There were introduction of modified policies aimed at *endogenous* growth, which aimed at tackling "*place-specific forms of economic decline*". There was a gradual retrenchment of national redistributive policy transitions that compelled regional and local states to fend for themselves under conditions of improved geo-economic insecurity [ibid. p.467-479]. In this context, urban governance did not function from a broad national scale but instead decentralised at regional levels. This development depicts a new dynamics of governance process and impetus for further changes to emerge in the future. This could be seen from the events of the 1980s.

3.2.3 Urban governance in the 1980s

The 1980s can be described as the genesis and intensification of entrepreneurial governance and glocalisation strategies. However it was also a period of crisis and emergences of policies to fix

prevailing problems of socio-economic and political landscapes in most western European nations including Denmark. According to Brenner (2004) in the 1980s, most European governments dumped traditional Keynesian macro economic policies for monetarism. Competitive balance of payments was made to replace full employment as the limited aim of monetary and fiscal policy. Further developments took place in the late 1980s where political supports for large-scale projects were reduced. Governments' much supported welfare oriented projects were also reduced.

From geo-economics and geo-political context, there was a new wave of development that embraced global and regional integration that allowed an escalating opening of national economies to foreign direct investments. This was coupled with escalating reliance on large corporations on localised and regionalised agglomeration economies. These developments were target for "*major urban and regional economies situated within supranational and /global circuits*" [Brenner, N., 2004 p.475]. In this context, local states, cities or regions had access to promote local economic development and civic boosterism strategies. There were also the cutbacks on traditional managerial welfarist forms of local socioeconomic policies [ibid.].

Another development that took place was the abolishing or reduction of metropolitan institutions as result of welfare state restructuring. Among metropolitan authorities abolished western Europe at that time was the Greater Copenhagen Council. The practices of metropolitan authorities were weakened as a result of "*centrally imposed budgetary pressures and enhanced competition between city core and suburban peripheries for capital investment and state subsidies*" [ibid., p 468-480].

3.2.4 Urban governance in the 1990s and present

Urban governance in the 1990s and present can be seen as new focus of national development policies on large-scale metropolitan regions instead of cities as the most suitable areas for economic revitalisation. Urban governance is also seen in the context of regional competitiveness; where these metropolitan regions tend to compete among themselves on the global map. In this case, projects that are worth establishing competitiveness between metropolitan areas were prioritised on regional economic development programmes. Urban governance as observed from the 1990s to date has been dominated by partnerships between private sector and the public. This

tends to indicate a further transition of urban governance from instrumental approach to a period of empowerment, where entrepreneurs have access roles in governance.

Kulopalo (2004) attest to the transformation of governance made by several authors, but argues that: "*transition from government to governance has already taken place as during the last two decades or so*" [p.5]. All the same, there is a clear indication of a new turn of governance with respect to current forms of urban development taking place. In European perspective, this is evident by several structural transformations "*in the social, political and economic spheres of societies and in the global networks*" [ibid]. The private sector has therefore become part of the machinery used to determine social and economic development of urban areas and nation- states as a whole.

If all these development are into taking consideration, then what is the state's position? Has the state also become an explicit or implicit entrepreneur or not? Has the role of the state as public good provider changed to private good producer or not? Again, is the state in present day the controller of public good or allows market forces to determine its cause for society to meet its needs? These questions are worthy of examination in this research to determine the reality in a Danish municipality and possibly identify some short falls of entrepreneurial governance for critical analysis.

The following figure is Neil Brenner's summary of urban governance and the geographies of spatial Keynesianism from the early 1960s to contemporary times:

Historical Formation	**Forms of State Spatial Selectivity**	**Forms of Urban-Regional Regulation**	**Major Conflicts and Contradiction**
Spatial Keynesianism: early 1960s–early 1970s	National states promote economic development by spreading industries, population and infrastructural investment evenly across the national territory Primacy of the national scale of statehood: national economies and national societies are view as pregiven territorial areas	Urban managerialism: local states operates as agents of welfare services provision and collective consumption Metropolitan institutions coordinate the provision of welfare services and manage the physical expansion of Fordist urban agglomerations	Urban cores and growth poles may overheat due to rapid growth and physical expansion Inter-territorial and inter-scalar distributional struggles proliferate as peripheral regions intensify their demands for central state subsidies

Fordism in Crisis (traditional phrase): 1960s–early 1980s	Preservationist alliances within national states initially maintain their commitment to balance national growth and the redistributive project of spatial Keysianism The geographies of spatial Keysianism are redifferentiated, however, as national urban policies are introduced to address the structural problems of declining industrial cities and regions The entrenched role of the national scale as a locus of political-economic coordination is destabilised	Gradually, national redistributive policy relays are retrenched forcing regional and local states to fend for themselves under conditions of entrenched geoeconomic uncertainties A new "bootstraps" politics of endogenous growth emerges in crises –stricken industrial regions: goal is to mobilize customised policies to comfort place-specific forms of economic decline	National and local fiscal crises ensue as struggles intensify over the appropriate balance of growth vs. redistribution Political conflicts intensify between preservationist social forces concerned to protect the institutional settlement of Fordism and "modernizing" alliance oriented towards a systematic reorganisation of inherited regulatory arrangements,
Glocalization Strategies, Round I: 1980s	The rise of first-wave glocalization strategies: national states promote the reconcentration of economic capabilities and advanced infrastructure into the most globally competitive cities and regions within their territories Place-and jurisdiction-specific forms of territorial administration are introduced in key sites within many strategic urban regions	Urban entrepreneurialism: local states acquire key roles in promoting local development and place-marketing strategies Traditional managerial-welfarist forms of local socioeconomic policy are retrenched Metropolitan institutions are abolished or downsized in conjunction with welfare state restructuring	Intensified uneven development and zero-sum forms of interlocality competition undermine national economic stability Local economic initiative trigger systematic governance failures due to a lack of supralocal policy coordination National and local legitimation crises ensues as territorial inequality intensifies
Glocalization Strategies, Round II: 1990s-present	The rescaling of glocalization strategies: national states target large-scale metropolitan regions rather than cities or localities as the most appropriate scales for economic regeneration New scalar layers of state space are established to address some of the major regulatory deficits and governance failures associated with first wave glocalization strategies	Competitive regionalism: institutions are rejuvenated in conjunction with projects to establish coordinated programmes of regional economic development Metropolitan institutions acquire new roles in various aspects of crises-displacement, interscalar management and meta governance New institutional forms and policy strategies are mobilised that attempt to balance the priorities of economic regeneration and crises management	Metropolitan institutional reforms trigger an upscaling of the problems of uneven development, intensified sociospatial inequality, inadequate policy coordination and legitimation to major metropolitan regions The crisis-tendencies and governance failures of first-wave glocalization strategies are rescaled but remain chronically unresolved at a national scale

Figure 2: State spatial strategies and the geographies of urban governance: a schematic periodzation of western European case, 1960- 2000. [Brenner, N., 2004 p.478-479]

3.3 Critique of entrepreneurial governance

A reflection on the new trend of governance discussed in the previous section indicates that entrepreneurial approach to governance has eased governments' burden on welfare facilities provisions and urban management in general. This is because governments now engage most of its urban development and managerial activities with non-state institutions or organisations. However, entrepreneurial governance is criticised to promote certain 'evils' of society. Among these critiques are its tendencies to create "*social inequality, exclusion and uneven spatial developments*" [Brenner, 2004, p.476]. These problems have impact on urban hierarchy in the sense that some residential areas become gentrified. The problem of gentrification has been due to "*increase private ownership of housing and private cooperating housing*" [Andersen, 1999, p.12]. When private ownership of housing is on the increase then it is obvious that prices of these houses will be high since the general goal of entrepreneurs is to make profit. In this case, people with higher income will have the purchasing power to own these houses; thereby gentrification becomes entrenched in society. What happens to the low income groups or poor in society? The end result is polarisation because these low income earners may be compelled to move into the periphery to find low priced houses. Further occurrence of this phenomenon may lead to the creation of slums or 'ghettos'.

However, this might not be an issue if government controls the prices of housing or provide some support for people to ease the burden of paying high prices. Taking the strength of market economy in western European society into consideration, it is obvious that government control might be insignificant. In this instance 'capitalism rules' the market. The issue of increased private ownership of housing is typical of Copenhagen in the last decade [ibid]. Housing as a public good is now a private good. This is a manifestation that society has transformed into a stage where government control in the provision of public good in welfare context has lost its strength to market forces.

Social exclusion and polarisation as observed in the housing sector is not the only evil of entrepreneurial governance. It is also evident on the labour market. The decline in industrial employment and increased specialised fields of production and service industries to some extent has affected labour. Relatively, these specialised industries employ less labour as compared to mass production industries of the past. This is because specialised industries do employ highly skilled labour hence having little room for low skilled labour. As a result of market competition, the cream of highly skilled labour are employed by firms in competition, hence leaving gaps of

unemployed in society. In other words most people become unemployed due to tough labour competition on the market. This is also opposed to the past when public investment created jobs to foster full employment in the Keynesian-Fordist era. These concerns bring one to the point of enquiring whether entrepreneurial governance serves the interest of all citizens of society or a section. Again are there any welfare elements in existence to take care of low income earners or less fortunate in society? What and whose purpose does entrepreneurial governance serve today?

3.4 Analytical framework for analysis

Based on the above theoretical framework, an analytical framework is presented. The rationale for this framework is to develop subject matters that direct the analysis of this research. In order to examine and identify the different forms of governance identified in the case study areas and their implication on housing, transportation, education, business and job creation; the analytical framework aims to address issues such as :

Identifying the main actors of decision-making in welfare & entrepreneurial governance; how employment opportunities are created for citizens in welfare & entrepreneurial regimes; the economic and political frameworks for the provision of housing, education, transport, businesses and employment; the types of people and businesses attracted in an entrepreneurial regime; to find out whether the role of the state as welfare provider changed into an entrepreneur; and the nature of development in terms of housing, education, transport, businesses and employment in welfare & entrepreneurial regimes.

3.5 Summary and Conclusion

Lessons from this chapter have been a theoretical outline of two different regimes that manifested in within certain periods of times and thus influenced urban development. Fundamentally, the main actor of decision-making in the welfare regime of the 1960s has been identified in this framework as the state/government. It has been in charge of managing and providing facilities for urban development. The changing tends of governance experienced in recent times has been identified as entrepreneurial, which is characterised with a different approach to urban development as compared to the welfare regime. Theoretically, urban development and governance in an entrepreneurial regime has been identified as partnership between the state and public sector. Hence, the state and public sector are the main actors of governance whose activities impacts urban development in communities. However, this form of governance has

been critiqued to have certain negative impacts on the socio-economic life of people. An analytical framework for analysis has been set up as a way to direct further analysis of issues discussed so far in later chapters. This will be on the basis of linking these theories with empirical facts to concretise the research process in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4

Case Study Presentation: Contextual Reality of Albertslund Municipality & Ørestad District

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter (theoretical framework), the periods of welfare and entrepreneurial governance and their associated implications on urban development were identified. These forms of governance were examined in theoretical context. Also in chapter 2 in this research (literature review), urban development in general and the milieu for developing urban areas were discussed based on different ideas of authors and analyst. The essence of this chapter is to examine how these forms of governance and urban development could be identified or exemplified in the context Albertslund Municipality and Ørestad district.

This chapter is therefore a documentary review and background information of the Albertslund Municipality, and Ørestad district. It is a narrative of facts and history concerning factors that have influenced urban development policies and governance of these communities in social, economic and political context. The narrative also includes how these factors have worked in these communities. Specifically, the chapter presents development and governance of Albertslund based on welfare regime, and also contemporary development and governance of Ørestad district which is based on entrepreneurial regime.

Discussions of issues concerning the Ørestad district will be extended to cover Copenhagen Municipality in general, since the district is within the precincts of Copenhagen Municipality. The contents of this chapter will serve as a link to understand two different regimes of urban development and governance associated with these communities. At the end of the chapter, it is expected that the nature and dynamic processes of urban development and governance discussed in the literature review and theoretical framework could be identified in Albertslund and Ørestad.

4.2 Urban development and governance of Albertslund in the 1960s

Urban development and governance of Albertslund in this section is being presented in historical context to cover the period of the 1960s, but overlaps a little bit into the 1970s. Alberstlund is located twenty kilometres west of Copenhagen. Development of this community dates back to the 1960s. Prior to its development into a municipality in the 1960s, it had a total population of three thousand people, most of them working in gardening and agriculture. Albertslund was transformed into urban community within the period of 1965 to 1975 with thirty thousand inhabitants living across an area of twenty three square kilometres. The growth of Albertslund was considered significant since no community in Denmark had ever grown that fast [Danish Board of District Heating, 2003, p.1].

The growth of this community was synchronized with the introduction of a municipality reform that brought about the amalgamation of several Danish municipalities. This was coupled with population growth in Denmark. These developments resulted in the construction of new residence to meet the growing demand for housing and also to restore regenerated settlements in the entire Copenhagen metropolis. This development can be implied as government's commitment to meet the welfare of its citizens by providing housing units for the growing population of that era.

Development of Albertslund in the 1960s was not centred on providing only housing units but also included light industrial areas and government institution. However, the provision of housing appeared to be the principal concern for the government at that period. This is evident by minimum locations of these industries and government institutions as compared to residential housing units available. Generally, it was the youth who took up residence in Albertslund, which brought about a "*new political generational change*" that "*influenced the municipality right away*" [ibid.].

The municipality was enthusiastic about its structuring through high level education, extensive political commitment and the zeal of participation. This led to the setting of high standards for political and administrative actions which in several ways was ground-breaking for local governing in Denmark [ibid.].

Figure 4.1 Map of Metropolitan Copenhagen showing Albertslund [Albertslund Kommune, 2005]

Town planning concept applied in the development of Albertslund was aimed at creating and encouraging close relationships between people in the housing areas (hence developing a strong communal spirit); participate actively in local life and to develop collective values for local networks [ibid.]. In theory, this concept could be linked to Emile Durkheim's concept of social cohesion, which advocates for concerns of communal welfare of citizens and to prevent polarisation of society. In this regard, management or governance at that era was purely welfare centred and based on social cohesion and non polarisation. If that was the case of urban governance in the 1960s, then what prevails in contemporary governance of Albertslund? Is the Municipality still providing welfare housing and other infrastructural facilities to its citizens?

The south of Albertslund was developed in mid 1960s with a design inspired by the English garden city concept. The garden city concept emerged at the start of the twentieth century in England in response to contaminated and condensed city at the genesis of industrialisation. The plan called for every house to have its own garden and the city to be encircled with farmlands to serve as food supply points for residents [ibid.]. One could speculate on the fact that traditional occupations in Abertslund before its development into an urban area was gardening and

agriculture. This idea tends to maintain the traditional heritage of the people through the introduction garden city concept of housing. In another development, the garden city was made to contain industrial plants, in order to decrease transport time to and from work. This principle was comprehended by the provision of "*low-dense*" estate [ibid.].

The development of South Albertslund within the entire townscape was successful with a total of two thousand houses which had all features of modern city planning. These features were as follows:

> "Separate sewerage systems (wastewater from the houses was transported through one pipe system and rain water from roofs and street through another)"; Separate traffic (motor traffic and pedestrians/cyclists apart); Green areas including channel systems integrated with the estates. The water to the channel systems came from caught rain water; Heat supply based on district heating" [ibid].

The above planning ideas were also employed in the entire development of the municipality. This planning features are have been maintained till date and can easily be observed when one is acquainted with the community. There is also another indication that urban development of Albertslund in the 1960s focused more on land use and physical planning.

In both theory and practice, management of Albertslund's urban development in the 1960s was largely within the government's domain. In other words, it was government regulated; thus policies were seen to emerge and administered from "*top-down rational planning*" approach "*in its rigid bureaucratic forms"* [Andersen, 1999 p.3, p.9]. This form of management has been a hallmark of Danish urban management since the nineteenth century [ibid.]. It was more of instrumental planning where government identified the needs of the community and hence established plans to provide them. The infrastructure development for citizens in the 1960s had been provided by government on welfare basis as opposed to today's form of governance which has been inspired by market driven global competitive economy. The following section presents urban development and governance transformation in Ørestad.

4.3 Urban development and governance in the Ørestad district

Over a decade ago, the Ørestad district was simply a bare land full of vegetations. However, there were plans in the 1990s by government authorities to develop this bare land into a new cityscape. This is known as the Ørestad project. The essence of this development was to give the metropolitan area of Copenhagen a new competitive edge in contemporary global competition. In

1996 a master plan was integrated into the municipal city plan of Copenhagen to develop Ørestad. This made Ørestad a newly created district within the Øresund[6] region of Denmark. The main players involved in the development of this place have been the Danish government; the private sector, the Copenhagen Municipal Authority; and the Ørestad Development Corporation (*Ørestadsselskabet*). The Ørestad district development is known to have emerged under a special Act of the Danish Parliament in 1992, and subsequently the Ørestad Development Corporation was formed in 1993 [Ørestadsselskabet, 2006, p.10].

The Ørestad Development Corporation is responsibility for the sale of lands and to develop the Ørestad district. Proceeds from the sale of lands were meant for funding the metro-line project [Ørestadsselskabet, 2007 p.1]. The metro-line was not only to provide transport infrastructure for the area but also to improve the transportation network of Copenhagen. Current plans are earmarked to extend the metro-line projects to other parts of Copenhagen within the possible future [ibid.].

The newly created Ørestad district is located in the South-eastern part of the Copenhagen Region. The district is to "*act as a modern equivalent of the old centre of Copenhagen, presenting an urban environment of high artistic value and good environmental qualities*" [EMAP Architecture, 1995][7]. The district spans over more than 5 kilometres from the boundaries of Copenhagen city and the airport. According to the Copenhagen Municipal Authority's official internet website, spatial planning of the Ørestad townscape emerged from an international architecture competition in 1994. The competition was won by a Finnish architectural firm, ARKKI and was charged to develop the master plan for Ørestad development [Ørestadsselskabet, 2007, p.3].

The development of Ørestad is ongoing and a long term project which is stipulated for about 30 years [Garlick, S. et al., 2006 p.15]. The district is divided into four areas. They are Ørestad city, Amager Fælled district, Ørestad Syd, and Ørestad Nord. Initial developments of the district were focused on Ørestad city and Ørestad Nord, but currently all divides of the district is an enclave of mix spatial functions such as residential blocks, business blocks or complexes, educational centres, culture and recreational spots, transport infrastructure and particularly the metro rail service, etc [Ørestadsselskabet, 2007 p.3].

[6] The Øresund region is a geographical area that spans between the metropolitan area of Copenhagen in Denamk and the Skåne region of Denmark. Between these two geo-political areas is the Øresund channel.
[7] See URL: http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m3575/is_n1180_v197/ai_17277350/pg_1

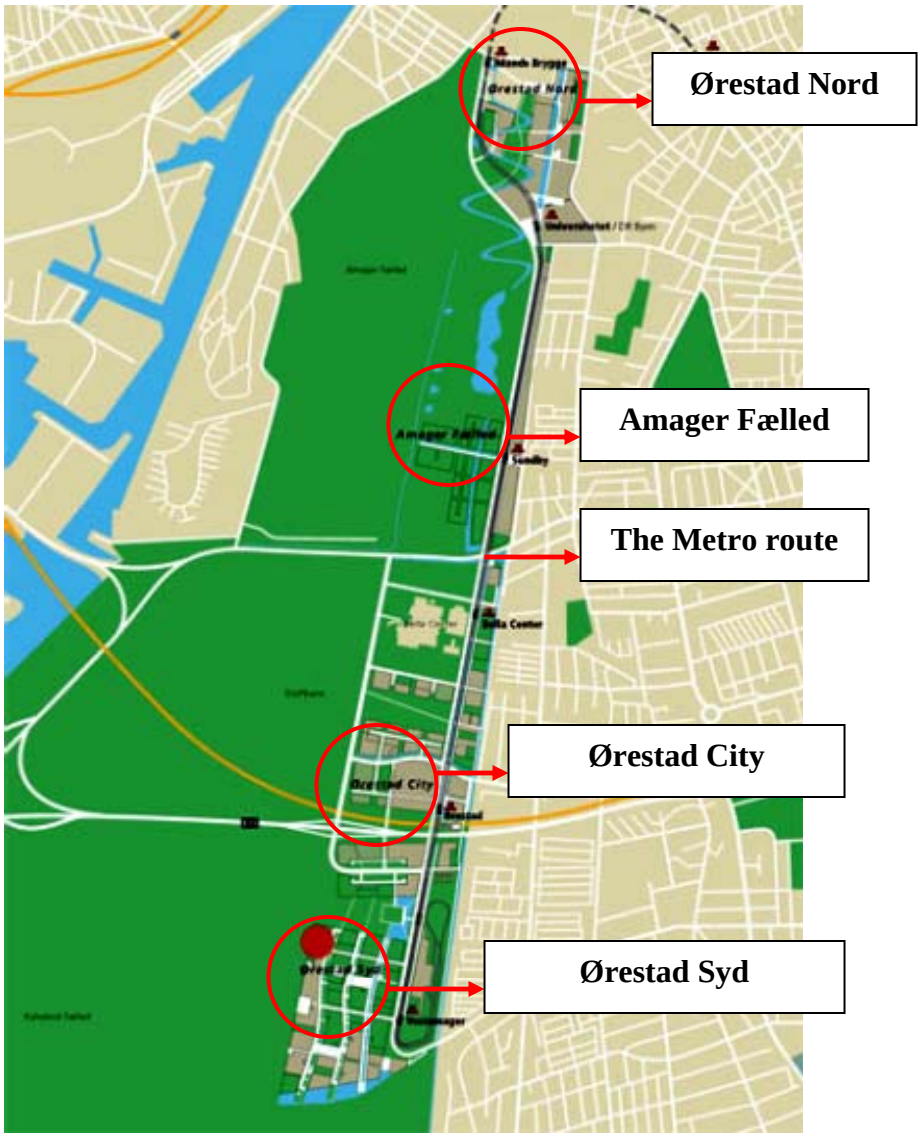

Figure 4.2 Map showing all four quarters of Ørestad and the Metro route [Ørestadsselskabet, 2007, p.3

In all, Ørestad has well developed infrastructure, and easy access to the central business district of Copenhagen, and Copenhagen Airport. This has made the district an attractive residential area, location for companies, institutions and students. Companies located in the area falls within the fields of life sciences, information technology and communication, and food industries. These companies tend to provide employment for people and also services to their clients.

Ørestad is therefore considered as a central business hub of the Øresund region; and also vibrant by virtue of its combination of businesses, residential housing, universities and cultural institutions. The quality of this district can be described as well planned taking into consideration

of its social, economic and environmental provisions. The overall objective of the master plan to transform Ørestad into a modern city is depicted by its internationally distinctive architecture [ibid.].

The thrust of Ørestad's development is designed to have a balanced blend of housing, business areas and other activities in the area in order to boost its attractiveness. In general, this signifies Ørestad and the Copenhagen region's desire to establish a competitive edge in contemporary global urban competition. In this regard, development of Ørestad represents one of Copenhagen's competitive products to sell on the global market.

Hansen, *et al* (2001) provides comprehensive details of urban development and governance on Copenhagen which will be explored in the remaining parts of this section in order to ascertain the actual situation taking place in Ørestad. They describe Copenhagen's considerable investments in the built environment as expected impetus to "*increase the region's attractiveness for international investment*" in other European cites such as "*Stockholm, Hamburg and Berlin*" [p.856]. The development of Ørestad can therefore be described as an edifice of urban quality in contemporary cityscape of Copenhagen. It is also a testimony of new wind of governance blowing in the region. Hansen, *et al.,* (2001) again emphasis that urban politics in Copenhagen has undergone changes in the last 20 years which involves three entangled inclinations. They describe these factors as follows:

> "First, urban political priorities have moved from an agenda of redistribution to an agenda of growth. Second, urban politics has shifted perspective from predominantly inward looking to a more outward looking approach. And third, private enterprise is to a greater extent included in decision-making, while the public sector has embraced entrepreneurial forms of organization and behaviour" [p.857]

These dynamics really indicates that urban governance in Copenhagen like many western societies have passed through the Keynesian-Fordist welfare, full employment managerial era of society into a post modernist period of interplay between the public and private sectors. That is a period where market led policies dominates governance instead of state regulations. The turn of urban governance in Copenhagen has been identified to have emerged in the late 1980s but took prominence in the 1990s [ibid.]. No wonder the Ørestad development project gained its establishment in the 1990s; hence to keep up with ideals of urban governance of that era.

The period of Ørestad district's development can therefore be described as contrary to the post-war urban government in Copenhagen which was formed mainly on political and administrative production of the welfare state. The state, county and municipal authorities were active in regulating the increasing built environment during the post war welfare period. This was carried out in accordance with the Town Planning Act of 1938 and the Regional Planning Act of 1949, and inspired by the 'Finger Plan'[8] of 1947 [ibid.].

Having discussed the trends of urban development and governance which has engulfed Copenhagen in general and in particular the Ørestad district, one has to look at some of the striking features that really led the region into its current governance state.

Copenhagen like other cities in Denmark and Europe were caught up in economic crises in the 1970s. The Danish government's "*efficiency and legitimacy of regime*" [Andersen, 1999, p.3] was tested by factors such as slackness of urban economy as a result of "*industrial decline and demographic changes, which eroded the tax-base" of the city*; *"powerful leftist forces and successful mobilization from new urban movements*" [ibid., p.9]. The latter is considered to have challenged the "*top-down style of planning and style of governance and mobilised for community based participatory urban regeneration*" [ibid., p.3]. Another economic problem which Copenhagen experienced between the 1970s and 1980s was high unemployment and lack of infrastructure investment. In this sense, the approach to development policies and governance was largely confronted by economic challenges and political agitations.

The recovery rate for Copenhagen in this crisis was very slow and thus continued into the 1980s. This compelled the Danish government to initiate new urban development policy to intervene in Copenhagen's crisis [Hansen, *et al*., p.857]. The situation demanded a new "*metropolitan strategic growth policy*" [Andersen, 1999, p.3]. Committees were set up to propose ways to improve economic development in the region. A total of three reports were issued by these committees. The implications of these reports were concern for a change in urban management. Practically, it was a national priority of shifting from government to governance [Hansen, *et al*., 857]. This changed the face of Copenhagen into pro-growth and development in order to lock horns with other competitors on both national and global scale. In other words, this development changed Copenhagen gradually into an entrepreneurial city as emphasised by Andersen (1999).

[8] See Andersen 1987; Hansen et al 2001p.857

Result of this initiative was the investment in mega projects such as the Øresund Bridge[9], the new metro-line and the development of Ørestad. One might conclude that these investments represent a welfare intervention by the state but in reality it is market driven to enhance regional competition. This development is described as "*Danish companion to London's Docklands*" [Hansen, *et al*., 2001 p.858]. In essence, it is an impetus to regenerate entrepreneurial development and the formation of cross-boarder region [ibid]. These mega projects have also emerged from the Øresund regional cooperation between Denmark and Sweden. The cross boarder urban development strategy was therefore considered as potential source of growth with Copenhagen serving as its pivotal point.

From a theoretical perspective, the Øresund regional initiative is classified from observation:

> "as general shift across Europe from traditional Keynesian-style, welfare oriented, redistributive, territorial policies based on large centrally managed financial transfers between regions, towards a more focused network-based, individualised, and inherently competitive planning for activating growth" [Herrschel, T. & Newmann, P., 2002 p. 75].

This observation also implies that urban socio-economic growth and competition has significant influence on contemporary urban governance. Development of Ørestad is also considered as paradigm shift in many ways. This is evident by the sale of public land in the area to finance the metro-line project by the Ørestad Development Corporation. In the past this project would have been financed by the government, hence being on record as the "*first of its kind in Denmark*" [Hansen, *et al*., 2001 p.858].

Taking all of the above into consideration one can conclude on a notion that the government in Danish context has become an entrepreneur. This is because the Danish state and Copenhagen Municipality owns shares in the Ørestad Development Corporation which is in charge of selling the Ørestad land to finance the metro project. If the Danish state, as well as the Copenhagen Municipality-a government authority owns of a private organisation, then it is justified in this context to consider the government as an entrepreneur. It is also a justification that generally, urban governance has taken entrepreneurial turn in the Copenhagen Municipality and Denmark. It is therefore a regime change from welfare to entrepreneurialism.

[9] A cross boarder bridge constructed to link the south most part of Sweden (Skåne region) with Copenhagen

4.4 Welfare and entrepreneurial regimes of Albertslund and Ørestad

Discussions so far on urban development and governance of Albertslund and Ørestad district can be identified as welfare and entrepreneurial regimes. The former regime is associated with Albertslund and the latter, Ørestad district. The cases of these two communities indicate social change or dynamics of urban development and governance. This has been outlined in the case of Albertslund's welfare regime in the 1960s and Orestad's entrepreneurial regime in recent times. The characteristics of these regimes could be traced to the theoretical analysis of Brenner (2004) as presented in the Chapter 3 of this research. The following is a schematic presentation of the welfare regime of Albertslund in the 1960s and the entrepreneurial regime of present day Ørestad:

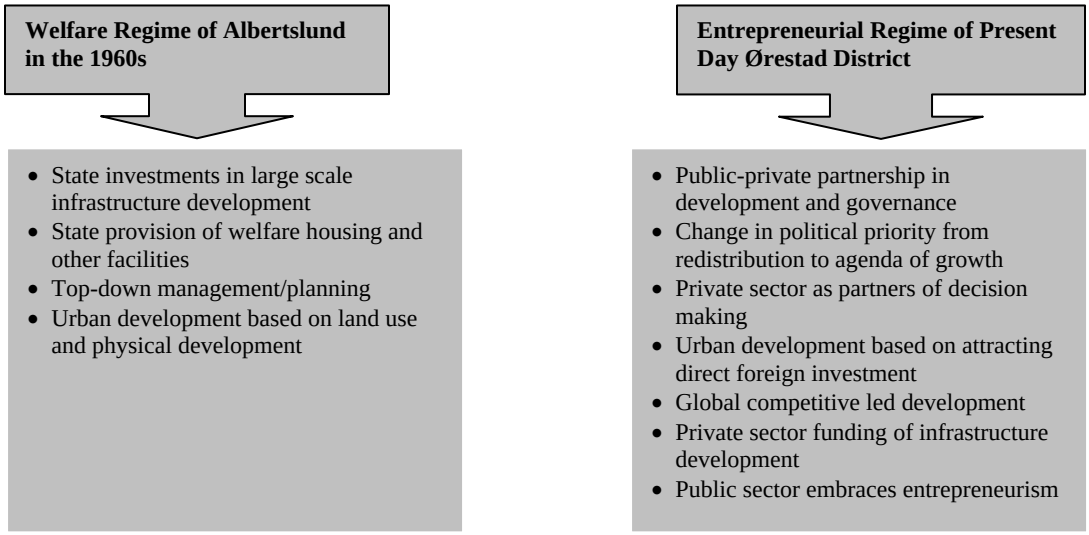

Figure 4.2 Summary of welfare and entrepreneurial regimes of Albertslund and Ørestad

The above schema indicates clearly two regimes of urban development and governance of different periods of time. They are also examples of dynamics of urban development and governance. Further analysis of entrepreneurial governance in Ørestad will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Analysis: Ørestad Development Corporation

5.1 Introduction

As part of efforts to answer the formulated research question and also work within the analytical framework, I have decided to analyse activities of the main stakeholders responsible for the development in the Ørestad district. The principal aim of this chapter is an attempt to address one of the issues stated in the analytical framework. That is to identify main actor(s) of decision-making in entrepreneurial governance.

Identifying the main actor(s) of governance in Ørestad is necessary because, it helps to understand how the governance process works. There were some discussions in the previous chapter (chapter 4) about the form of governance (management of Ørestad) and development (provision infrastructure) of Ørestad. Nonetheless, it is equally imperative to analyse the activities of stakeholders in order to generate more insights on the form of governance being manifested in Ørestad and how its implication on urban development works in practice. The source of empirical data for this analysis is taken from the Corporation's year 2005 annual report. In order to understand how the main actors responsible for governance and development functions in Ørestad; the following question has been selected in specific terms: *How is the Ørestad district managed*?

Results obtained from this question will be used in the discussion chapter to determine the extent to which the form of governance in the Ørestad district has impacted urban development in terms of housing, transport, education, business investment and job creation. This becomes necessary to draw an empirical distinction between an entrepreneurial and welfare approach to governance.

5.2 How is the Ørestad district managed?

5.2.1 Management

As discussed in the previous chapter, the primary function of the Ørestad Development Corporation is specifically planning, developing and sale of lands in the Ørestad district. It is also involved in the establishment of other mixed use infrastructure in the area including housing, transportation, and educational facilities. Most notable of its transport infrastructure is the Metro system. It is therefore obvious to note the Corporation is actively managing Ørestad.

The Ørestad Development Corporation has Board of Directors as well as a Board of Executives who see to its operations. The Board of Directors is made up of six members; three of them are appointed by the City of Copenhagen and the remaining three by the Ministry of Transport and Energy [ibid., p. 10]. Since the Corporation is responsible for planning of the area, the development plans of all divides of Ørestad are made by the City of Copenhagen "*on the basis of proposals laid down by the Ørestad Development Corporation*" [ibid, p.19]. This implies that governance in terms of decision-making are within the domains of the Corporation and the City of Copenhagen. It is not solely rested on the City of Copenhagen as a government authority but in connection with the Ørestad Development Corporation. The Corporation is seen as the main executor of the plans laid down for the development of Ørestad.

The Corporation also works in partnership with Frederiksbergbaneselskabet I/S, which is jointly owned by the City of Frederiksberg and the Ørestad Development Corporation to construct the second phase of the metro project. Another developing partner is the Østamagerbaneselskabet I/S, which is also owned by the Ørestad Development Corporation and Copenhagen County. The latter partnership is also based on developing the third phase of the metro [ibid., p.10]. This form of partnership indicates that the government is not directly involved in the governance process in terms of providing of the Metro transport facility. These companies have been established rather as self-governing entities to provide transport infrastructure for the area. This shows that the traditional form of direct governance process administered by the government/local government is not the norm in the development or provision of Ørestad's Metro transport infrastructure. The Frederiksbergbanaselskabet and Østamagerbaneselskabet companies also have Board of Directors. Each company's board is made up of four members appointed by the City of Frederiksberg and Copenhagen County [ibid., p.10].

The Ørestad Development Corporation could be classified as a self-governing entity due to the fact that it generates funds from its own sources to finance the development of the area. According to its 2005 annual report, new infrastructure is funded through "*value increases generated in the surroundings by the same infrastructure*" [ibid., p.11]. In practical terms, "*the Corporation raises loans to finance the infrastructure of Ørestad, the construction of the Metro and its operations and for financing its shares of expenses in Frederiksbergselskabet and in Østamagerbaneselskabet*" [ibid.]. The approach to financing projects is enshrined in the Ørestad Act and has been inspired by the British New Town Principle [ibid.].

Inferring to the New Town Principle, there is an indication that public funds are not directly used to finance development projects in the area but through the Corporation's own loan initiatives. In other words, financing development activities in Ørestad by the Ørestad Development Corporation does not involve the tax payers' money in principle. The Corporation therefore has to make profit from its investment activities to service these loans. The Corporation's profits are mainly through the sale of lands to prospective developers in the area. However, since the Corporation is jointly owned by the Danish national government and the City of Copenhagen, they are "*directly, unconditionally and jointly and severally liable for the Corporation's liabilities, including the loans raised by the Corporation*" [ibid., p.16].

Though the City of Copenhagen and the Danish government are liable to the Corporation's liabilities, it appears that their obligation to pay off the Corporation's debts might be the last option since the sale of lands continues and more profit are being made [ibid, p.9]. The Corporation's operation of the Metro transport facility has become a job opportunity for people. Specifically, the Ørestad Development Corporation, Frederiksbergbaneselskabet and Østamagerbaneselskabet share administration facilities and staff. The administration set up involves "*three business areas: Ørestad, Metro Engineering and Metro Operations*", which is estimated to employ approximately seventy employees [ibid., p.11]

The Ørestad Development Corporation has a subsidiary known as the *Ørestadsparkering*. The main task of Ørestadsparkering is to construct, finance and provide car parking services for motorist in the area. Activities of the Corporation towards the development of Ørestad can be seen to be focused on specialised division of task. That is where specific task are allocated to relevant organisations to execute.

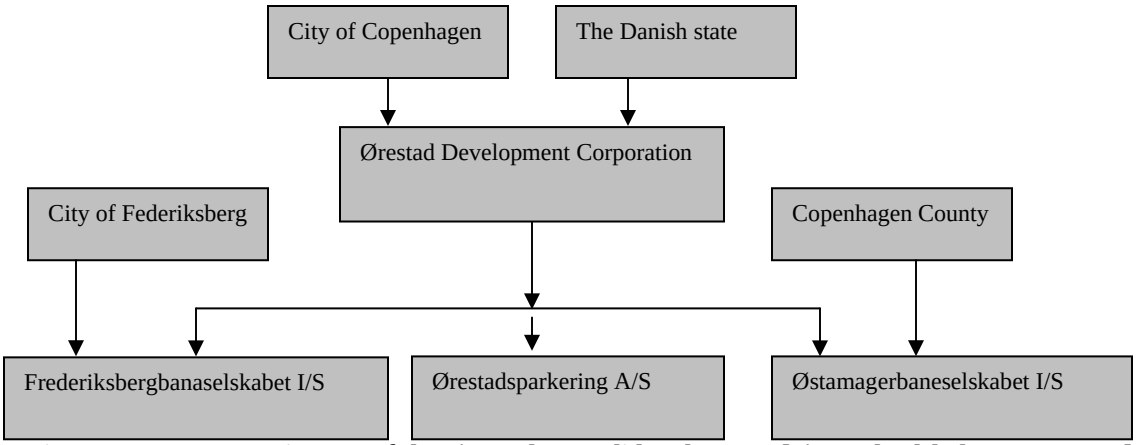

Figure 5.1 Structure Diagram of the Ørestad Consolidated Group [Ørestadsselskabet, 2006, p.12]

The figure above shows the institutional structure of actors involved in the management of Ørestad; with the Ørestad Development Corporation as the main actor in terms of coordinating the development of the area.

5.2.2 Development activities and public-private partnerships

The first phase of the Metro project has been completed and currently operating. Though the Ørestad Development Corporation is supposed to see to the operation and maintenance of the Metro, it has contracted out operations of the Metro's finance function to a private company known as Sund & Bælt Holding A/S [ibid., p.11]. The operation of the Metro has also been contracted to another private company known as Ansaldo [ibid., p.26].

Figure 5.2 The Ørestad Metro transpot [Ørestadsselskabet, n.d]

Apart from the Corporation's provision of the Metro service other development activities have been either carried out or yet to be done. The Corporation has established educational facilities such as day care centres, free schools and secondary schools. Plans are under way to establish more in the future. For instance the City of Copenhagen purchased a parcel of land in the area to build a school [ibid., p.22]. The Corporation and the City of Copenhagen intends to provide educational facilities jointly for the wider community of Ørestad. The Corporation has also given way for universities to be built to serves students of the area and beyond.

As part of the on going development project in Ørestad, the Corporation has earmarked land space of approximately 1.2 million square metres in the southern part of the area (Ørestad Syd) to accommodate businesses, institutions, shops and parking facilities. In general terms, organisations

and land developers based locally in Denmark and abroad have purchased land for the purposes of developing office spaces, houses, shops, etc. Development of these businesses, shops, institutions and parking facilities implies that on completion they have tendencies of increasing employment opportunities in the area. In this regard, the Corporation appears to coordinate with private companies and to ensure these development activities takes place. This process also indicates the corporation plays a very vital role to liaise with other companies and organisation to develop Ørestad. When all of these activities are taking in consideration; it is no wonder that the Corporation aims to make the Ørestad a living part of Copenhagen with a capacity to provide prospects for "*employees, students, residents, neighbours and visitors*" [ibid., p.22].

The Corporation also intend to mix housing and business in this area. However, the residential housing are planned to outnumber other facilities provided in some parts of the area [ibid., p.21]. When these houses are completed, the Corporation intend to transfer then to the City of Copenhagen and relevant house-owners' associations who will take charge of "*future operation and maintenance*" [ibid., p.22]. The housing facility in the end will be managed by both government authorities and the private sector in this regard. This also shows that the private sector also contributes to management of the area thus in association with the Corporation.

5.3 Conclusion

Lessons learnt from this analysis indicate that the management of the Ørestad is carried out by the Ørestad Development Corporation as the main agent of governance. However, operates with the local government, the state, local government funded independent organisations, subsidiaries of the Ørestad Development Corporation and the private sector. This has been evident in current and future plans regarding the provision of transportation, housing, educational facilities, businesses, and job creation. The following figure shows actors working towards the development of Ørestad.

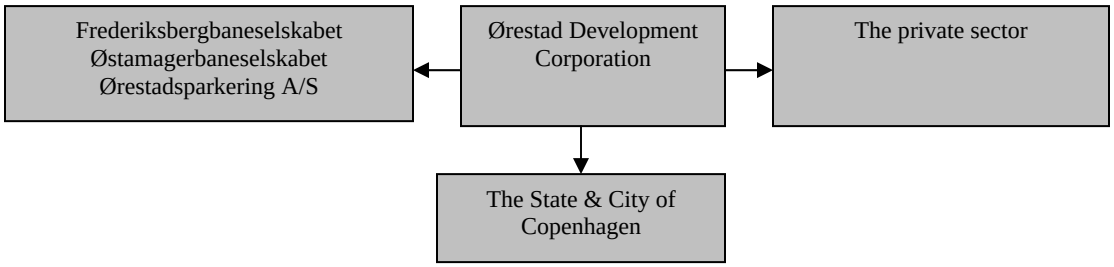

Figure 5.3 Summary of actors involved in the management of Ørestad

Chapter 6

Analysis of Expert Interviews on Albertslund and Ørestad

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse key findings obtained from interviews with urban planners of the Albertslund Municipality and officials of the City of Copenhagen's administration. The essence of this analysis is to outline the forms of urban governance practiced in Albertslund in the 1960s and that of present day Ørestad district.

However, the analysis on Ørestad would not be carried out in isolation but to cover the Municipality of Copenhagen in general. The reason is to offer a wider scope of understanding of governance and development taking place in Ørestad, which is a district within the Municipality of Copenhagen. In this view, the analysis attempts to show how the governance process of Copenhagen can be identified in Ørestad; taking into consideration local government policies of the municipality.

In addition to outlining the forms of governance in the context of Albertslund and Ørestad; their implications on urban developments will also be laid bare in order to generate a clear understanding of how these forms of governance works in these case study areas. In specific terms, the implications of urban governance on development will be analysed within the framework of the following forms of development: housing, transportation, education, business investment and job creation. The analysis will therefore be carried out in two parts. The first part is about Albertslund Municipality, and the second is Ørestad District with emphasis on the Municipality of Copenhagen.

Analysis on Albertslund will be based on the following sets of questions:

- What form of governance is characterised with Albertslund in the 1960s?
- What was the framework for urban development in Albertslund in the 1960s?

The essence of addressing these questions is to obtain facts on how educational, transportation, housing facilities, business and employment have been provided in the community in the 1960s. This includes the identification of policy framework behind the provision of these facilities for the community. In the other words, the goals set by the local authority to provide these facilities to residents of Albertslund.

The case of Ørestad is also based on the following:

- What form of governance is characterised with Ørestad?
- What is the framework for urban development in Ørestad?

These questions are set to provide facts on how educational, transportation, housing facilities, business and employment are provided, and the policy framework behind these developments.

6.2 What form of governance is characterised with Albertslund in the 1960s?

The discussion of governance practices associated with Albertslund in the 1960s is actually not new in this research so far. Much of that has been elaborated in Chapter 4, but the focus of this chapter is to show in detail how this form of governance actually functions in relation to urban development. That is how government authorities in Albertslund provided facilities such as housing, education, transportation to the residents as well as the businesses and employment.

- ***Housing***

Bjöng Jensen, an urban planner at the Technical and Planning Administration, Albertslund Municipality provides insights on how Albertslund had been developed when interviewed. He points out the rational for some development activities and visions of the municipality. According to Bjöng Jensen the provision of social housing by the government has been the main feature for development in Albertslund at the time of its establishment in the 1960s and subsequently in the 1970s.

Majken Rhod Larsen a Project Leader at the Technical and Planning Administration, Albertslund Municipality also provided additional information on housing. She said that some of the houses were built by private developers but the local authority ensured that rents on these houses were affordable for residents. The local authority offered some assistance to these private developers in order to prevent high rents on houses. In this regard, lands were offered free of charge to these private developers for the construction of houses. However, agreement between these private developers and the local authorities of Albertslund was for the government to reclaim the lands after a period of time. This means ownership of the lands shall be returned to the municipality. Reading in between the lines, it could be concluded that housing facilities in the 1960s and 1970s in Albertslund was largely a public good offered by the local government. The private sector had

very little control over the supply of houses and let alone make it expensive for consumers or residents in the area.

- ***Education***

Since the establishment of Albertslund, educational facilities have been made available for the community by the local government. The growth of the community in terms of population made it necessary for the local authority to provide more educational facilities. According to Björg Jensen "*the population grew quite intensive in those years; and that meant the city needed to establish a lot of schools, and day care institutions*" [Jensen, 2007:2]. This indicates that the local authority had concerns for the growing population and therefore had to act to meet the demand of the community. He also mentioned that these facilities have been financed by the local government till date, and "*there is no private school in Albertslund*" [Jensen, 2007:2]. Apart from the government's funding for schools in the community, tuition fees have been free of charge till date. The only exception is the day care institutions where parents had to pay for their children. However, low income earners received support from the local government or paid nothing in some cases when they take their children to school. This shows that provision of schools and educational facilities at that time was based strongly on welfare.

- ***Transportation***

Public transport has also been provided for the community since the 1960s. The S-train (*S-tog*) service was established in Albertslund at that time [Jensen, 2007:2]. The local authority ensures that residents of the area had access to transports facilities such as trains and buses. The provision and management of train services have been carried out by the national government since its introduction in the community in the 1960s. The state owned company in charge of the trains is the Denmark Railway Corporation (*DSB*[10]). The bus services were also managed by the local authorities [Jensen, 2007:17].

- ***Business investment & Job creation***

In the 1960s and 1970s Albertslund was blessed with many factories that produced different goods, however economic activities of recent times are focused on services [Jensen, 2007:13]. These factories provided job opportunities residents of Albertslund. The existence of these factories shows development of the area did not focused only on housing, education and transport

[10] DSB is the abbreviation for the Denmark Railway Corporation in Danish language.

as outlined so far but also took into consideration economic activities. That is factories to produce goods and also to create job opportunities for residents of the community.

Those factories were established and managed by private investors. [Jensen, 2007:14]. This shows that government did not establish companies to provide jobs. However, the local government also laid the foundations for these investors to establish factories which created jobs for residents. This is evident by the sale of local government lands to investors to build factories [Jensen, 2007:15]. Though these factories were not owned by the local government, it seems to have played a major role in the provision of job opportunities to residents of Albertslund.

All of the above shows the form of governance practiced in Albertslund in the 1960s and how it manifested in the area's development. The government/local government was very instrumental in the management or provision of development facilities to the citizens of the community. In theory, this form of governance is largely welfare; taking into consideration the roles of the local government in the provision of the above facilities to residents of the community. Most striking among the facilities provided in the community is the social housing. Bjöng Jensen emphasised in the interview that "*social housing in Albertslund is currently about 60% of the entire housing and that is quite a lot in Denmark*" [Jensen, 2007:60]. This implies that Albertslund has significantly a high number of social housing compared to most communities in the country. In theory this really shows that development of Albertslund in that era was based on welfare governance. That is when governments funded and managed most urban infrastructural developments.

6.3 What was the framework for urban development in Albertslund in the 1960s?

Recounting on what Bjöng Jensen mentioned earlier, schools have been established by the local government and also offers free tuition for pupils and students. He also makes mention of social housing for the people as well as transport facilities made available by the government. The role of the private sector in this form of governance was minimal in the provision of social amenities except for few houses which were constructed by private developers. Even that, the local government ensured those houses were affordable for consumers. Most of the infrastructure had been established with state funding in the interest of citizens.

When I asked Bjöng Jensen specifically in the interview what was the Albertslund Municipality's policy framework towards the provision of these facilities for the community in the past, he said

the Mayor's "*goal is to broaden the municipality to allow people to live also here even if they are not that wealthy*" [Jensen, 2007:31]. This statement really implies that politically, the local government authority appears to have a strong concern for the citizens' social welfare. It is therefore a community that opens it doors to people; even the less affluent. Though these views reflects the realities of welfare governance in Albertslund, does it imply that other forms of governance like entrepreneurial approach has no concern for citizens' welfare or low income earners in society? This will however, be left for discussion in later chapter of this research. Having identified the form of governance characterised with Albertslund and the framework for its development in the 1960s, the next part will be focused on Ørestad in recent times.

6.4 What form of governance is characterised with Ørestad?

In this section, analysis of interview with Jesper Buch Jacobsen, a Senior Advisor at the Finance Administration, City of Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune), and Nicolai Leth Nielsen, Special Consultant at the Finance Administration, City of Copenhagen is also presented. These officials offered comprehensive information on the form of governance and development taking place Copenhagen and Ørestad in particular.

In relation to the form of governance characterised with Ørestad, Jesper Buch Jacobsen categorically laid emphasis on the fact that "*the City of Copenhagen doesn't have really a different way of working with Ørestad from the rest of Copenhagen*" [Jacobsen, 2007:45]. This implies that the policies governing City of Copenhagen applies to the Ørestad district; except for the development of Ørestad which is placed in the hands of the Ørestad Development Corporation. Nonetheless the Corporation does not work in isolation. This is evident by the fact that:

> "the city is responsible for making zoning laws for the area. The city council decides on what kind of housing can be built in a certain part of Ørestad, what kind of business, retail shops and so on" [Jacobsen, 2007:45].

This means that plans are made by the local authorities in relation to the physical development of Ørestad but it is the duty of the Ørestad Development Corporation to execute these plans. This becomes a coordinated and integrated planning approach to development of Ørestad between the local government authority and the Ørestad Development Corporation [Jacobsen, 2007:53].

Having the above as a background; details on the form of governance characterised with Ørestad in particular and the Municipality of Copenhagen in general is presented. This will be in terms of provisions of housing, transportation, educational, business investments and job creation.

- ***Housing***

According to Jesper Buch Jacobsen housing facilities in Copenhagen is provided by private developers/investors and therefore the local authority does not build them for the public. However, the local authority provides permission for these developers to put up houses and demands that certain percentage of houses earmarked for construction should be low rent housing [Jacobsen, 2007: 2]. This regulation is also applied in Ørestad where a percentage of housing developments should be low rent housing [Jacobsen, 2007:49]. The reason for this regulation is to ensure that low income earners can afford to rent houses in the area [Jacobsen, 2007: 2]. Nicolai Leth Nielsen also confirms that housing in Ørestad is owned by private companies but include some social housing. "*However the social housing is just a minor part today*" [Nielsen, 2007:62]. This indicates that housing facilities in Ørestad are largely private goods since they are owned by private developers/investors.

The issue of low rent housing for people seems to be of great political concern within the Municipality of Copenhagen. I reckon this as the local authority's fear of the city becoming gentrified as a result of high rents and cost of houses. Why do I say so? I learnt from the interview that one of the campaign messages of Ritt Bjerregaard, the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen is to build low cost housing for people in the city. This concern has come about as result of growing high prices on housing in the city. The implication is that only the affluent can live in Copenhagen in general and therefore the need to make it possible for "*middle income and low income earners to live in the city*" is imminent [Jacobsen, 2007:2]. However, Jesper Buch Jacobsen remarks that this might not be an easy task for the Mayor to achieve. He states:

> "but it is difficult because the housing market in Denmark and Copenhagen is private housing market…… so it is not the city who builds these houses…. so she has to have an agreement with the private investors and builders to also build low rent housing" [Jacobsen, 2007:2].

A similar remark was also made by Nicolai Leth Nielsen on the issue of low rent housing. He states:

> The mayor of Copenhagen will want to have more dwellings at cheap prices but you need to sell for the market price and that it is quite difficult in Ørestad. And she of course represents the all of the local authorities but we also need to agree with the government so she cannot just enforce it [Nielsen, 2007:64].

The implication of Nicolai Leth Nielsen's statement is that generally, if people are going to have low prices on housing in Ørestad, there has to be some negotiations between the local government

and the housing developers. This is because in the absence of such interventions, the market forces will determine the prices of houses which will be relatively high considering the value of Ørestad. The value of Ørestad will surely influence prices on houses by virtue of it being a new district in the Municipality of Copenhagen, its proximity to the Copenhagen Airport, its location for prominent foreign and local business complexes and also within the Øresund region.

This means that many low income earners may have no residential accommodations in Ørestad. The reasons are obvious in the sense that there are few social housing facilities, and also rents and cost of houses will be very competitive on the market. Though the local authority demands a percentage of low income housing to be established by investors in the area, it might not serve the interest of all since the prices of houses or rents keep increasing in the city. It should also be noted that these houses are not owned by the state/local government but private owners, so the local authority cannot fix prices on these houses to meet the pockets of everyone. This situation could only be reversed when there is a general fall of prices in the housing market or some sort of government intervention as stated earlier.

- ***Transportatio*n**

The provision of transport facilities appears in different forms in the Municipality of Copenhagen. Train facilities, services, and funding are the responsibility of the national government [Jacobsen, 2007:6]. In addition to the trains is the Metro which tours through Ørestad and other areas within the Municipality of Copenhagen. It should be noted that in chapters 4 and 5 the Metro transport service is identified to be funded by the Ørestad Development Corporation which is jointly owned by the City of Copenhagen and the State of Denmark. The difference is that the national government finances the trains directly, while the Metro is funded by the Ørestad Development Corporation through proceeds from the sale of government lands in Ørestad as stated before.

On the other hand, Jesper Buch Jacobsen informs that bus services are not provided directly by the government. He states categorically that "*buses are not the responsibility of the municipality but the entire metropolitan region of Copenhagen*[11]*. There is a corporation and a joint company that runs the buses in the entire region*. [Jacobsen, 2007:6]. This shows that bus services provided in Ørestad falls under this scheme. In specific terms, "*it is private companies who run the buses*

[11] In order not for readers to get confused, I will like to emphasise that Copenhagen is a metropolitan region; and within this region is the city or Copenhagen Municipality, which the Ørestad district is part of. In other words, the Ørestad district is under the control or jurisdiction of the Copenhagen Municipality.

but they make a contract with the regional authorities" [Jacobsen, 2007:8]. Taking all of the above issues into consideration, the provision of transport facilities could be described as a feature of sole sponsorship and management by the state on one hand, and on the other is public-private partnership. In this sense, the state does not take full responsibility of providing public transport but through other means such as partnership with the private companies and also the creation of an independent organisation like the Ørestad Development Corporation.

- ***Education***

It was also revealed in the interview that provisions of schools in the entire Municipality of Copenhagen are the responsibility of the local government. Schools are offered free of charge to school goers. This also applies to Ørestad since it falls under the municipality. However, there was a revelation that schools were expensive to run.

> "The schools, elementary schools have to get new educational materials, new electronic equipment, new computers and so on but it is an expensive area. There is a discussion in Copenhagen that some times educational materials used in the schools are not up to date and of course expensive. Sometimes its usage is for too long time ….."[Jacobsen, 2007:16].

Educational facilities can therefore be classified as public good in this regard. This is because the private sector has no hand in terms of its establishment, finance, and maintenance. It is purely government's responsibility.

- ***Business***

Business investment is equally important as the provision of housing, transportation and schools to the City of Copenhagen and its new district, Ørestad. The City of Copenhagen has put in measures in place to promote and attract business investment. One of the views that emerged about business investments were as follows:

> "We have a number of organisations outside the city administration which are responsible for attracting business investments and also to develop new businesses here in Copenhagen. We have an entrepreneur organisation which promotes entrepreneurship in the city of Copenhagen. They advice and offer courses for people who want to start their own business. So that is an independent organisation which is co-financed by the City of Copenhagen. We have that on one hand to take care of new companies in Copenhagen that is entrepreneurs. Then we have another independent organisation called 'Copenhagen Capacity' which attracts foreign investment or companies. It is also an independent organisation co-financed by the City of Copenhagen" [Jacobsen, 2007:20].

In addition to the above, Jesper Buch Jacobsen informs that even though these independent organisations are financed by the local government:

> "They are not part of the city hall administration. We have the same kind of organisation in the tourism sector which is also an independent organisation in Copenhagen which attracts tourism to Copenhagen. The reason for these activities to be placed in independent organisations is to have more independent professional way of working in the area. They are financed completely by the regional authorities. The entrepreneurship is financed jointly by the City of Copenhagen and the Municipality of Fredriksberg, while Copenhagen Capacity is financed by the regions surrounding Copenhagen." [Jacobsen, 2007:24]

What does it mean when the local government invest so much in these organisations to attract and develop business into the Copenhagen region? This shows that the city's economic development depends so much on these businesses. The local government is not focused on developing the area alone but rather attracting investors to jointly undertake the development. This initiative can be interpreted as public-private partnership in governance.

Further revelations by Jesper Buch Jacobsen on businesses attracted to Copenhagen are the upsurge of creative industries such as design, fashion, music, and computer games. There are also service industries, biotech and Information Communication and Telecommunications (ICT). The following are his words:

> "I think in later years, since the mid 90s old industrial productions have moved out of Copenhagen just as lot of other capitals. So there is a lot of services in Copenhagen, you know accountants, lawyers management consultants and so on. That is bulk. The financial sector is to strong in Copenhagen, but there is also a number of the biotech companies. We have some of the big hospitals in Copenhagen, and some of the biotech companies will like to have joint projects with the hospitals, so we have a number of that in Copenhagen and the metropolitan region. Not just wildering the city limit but the entire region of Copenhagen. You know there are a number of biotech companies. We have ICT companies also number of headquarters in Copenhagen. Also a lot of small ICT companies throughout Copenhagen. And particularly in the later years, there has been a focus on Copenhagen on the creative industries like design, fashion, music, computer games and so on" [Jacobsen, 2007:28].

Another interesting revelation was that all of these companies are private. This revelation led to the question of why the government was not creating its own industries. Reasons offered to this question were that these private companies created jobs for people and also generate tax revenues for the City of Copenhagen. Additional reason was the creative industries - they are seen to "*contribute to adding a certain atmosphere to the city*" [Jacobsen, 2007:33]. This statement was clarified on the basis that activities within the fashion industry could be a source for tourist attractions. For instance when there are fashion shows or fashion parade. Such developments are seen to make Copenhagen a more exciting place to live in and to attract visitors.

The promotion of Copenhagen in general and its new district of Ørestad to attract business investments could be seen to be carried out by those independent organisations set up be the City of Copenhagen. However, Jesper Buch Jacobsen makes it clear that even though the City of Copenhagen makes laws to govern Ørestad; the main task of attracting investors to the area and building new houses among others is the responsibility of the Ørestad Development Corporation [Jacobsen, 2007: 45]. This implies that largely, the Ørestad Development Corporation does not establish business, but rather attracts private investors to locate businesses there. This could be seen mainly through the sale of lands and building permits to these investors. This point could be substantiated on the fact that if the Ørestad development Corporation does not make these lands available to investors, then obviously business would have to be located elsewhere.

Job Creation

Companies located within the Municipality of Copenhagen provide jobs for people. On the other hand, the City of Copenhagen assists the unemployed by finding them job opportunities. In this regard, the City of Copenhagen coordinates with private firms to offer the unemployed job opportunities. In some cases, people are remunerated by the City of Copenhagen over a length of time when the local government finds them jobs. Thus the firms only provide them the jobs while the City of Copenhagen pays their wages. This is seen as a motivation for these firms to keep people in employment [Jacobsen, 2007:35]. This form of governance is an indication that the local government engages in partnership with the private sector to provide job opportunities for people. Job opportunities in the city could therefore be seen in two ways. That is direct employment from private firms, and also through arrangement between the local government authority and private firms. In this view, resident of Ørestad may have the opportunity to get direct employment from companies located in the area or through an arrangement between the local government authority and companies.

6.5 What is the framework for urban development in Ørestad?

The framework of urban development in Ørestad is viewed from a broader perspective on Copenhagen. A number of issues learnt from the interview indicate that current era of globalisation and competition tends to influence the framework of urban development in Copenhagen and for that matter Ørestad. From a political perspective, the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen is interested in the city having low rent housing to avoid the situation where only the rich could afford to live in the city [Jacobsen, 2007:39]. In this regard, the framework for housing

development is aim at having residential facilities for all social groups of people. This vision tends to make the municipality and Ørestad in particular attractive for people to live in.

More so development activities in Copenhagen are aimed at having "*a lot of life*" thereby making the city "*interesting, exciting attractive and competitive*" [Jacobsen, 2007:39]. In this sense, the provision of housing, transportation, educational facilities, jobs and business investments among others tend to inject life into the city. The provisions of these developments are not meant only to serve the social and economic interest of people but also to make the city globally competitive.

Another important framework adopted towards the development of Ørestad is the mix use planning approach. This is aimed at injecting life into the area. This is evident by the existence of businesses, educational facilities, residential facilities all mixed in the area. In this sense, there would be constant activities in the area as compared to the situation where people only come to Ørestad and work. This will lead to a situation where the area becomes dead after working hours. The mix use activities therefore generate constant life around the clock for people [Jacobsen, 2007:39]. On large a scale, the framework for development in Ørestad can be classified as making the area globally competitive in the context of mix use activities. This implies that even though development activities in Ørestad appears in physical infrastructure provisions in terms of functions, the area has become a producing, consuming, recreational, and attractive place of residence. This trends to indicate theoretically how globalisation influences current development of places.

6.6 Summary and Conclusion

The form of urban governance practised in Albertslund in the past has been laid bare. The government/local government have been very dominant in the management of the area. Provisions of housing, transportation and education have widely been provided by the government. Therefore showing a very minimal feature of entrepreneurs/market led development in the area. However, the business investment and job creation was largely private since industries located in the area at that time were private. The framework for development of Albertslund in the 1960s has also been identified to be based on largely on social welfare.

With respect to Ørestad, the form of governance has been widely dominated by the private sector. This has been evident by private business investments, private sector employments, and housing.

Transportation has also been a feature of public-private partnership, but educational facilities have provided solely by the government. However, despite the wider involvement of the private sector in the governance of the area, the government also exercises collaborations and checks on the private sector. In theory, this could be seen as clear characteristic of entrepreneurial governance which has the government and private sectors as main players. The framework for development has also been set up to make Ørestad and the City of Copenhagen in general globally competitive.

Chapter 7

Discussion

7.1 General aims

In the previous chapter, key findings regarding qualitative analysis of interviews with local government officials of Albertslund and Ørestad have been presented. The aim of this chapter is to answer the research question formulated in chapter 1. This will be carried out through a discussion, which focuses mainly on a critically examination of the key findings presented in Chapter 6. The examination will be carried out in relation to the theoretical framework presented in chapter 3 and will also overlap to reflect on issues discussed in chapters 2, 4 and 5.

In retrospect, the overall focus of this research is to evaluate the different forms of governance and their implications on urban development pertaining to Albertslund at the time of its establishment from the scratch in the 1960s as a municipality, and the on-going developments in the Municipality of Copenhagen's new district, Ørestad. The answer to the research will therefore show the forms of governance related to these cases study areas and also identify some of their consequences. Recommendations on some of the negative consequences identified shall be made in the next chapter. This chapter will also serve as a point to substantiate some of the theoretical explanations associated with urban governance of western Europe in the 1960s and present day. The above issues will be determined from the different forms of governance associated with the following subjects:

- Housing
- Transportation
- Education
- Business investments
- Job creation

Each subject will be discussed in relation to the case study areas.

7.2 Housing in Albertslund and Ørestad

Maslow (1954) identifies shelter in his theory of 'Hierarchy of Needs' as one of the physiological needs of people. This means that shelter has a significant function in the lives of people. Housing facilities in every society appears to be of concern to not only individual citizens but also to

governments. What is of interest now is how housing facilities are managed or provided for citizens to shelter themselves.

- **Albetslund**

In Albertslund, finding of this research indicates that housing was largely a feature of social welfare in the 1960s. Most houses constructed in the 1960s and 1970s were funded and provided by the Danish government. In theoretical perspective, this form of governance could be related to governments' avoidance of uneven development as emphasised in Brenner (2004) or creation of gaps between the rich and poor. It also exemplifies the government's prevention of social exclusion and polarisation with regards to the pro-welfare housing for the residents of the area. This form of welfare governance can be referred to as "*collective consumption*" [Brenner, 2004, p. 479]. The establishment of social housing in Albertslund in the 1960s and 1970s signifies clearly the era in which governments in western Europe were engaged in establishing large scale infrastructure, cf. section 3.2. The form of governance on housing was government regulated; thus policies were seen to emerge and administered from "top-down rational planning" approach, cf. section 4.2.

Despite the dominance of social housing in Albertslund in the 1960s and 1970s, it has been identified in this research that some houses were constructed by private investors. This raises a question in regards to whether welfare governance was strictly the order of that era. There is an implication that some level of market led development in the housing sector was available at that time. However, the magnitude of this form of market led development cannot be substantiated significantly in this research. This is in view of the fact that there is no data collected in this research to determine how significant these non-social houses were in terms of numbers. This could be an issue for further investigation.

Nonetheless, it could be substantiated that though some houses were constructed by private developers, the investors received support from the local government in terms of free parcels of land. The provisions of free lands to these investors were aimed at making residential facilities affordable for all citizens of the area. This policy comes back to the social welfare ideals of avoiding uneven development and in the area; because the absence of government interventions or support might raise the possibility of having expensive houses in the area. The consequences could be gentrification and hence social exclusion and polarisation.

In this regard, social housing funded by the government remains a significant characteristic of housing in Albertslund at the time of its establishment as a municipality. Even though the fact of government's dominance in providing houses has been established as the main feature of governance in Albertslund, it can be concluded as well that there was a little degree of pubic-private partnership. This is evident by the facts that the local government's offered lands free of charge to private housing developers to build apartments for renting.

- **Ørestad**

Housing in Ørestad has been found in this research to be largely characterised by private housing. Most residential houses have been constructed by private developers or entrepreneurs. This implies that houses are private goods whose prices are determined by the market forces. The state/local government cannot determine the prices or rents on houses since they are not public goods. Apart from the issue of rents and prices of houses, the private sector has been identified as agent of governance by virtue of their contributions to the development of housing. In contrast to Albertslund in the 1960s, the government was the main agent of governance in the housing sector. That is through the construction and finance of social housing. In relation to Ørestad, the private sector is the main player in terms of finance and provision of housing. Theoretically, current development of housing in Ørestad is recognised as a new era of governance where the private sector plays significant roles in governance, cf. section 3.4.

Even though houses are constructed by private developers in Ørestad, there is some coordination or collaboration between the local government and the private sector towards the provision of houses in Ørestad. This is by virtue of these private housing investors' compliance to the local government's regulations of having a percentage of social housing built in Ørestad. This tends to show the sort of public-private partnership that exists in Ørestad with regards to housing. The sale of public lands to these housing developers can also be seen as a gesture of public-private partnership towards the development of the area.

However, the private sector's role in the governance of Ørestad has a limitation. This is in the sense that the local government demands a percentage of the houses be social housing. This indicates that private investors do not have full control on the number of houses they put up. Nonetheless, social housing in Ørestad as of now are said to be few in the area, so the dominance of the private sector in the production of houses is very significant.

I wish to argue on the premise that since there a few social housing in Ørestad, there could be possible incidence of social exclusion and polarisation in the area. In reference to the Mayor of Copenhagen's advocacy to have more low rent housing in Copenhagen, there is a clear indication from this concern that rents/cost of houses are expensive in Ørestad. The issue now is how many low or middle income earners can afford to reside in Ørestad with such high cost of houses? It is obvious that the area could be dominated mostly by high income earners. Such a development leads one to conclude that entrepreneurial governance does not really serves the interest of all in society but rather the affluent. This is because in a typical welfare regime like Albertslund in the 1960s, most of the houses were available for all social classes and thus prevented social exclusion and polarisation.

In Ørestad, housing is placed in the hands of the private sector. More so the cost of housing is at market prices and therefore makes it a bit problematic for all persons to reside in Ørestad under an entrepreneurial regime of governance. Neil Brenner in his discussion on glocalisation strategies adopted by nations in the postFordist era identified the conflict of "*institutional reforms to trigger an upscaling of the problems of uneven development, intensified sociospatial inequality*" [Brenner, 2004, p.480]. I presume what Neil Brenner identifies above is taking place in Ørestad in regards to the high cost of houses and its consequences.

The institutional reform as in the case of Copenhagen Municipality/ Ørestad is the turn from welfare to entrepreneurial governance. This is evident by the form of governance in Ørestad where the dominance of non-state owned houses is suspected of creating uneven development and social inequality. This tends to show that entrepreneur approach to governance have some negative consequences in the housing sector.

Though the argument of social exclusion in regards to the uneven residential opportunities for all social classes have been outline above, there could also be a counter argument. The reason is; there is lack of substantial data in this research to prove that Ørestad is being gentrified and leading to social exclusion and polarisation as a result high prices on houses. This could only be proved when there is available date showing all the classes of people desiring to reside in that area, and more so identification of all the social groups of people living there. The fact that very few social /low rent houses exist in the area might not be enough to justify that the place is being gentrified and thus social exclusion and polarisation exist. It would be useful if further studies could be carried out on this argument in the future.

Nonetheless, the provision of housing by private investors can also not be ruled out to suggest that prices are high in the area and could be a source of social exclusion and polarisation. At least the concern for the Mayor of Copenhagen to have low cost houses in the Municipality is a case to prove that housing is very expensive in Ørestad. With reference to Albertslund the 1960s lands were offered free of charge to private developers to build houses with the view of making rents cheep and affordable to all. This is not the case of Ørestad, where the lands are sold to developers at market prices. In this sense, the potential to have high cost of rents/prices on houses could be high; hence the possibility of social exclusion and polarisation in the housing sector in Ørestad becomes a reality. This will therefore substantiate the notion among theorist that entrepreneurial governance promotes social exclusion, polarisation and uneven development.

7.3 Transportation in Albetslund and Ørestad

- **Albertslund**

The provision and funding of public transport system in Albertslund during the 1960s could be characterised as the period when governments in western Europe funded most infrastructural projects as emphasised in Brenner (2004). This indicates the welfare contributions of the state to residents of Albertslund. In this regard, the form of governance associated with transportation in Albertslund was purely based on welfare provided by the state, cf. section 3.2. The provision of transport facilities by the state is therefore an equal opportunity for residents' to access public transport in the area. It is also a sign of even development, since the transport facilities are made available for all to enjoy in the area.

- **Ørestad**

The form of governance identified in the previous chapter to be associated with public transport in Ørestad is characterised by mosaic of actors involving the government, the private sector and independent governmental organisation. Current developments of the transport sector in Ørestad are clear indication of public-private partnership which is a characteristic of entrepreneurial governance. In this regard, government is not the sole financier and provider of public transport facilities in Ørestad. The private sector has a stake in governance in this sector. More so the independent organisation (Ørestad Development Corporation) whose responsibility is to provide the Metro infrastructure and service also has a stake in the management of the transport sector in Ørestad.

What is interesting about the form of governance related to the transport sector in Ørestad is about the Metro. It appears quite unique in the sense that government does not directly fund the Metro but rather forms an independent organisation to fund the Metro through the sale of public lands. This approach in my estimation is a competitive advantage for the Municipality of Copenhagen over some European cities. It is a venture that puts Copenhagen on the global competitive market.

The Metro facility itself might not be to unique compared with similar transport facilities in Europe and beyond. However, the mode of management is what gives the area and the municipality an edge over other places. It could be recalled in chapter 5 that the Ørestad Development Corporation has contracted out the finance function and operation of the Metro to some private companies. This approach sort of widens the management network of providing the Metro service to the public. It also shows the reality of private partnership in governance with respect to the transport sector. Such ventures in my judgement promotes and efficiency in the Metro service delivery because these companies may have the professional acumen to deliver. Through such ventures the development visions for the area is also sustained due to the sort of management and professionalism put in place by private sector.

Despite the unusual nature of financing the Metro compared with other transport facilities in the area, it raises a question once more about whether the state has become an entrepreneur it self? From a more general perspective it appears that the state has become an entrepreneur by making money through the sale of lands which is a state asset to finance the Metro in Ørestad. All the same, it could be argued that proceeds from the sale of lands are used for the interest of the public. That is to improve the transportation needs of the public. In this regard, there seem to be some level of welfare concerns from the state even within an entrepreneurial regime. This development may serve as a basis to debunk Beauregard (2001)'s notion that globalisation discourages welfare provisions as stated in chapter 2. This is because in the wake of globalisation which has been characterised with entrepreneurial governance, there are still some elements of welfare provisions as being experienced in Ørestad. However, the case of Ørestad may just be an exception but more of such issues as emphasised by Beauregard (2001) could be a dominant issue in other places generally.

7.4 Educational facilities in Albetslund and Ørestad

In general terms, the forms of governance identified with development activities of Albertslund in the 1960s are different from that of present Ørestad. Specifically in Albertslund the government/local government was responsible for financing most infrastructural facilities including schools. This is clearly welfare governance characterised by an instrumental approach to planning. In present day Ørestad, there are experiences of public-private partnership regarding the funding and management of infrastructure developments. However, the funding and provisions of schools in the area is done by the government/local government.

It is understandable from a theoretical perspective that state funding of schools in Albertslund in the 1960s epitomises the welfare ideals of the state in that era. What is of interest is the case of Ørestad where schools are also funded by the state in an entrepreneurial regime. This implies that when it comes to educational facilities in Ørestad, it is purely an issue of welfare. In both Albertslund and Ørestad education is free of charge to school goers. This tends to encourage every one to go to school. In this sense, the issue of social exclusion or polarisation is not an issue when it comes to educational facilities in Ørestad or Albertslund. It could be generalised from this development that welfare governance promotes communal cohesiveness and equal access to resources.

All the same, one can argue that the application of entrepreneurial or welfare approach to governance may not be an obligation for the state or local authority. The state/local adopts one or both when it deems necessary considering the goal it has set up to achieve. On this note the form of governance in regards to educational facilities in both Albertslund in the 1960s and present day Ørestad are all within a welfare context.

7.5 Business investments in Albertslund and Ørestad

- **Albertslund**

Findings of this research indicate that types of business investments in Albertslund in the 1960s were predominantly mass production industries, cf. section 6.2. These industries were privately owned and thus were source of employment for some residents of the area. The form of business activities in Albertslund during the 1960s seem to coincide with what Brenner (2004) describes as the engagement of mass production firms in metropolitan regions. Albertlund is not a metropolis though but falls under the metropolitan region of Copenhagen. Nevertheless, business activities in

those years clearly show that Albertslund in the 1960s was within of Fordist/Keynesian mass production era. However, most of these industries have folded up; others have left to other countries. Currently, such industries are regarded as environmental polluters and thus are not popular in the area.

Even though these industries were privately owned they had some relationship with the local government. According to Hemstra & Jensen, (2003) in 1963 an industrial area was approved in relation to the urban development plan for Albertslund to have an industrial park. The industrial park area was sold to a private consortium to develop it. This gave way to companies to establish factories and other forms of businesses in the area. It has also been identified from the interview analysis in the previous chapter that the lands in Albertslund were sold to private investors to establish businesses in the area. This form of relationship implies that public-private partnership existed in the 1960s with regards to business investment in Albertslund. However, the sale of lands to private investors to establish factories in the area could also be interpreted as a welfare gesture by the local government to help establish businesses in the area and to offer job opportunities to residents. On a much broader picture, the form of governance in relation to business investment in Albertslund was more of entrepreneurial approach since its industrial area was dominated by private companies.

- **Ørestad**

The Ørestad district is characterised as an enclave of several private businesses. These businesses are within the categories of services, life sciences, information technology and communications, creative, and food industries, cf. sections 4.3 and 6.4. For classification purpose, I would like to term all these businesses above as ‘specialised service industries’. Judging from the profile of business investments in Ørestad, manufacturing industries seem to have little or no place there. This can therefore be described as a rescaling of the business sector. That is a shift from mass production to the turn services provision.

In the absence of manufacturing industries in Ørestad, what is the implication of this development to businesses in the manufacturing sector and labour? How will this affect labour specialised in manufacturing activities in the area? I will like to argue on this note that the choice of having and attracting more specialised service industries in Ørestad tend to polarise business investment in the area. This implies mass production factories will have to locate elsewhere instead of Ørestad.

However, considering the size of Ørestad it might not have the capacity to accommodate all industries including manufacturing.

Nonetheless, the dominance of the service sector in Ørestad can be seen as designed according to plan. It appears to be part of the government growth strategy and also to make the area attractive and competitive to investors in the era of globalisation. In general, service business such as finance, insurance, information technology and consulting among others have been identified to attract high income [Andersen, 2002, p.96]. In this regard, the dominance of such businesses in Ørestad implies there are many high income earners in the area. This sounds positive for the government to earn a lot of tax revenues. We should not forget that emphasis was made in the previous chapter that government's aim of at attracting these service businesses was to gain high tax revenues. If the service sector is identified as high income sector then what happens to other industries outside the service sector of the economy. Does it imply income disparities also exist in Ørestad? Well, the nature of businesses in the area depicts the possibility of income disparities and polarisation of businesses.

The dominance of private businesses in Ørestad is enough to characterise the form of governance as entrepreneurial. The local government, as well as the Ørestad development corporation play a major role to attract these businesses to the area. In this regard, Ørestad is being developed through a partnership between the private business and the local government in both explicit and implicit forms, cf. section 6.4. Once more in the previous chapter, it was revealed that the local government's reasons for attracting businesses to the Municipality of Copenhagen in general are to generate tax revenues and job creation. This shows that within the entrepreneurial regime, the government is focused on the growth of society and therefore uses the private sector as its engine of growth.

If the private sector has become the engine of economic growth in Ørestad; then do we have a situation where the government can no longer establish businesses to develop the area? Well, this might be the case so long as Ørestad has to compete globally; the choice of the private sector as partners of development by the government appears to be the best option for now. Its significance of generating tax revenues and job creation qualifies it as a best option. This form of governance is again justified in theory to be an example of entrepreneurial governance which is characterised by public-private partnership.

However, the use of the private businesses in the development of Ørestad is an implication of weakening of the local government's function. This is because the private sector now has a share in the local governance. More so the dominance of the specialised services sector in Ørestad tends to polarise the business sector hence giving little opportunities to other sectors of the economy.

7.6 Job creation in Albertslund and Ørestad

- **Albertslund**

From a theoretical perspective, the time of Albertslund's development as a city has been characterised widely in this research as Fordist/Keynesian mode of management era. It was a period of welfare governance; and one of the experiences of Fordist/Keynesian times was the situation where local economies were largely managed and depended on governments [Brenner, 2004, pp.460-461]. However, there is a different orientation on governance when it comes to job creation in Albertslund in the 1960s. It emerged from the previous chapter that job creation in Albertslund was from the private sector instead of the government. Factories located in the area served as job opportunities for residents. This leads to the question of how the local government at time related with these private sector investments.

Private sector investments have long existed in communities all over the world; but the issue is the relationship between the private sector and the local authority in Albertslund towards job creation. It could be argued that though the state/locate government did not establish factories or businesses to provide jobs for the people of Albertslund in the 1960s onwards; but for the welfare of the people, it cooperated with private investors to establish these factories to provide job opportunities for residents of Albertslund. That is by creating the opportunity for investors to establish businesses. Taking an inspiration from Peter Abrahamson, he describes a welfare state as: "*a state that guarantees, or sees to guarantee, the welfare of its citizens*" [Abrahamson, 2002, p.1]. In this regard, governance in terms of job creation as part of the development of Albertslund can be identified as public-private partnership.

- **Ørestad**

The findings of this research have proved that job creation in Ørestad is dominated by the private sector. This is evident by the numerous private businesses located in the area. It could be inferred from this research's findings again that job creation in Ørestad has been strategically planned. The development of the area was not only for residential purposes but rather mix use activities

which included business locations. In this regard these businesses automatically provide jobs for people.

Despite the availability of jobs for people in Ørestad, I wish to argue that the job market is also polarised as a result of the concentration of specific industries. In general, the area is dominated by services industries which require highly skilled labour. There are other businesses such as shops, cafes among other that employ semi-skilled or low skilled people. Nonetheless, the some specialised labour outside the specific businesses attracted to Ørestad becomes problematic. In this regard the attractions of specific businesses to the area tend to exclude certain types of labour from the area. That is either entirely or very few people in such labour categories can be attracted to work in the area. However, it is acknowledged in this research that the Ørestad district serves as a place to attract labour by virtue of different businesses located in the area. More so the area is still under development and therefore it has the tendency to attract more labour when it is fully developed.

7.6 Concluding Remarks

The forms of governance associated with Albertslund in the 1960s and present day Ørestad and their implications on housing, transportation, education, business investments, and job creation have been identified in this research. This answers the formulated research question. This conclusion has been reached based on theoretical interpretations of the shift from welfare to entrepreneurial governance which have been identified empirically in the case of Albertslund and Ørestad. The following is a matrix of how these forms of governance are identified and their corresponding implications:

Albertslund in the 1960s		Present day Ørestad	
Form of governance	**Implications**	**Form of governance**	**Implications**
Housing	-Dominance of state funded social housing. - Few private funded housing. - Promotes collective consumption.	Housing	-Dominance of private housing. -Few social housing -Potential source of high rents and social exclusion in the housing sector due to dominance of private housing. -Public-private partnership.
Education	Funded and provided by the state.	Education	Funded and provided by the state.
Transportation	Funded and provided by the state.	Transportation	Public-Private partnerships.
Business Investment	-Dominance of private businesses -Public -private partnership	Business Investment	-Dominance of private businesses. -Public -private partnership. - Polarisation of business investments due to the dominance of specialised services industries. -Possible and income disparities. - Weakens local government function.
Job Creation	-Employment by the private sector	Job Creation	-Dominance of private sector employment. -Polarisation of the job market due to the dominance of specialised services industries

Figure 7.1 Forms of governance in Albertslund in the 1960s and present day Ørestad and their implications.

The form of governance identified with Albertslund in the 1960s has largely been based on welfare. In Ørestad, it is currently dominated by entrepreneurial governance. Taking the periods of governance between the developments of Albertslund and Ørestad into consideration, there is a clear indication of transition of governance from welfare to entrepreneurial era. These forms of governance have been identified through the provision of housing, transportation, education, business investments and job creation. However some implications associated with the turn of entrepreneurial governance have also been identified. This shows that entrepreneurial governance has some limitations on society that has to addressed.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This research sought to investigate the turn of governance from welfare to entrepreneurial and their implications on urban development in terms of housing, education, transportation, business investment and job creation. This investigation was based on a case study of Albertslund and Ørestad. The objectives the research was to present insights into how these forms of governance have been practiced in Albertslund and Ørestad, and more so to identify implications of these forms of governance in the provision of housing, education, transportation, business investments and job creation. In addition to the above was also to find out whether elements of welfare governance are being practiced despite the turn of entrepreneurial governance. In carrying out this investigation, the following research question was formulated:

"How can different forms of governance be identified in Albertslund Municipality and Orestad district, and what are the implications of the different forms of governance in terms of housing, transportation, education, business investment and job creation?"

The output of this research has been achieved through analysis of qualitative interviews. The identification of key findings from these analyses became the main focus of discussion to answer the formulated research question. The research discussion concluded that form of governance identified with Albertslund was largely based on welfare, and that of Ørestad was also largely a feature of entrepreneurial governance. These findings indicated that the governance has shifted from welfare in the 1960s to entrepreneurial in present times.

In addition to these findings were some contradictions of theoretical interpretations on welfare and entrepreneurial governance. One of the objectives of this research stated above was to investigate whether elements of welfare were still in practice in the era of entrepreneurial governance, but this research obtain more findings than expected. It was identified in this research that even though the era of Albertslund's development was at the time of welfare governance, there were elements of public-private partnership in terms of business investments and job creation. Public-private partnership in governance has been described as a feature of entrepreneurial governance in theory. This implies that entrepreneurial governance is actually an 'old wine in a new bottle'. It has been in practice even at the time when welfare was the main feature of governance. On the other hand, elements of welfare governance were also identified largely in the provision of education in Ørestad. Schools and educational materials are provided

by the state/local government. In addition to that was the local government's regulation for some percentage of social housing to be built in Ørestad. This also implies that welfare governance is still in practice at Ørestad despite the dominance of entrepreneurial governance in its development. It would have been interesting to investigate why these overlaps exist but this falls out of the focus of this research and therefore could be considered for investigation in the future.

The implications of entrepreneurial governance in Ørestad were also identified to have the potential of creating social exclusion and polarisation in terms of housing, business investment and employment. These issues should be addressed before they get completely out of hand. In this regard the following are recommended:

- More affordable housing for all social classes should be built in Ørestad to blend with the existing private houses which are expensive on the market. This will help to prevent Ørestad from being gentrified and hence leading to social exclusion and polarisation. The state/local government could intervene in this issue by building these houses with the tax payers' money or give some incentives to private housing developers to help ease the prices/rents on housing. Such incentives could be low taxation or reduced prices of lands.
- The polarisation of business investments should be addressed in Ørestad by the local government and business associations in the municipality. Some manufacturing business should be accommodated in the area to prevent the dominance of these specialised services industries in the area. Manufacturing industries which are known to pollute the environment should be assisted or encouraged by the local government to embark on new technologies to reduce pollution and thereby have a place to operate in Ørestad.
- The polarisation of labour should also be addressed. People who have no or limited skills in these specialised services in Ørestad must be trained to adapt to these new form of economic activities. The absence of such training will imply people who use to work in the manufacturing sector will have no place to practice their trade in Ørestad.

All of these recommendations must be taking into consideration in order boost the quality of life in the area.

On this note, it can be emphasised that this research has provided valuable insights into how welfare and entrepreneurial governance worked/works in the Danish communities of Albertslund and Ørestad respectively and their implications on the provisions of housing, education, transportation, business investment and job creation. Even though the local government strategy

to develop Albertslund has been identified to be pro-welfare governance, it had elements of entrepreneurial governance; and in the case of Ørestad, aspects of welfare governance have also been identified in its developments strategy which is based on entrepreneurialism. This shows that the shift from welfare to entrepreneurial governance to some extent is ambivalent with respect to the case study areas of this research. This is because each form of governance overlaps into the other at a point in time.

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Appendix A

Interview with Planners of the Albertslund Municipality

Date of Interview: 6th June 2007
Interviewees: Björn Emil Härtel Jensen (B.E.H.J) & Majken Rhod Larsen (M.R.L)
Interviewer: Isaac Kwamena Arthur (I.K.A.)

1. I.K.A.
Please tell me historically how the city of Albertslund has been developed, i.e. construction of housing, schools, shops, health care, entertainment centres, creational facilities, industries, transport facilities, etc?

2. B.E.H.J
It's a big question. Actually, 40 years ago Albertslund was named Herstedernes municipality. Em…em..the municipality was almost background, farmlands. There were four villages; and the state was the main source of employment for the community. Then the S-tog established a station, I think in the 1960 and later in the 1960s the Albertslund syd (south) was established where all the housing were mainly low rise buildings. So in the 1960 or 1970, Albertslund went through a great development. In the beginning of 1960s there were only about three thousand inhabitants. In the beginning of the 1970s the population was thirty two thousand. The population grew quite intensive in those years; and that meant the city needed to establish a lot of schools, and day care institutions. Some were established in not that great quality. So now a lot of schools, and institutions are pretty run down and need renovation and the same is for …ya… houses and many buildings established in the 1970s ,1960s are run down and are very ready for renovation. In fact there is a great renovation in these days- stating in two weeks. All the houses in the south are being renovated for DKK. 1.5 billion; so that is a very great, big project.

3. I.K.A.
I am interested in who actually financed these projects in the past; like these houses, schools, in the 1960s and 1970s, who was actually financed them, was it the government or the private industries who were in charge of that?

4. B.E.H.J
Ya, I think it was mainly the government project, I think, em, em... I will find out later, but I think it was financed by the state.

5. M.R.L.
Is it the housing?

6. B.E.H.J
Financing of the housing projects in the beginning

7. M.R.L.
I am not sure; I think is not private but official, em….. companies for making and renting houses for people, but there was this em…. there background it should be social, easy and not expensive for families. So they built the area, they built houses, but they are supported by the municipality. So, also I think the ground (land) where the building was, was for free- from the municipality and the rule was later actually in 2007 there was an agreement . (*Information rubbed off from the tape recorder due to mishandling of the voice recorder at the time of transcribing. All the same, the*

information was that the lands on which these houses were built was later to became once more property of the *municipality after a period of time*)

8. I.K.A
It is like this time, the companies are going to finance these projects?

9. M.R.L
Em, I think organisation made this kind of taking care of that. Its non-profit, but they have an organisations who supports renovations, so it supported by them and in the end the people living there so then the rents go up

10. I.K.A
But are these organisation owned by the state or private?

11. M.R.L
It's a are mixture, they are private but there are some rules that control them, it's different from other places where you live rented flats. The people who live there have more to say about how things are organised than other places.

12. I.K. A.
Thank you. I think you said in your previous answer that there have been changes towards the provisions jobs and infrastructure facilities

13. B.E.H.J
Ya, In the 60s and 70s there was a lot of factories that produced different goods but now it has been shifted to services, So, we have a lot of factory areas in the municipality where we need to do something because the production companies have left the municipality and Denmark and are now in Asia, somewhere in, South Asia, so we have a lot industrial areas in the future will be turning into housings, offices and all that.

14. I.K.A
Who owned these factories in the 1960s?

15. B.E.H.J
They were all private companies. The lands were owned by the municipality but were sold to private developers to establish companies.

16. I.K.A
Ok, so how does the municipality currently provide and manage housing, schools, shops, transportation, hospitals, recreational facilities, etc?

17. B.E.H.J
The transport sector, the rail road is managed by DSB, the buses are being actually managed by the municipality but we have something called the Traffic Order System where we and seven municipalities in the area order the services from the bus company, and then we are given what we order. So the bus service is planned in the municipality, the bus lines and where it stops and all that. We finance it as well.

18. I.K.A
Do you finance it in present day?

19. B.E.H.J
Yes, we finance it when they are within the municipality but when they cross our border some one else takes care of it. It is quite complicated actually.

20. I.K.A
Its interesting, I thought probably you had a bit of private sector coming in to sort of assist the municipality finance them towards the management

21. B.E.H.J
You could say the bus company is a private company but we pay them for their services. They earn money from the municipality

22. I.K.A
OK! It's kind of a partnership between the municipality and the private company

23. B.E.H.J
You can say that.

24. I.K.A
Is it the same for the management of schools and shops?

25. B.E.H.J
The schools are owned by the municipality. We have no private schools, not a single one. And the same is for the day care centres; it is owned by the municipality and actually also shops at the centre is also owned by the municipality and rented out the shops to companies. But that is not that common in other places. You don't see that in other place, it's actually unique that we own the centre

26. I.K.A
It means that the municipality now earns some money from the shops

27. B.E.H.J
Ya,

28. I.K.A
Ok, that is interesting. What about how the municipality create jobs for the community. Does the municipality assist the people in creating jobs or perhaps the municipality puts up like offices and all that to create jobs for the people?

29. B.E.H.J
We have the job centre also placed down the centre with the goal is to get people jobs, but we don't create jobs or put up offices or create jobs. It is not directly, but indirectly; you can say that we help the businesses in different ways.

30. I.K.A
My next question is quite broad. What is the municipality's policy framework/objective towards the provision of these facilities for the community in both past and present?

31. B.E.H.J
It's quite political. I think we have a mayor who has been the mayor for this municipality longer than I have lived 30 years or something and I think he is from the social democratic party and I

think his goal is to have a broad policy where we try implementing environmental policies in the municipality. I think His goal is to broaden the municipality to allow people to live also here even if they are not that wealthy.

32. I.K.A
It means the municipality has this welfare concern for the citizens of Albertslund

33. B.E.H.J
I think so, I hope so.

34. I.K.A
Well, I think since he comes from a social democratic party, he must be more welfare inclined

35. I.K.A
Ok. My next section is about governance. Generally, how has the municipality been managed in both the past and present, i.e. through the local authority on its own or by the public private sector as well?

36. B.E.H.J
Mostly, it is the public sector that has managed Albertlund. There has not been many public-private partnership I think, but It has been run by the social democratic party since it was formed in 1971 or something

37. I.K.A
How the municipal authority ensures that citizens have access to affordable housing, transport, health, education, recreation, entertainments facilities, etc?

38. B.E.H.J
It is hard to ensure that but, these day care and schools are for free, but the day care cost about DKK 2000 crowns per month but if your income is low you get it for free or at a discount

39. M.J.L
Albertslund is known as cheaper for day care than other places. For example at where I live, you pay Dkk1000 less for your child at the kindergarten.

40. B.E.H.J
It's cheap because the municipality gives more money to the day care centres. They don't need to get more money from the day care.

41. I.K.A
OK, and the same for jobs. You know how the municipality ensures that everybody has jobs, you know if people do not have jobs they become burden on the municipality taking social benefits, so I presume the municipality in way ensures that every body is kind of active and having a job. How does it ensure that?

42. B.E.H.J
It is hard to ensure that. Again the job centre down there tries to help people to get job it is also hard. Because it's quite a big job market out there actually because the municipality is so small and because people are living one municipality and working in another, so we need to work with other municipalities to ensure that the residents have jobs. It's had but….

43. I.K.A
How does the municipality attract and promotes business activities for the community, is there any thing like that?

44. B.E.H.J
Can you give me any example?

45. I.K.A
Like if the municipality could up something like promotion activities such as tax reduction to attract jobs.

46. B.E.H.J
We don't give any tax reduction to business

47. I.K.A
So you don't promote any business around?

48. B.E.H.J
We have a forum with seven other municipalities in this area where we try to promote different companies and this area as a good place to do business. It is sort of a committee.

49. I.K.A
And of course these companies are private

50. B.E.H.J
Yes, private.

51. I.K.A
Is it jut to provide jobs for the people or kind of a way to make money because when these companies in the municipality gets money through taxes. Is that the rationale?

52. B.E.H.J
It's both. It's also, we don't want any company. We want specific companies that will not pollute the environment, noisy; we want office buildings.

53. I.K.A
Why don't you want these industries because in the past, because the city in general had been developed on manufacturing industries but now you don't want them. Why is it so?

54. B.E.H.J
It's because in Albertslund wants environmentally healthy municipality where people want to live and want breathe the air and enjoy the nature, and dont want to that every day.

55. I.K.A
So we come back to the issue of housing. Are houses affordable for people to live in or they are expensive?

56. B.E.H.J
We say all the housing developed in the 60s and 70s, most of them are in the south of Albertslund or west that made the grounds of all of Albertslund's social housing, since then there has not been built that much. Now the municipality focus builds houses and focus on upper level, for people

with more money because we don't have that many good tax payers and that is a problem of course. We need to run the school, buses, and roads. We want to keep all the residents we have but we want to more residents with bigger wallet-higher income earners.

57. I.K.A
What happens to the low income earners?

58. B.E.H.J
The ones that are here are here to stay and that is fine for our mayor, but we don't build. We have no place for building social housing for people

59. I.K.A
I think there could be an issue of social exclusion; where the poor have no place in Albertslund, but I think Albertslund has always been that welfare oriented place, so it means the ideals of welfare activities in Albertslund is kind of going of the scene.

60. B.E.H.J
May be a little Yes. The social housing in Alberstlund is currently about 60% of the entire housing and that is quite a lot in Denmark.

61. I.K.A
OK, thank you. That is all.

62. *M.R.L comes in to ask if there are further questions, so B.E.H.J responds with the issue of public-private partner in Albertslund which he seems to lack more knowledge on.*

63. I.K.A
Has the management of Albertslund been done together on public-private partnership?

64. M.R.L
You can say yes. The project of renovating housing in Albertslund is incorporation with this company for housing and then the municipality. We have a partnership and made contract together. It is not economically, it's like for the renovation. We make an agreement, they make their part and we do our part. We make sure that all we do is right. So I sit in meeting with a company every Friday and discuss many things, it could be social housing, how we ensure that solutions which are good for the environment, and so on we make housing for every body. That is for the elderly, families, singles, young and so on.

65. I.K.A
That is even though you work in partnership with the private sector, you really take care of welfare concerns of the people by taking all the categories of people like young, old, kids, into consideration so that every body living in the community have

66. M.R.L
We believe that you make best areas for the people when you have mix, we have both the elderly, family groups and so on when you have better to get eh…to learn from each other. When you think together and take care of each other better

67. I.K.A
OK, I think that sort of social cohesion is there. It's interesting.

68. M.R.L
Is it all?

69. B.E.H.J
Was it who finances the housing renovation project?

70. I.K.A
Yes, I was interested in who was financing the renovation project

71. M.R.L
Yes, It is like the companies finance them, but they have support from the municipality. And The areas around the housing; if you have eh.. eh… some houses are owned by the municipalities and other by the companies but let say we have a channel of water and there is a road-pavement, we make agreement with the companies. That is while they renovating the houses, we renovate this channel. So, it is not only the houses that will be looking good. We also need the areas around the houses to look nice as well. It's like a mixture. Because it's kind of private but not to make profitable

Appendix B

Interview with officials of the Copenhagen City Hall

Date of Interview: 21st June 2007
Interviewees: Jesper Buch Jacobsen (**JBJ**) & Nicolai Leth Nielsen (**NLN**).
Interviewer: Isaac Kwamena Arthur (**IKA**)

1. IKA
Please tell me how the city of Copenhagen has provided housing, transportation, and educational facilities for its citizens in the past?

2. JBJ
Well, housing in the city of Copenhagen is provided by private builders. It is not the city who provides housing but the private investors who put up housing. But before they can build houses, they have to have a zoning plan passed in the city council. And in the zoning plan, the city council can make a demand that a certain percentage of the new housing that has been projected would be eh eh, actually I can't recall the English phrase for it but it is low rent housing. So housing is put up by private builders but the city council has to give permission to the builders to make the housing, and in connection with that permission it is always possible to build but also the city request for certain number of low rent housing.

At the moment, the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen, Ritt Bjerregaard has one of her campaign issues was to build cheap housing because it is a problem in Copenhagen that the price of housing is higher and higher. That means only wealthy people can only live in the city. So she wants to make it possible for middle income and low income earners to be able to live in the city. So she is having a programme for having more low rent housing built. But it is difficult because the housing market in Denmark and Copenhagen is private housing market so it is not the city who builds these houses so she has to have an agreement with the private investors and builders to also build low rent housing.

3. IKA
What you are saying appears to be current events but I am trying to understand this from a historic point of view. So way back, housing has been provided by private investors just as today.

4. JBJ
Ya, Ya, it has been private but the city can make a demand certain number for low rent housing

5. IKA
What about transport and educational facilities in the past?

6. JBJ
Transportation, Public transport is provided in Copenhagen by the …. The trains are the responsibility of the national government and the buses are not the responsibility is not the municipality but the entire metropolitan region of Copenhagen. There is a corporation and a joint company that runs the buses in the entire region. That also has been some what modified by the late administration reform here in Denmark. But the trains have been the responsibility of the national government and the buses are the regional authorities.

7. IKA

O.K, I thought the buses were owned by a private company or kind of public-private partnership with the regional authorities.

8. JBJ
Well, it is private companies who run the buses but they make a contract with the regional authorities. The regional authorities have the responsibility or providing buses for the citizens.

9. IKA
Then what about the educational facilities like schools and day care centres?

10. JBJ
Schools are the responsibility of the cities, municipalities.

11. IKA
What were the strategies or vision behind the provision of these all facilities from a historical point of view?

12. JBJ
That is probably a difficult question. I think there is an element of not real planning about why for instance are the buses, the regional authorities and the trains of the national authorities. I think the main principle in Denmark behind the division of responsibility between the municipality, regional authorities and national government is that the services who are closest to the citizens are the responsibility of the municipality. That is schools, elementary schools, care for the elderly, its maintenance of the city, roads; parks, swimming halls, cultural activities. A lot of activities that are direct services towards the citizens is the responsibility of the municipalities, where as things that cross municipal boundaries like hospitals for instance which covers a large regional area is the responsibility of the regional authorities. There are some discussions going on in Denmark if the hospitals should be the responsibility of the regional authorities or the national government. It is a complicated area. It is very expensive but then it's the responsibility of the regional authorities. The national authorities are responsible for the planning of new infrastructure services and so on.

13. IKA
How are these projects financed?

14. JBJ
They are mainly financed by taxation. I mean housing which we've talked about at first is private but the transport, schools, hospitals and so on are public finance from taxation. That is both the municipalities has the right to tax a citizen and of course the national government also tax. So for instance when the city of Copenhagen finances the schools; this finance comes both from our own taxes and also each municipality get an amount from the national government to finance those activities.

15. IKA
Looking at the provision of these facilities, you talked about the vision of the Lord Mayor to build affordable housing; what about the transportation and these educational facilities? Are they designed to be affordable for the people?

16. JBJ
I think schools are free of charge, but I think the problem concerning the schools and elementary school is more expensive. The schools, elementary schools have to get new educational materials,

new electronic equipment, new computers and so on but it is an expensive area. There is a discussion in Copenhagen that some times educational materials used in the schools are not up to date and of course expensive. Sometimes its usage is for too long time, but going to school is free of charge. For transportation, you have to pay to use the bus. And I think the prices for in Danish buses are relatively higher when compared to other big cities, but the ticket price is also part of the financing of the transport system. So there are sometimes or in recent years, may be about four or five years ago there was a decision by the regional authority who is responsible for buses to increased the ticket price for about 18 or 19 percent, this was of course at a high rate but it was necessary because there was a problem with the finance of the public transport system.

17. IKA
I can deduce from what you have said so far that things have not really changed in terms of provision of these facilities in the past. I think it has been the same trend all these years.

18. JBJ
Ya, Ya.

19. IKA
I want us to talk about business. How does the city of Copenhagen attract business investment?

20. JBJ
Well, we have a number of organisations outside the city administration which are responsible for attracting business investments and also to develop new businesses here in Copenhagen. We have an entrepreneur organisation which promotes entrepreneurship in the city of Copenhagen. They advice and offer courses for people who want to start their own business. So that is an independent organisation which is co-financed by the city of Copenhagen. We have that on one hand to take care of new companies in Copenhagen that is entrepreneurs. Then we have another independent organisation called 'Copenhagen Capacity' which attracts foreign investment or companies. It is also an independent organisation co-financed by the city of Copenhagen.

21. IKA
So these independent organisations are basically kind of government related. They are not private entities. Are they?

22. JBJ
They are financed completely by the local government.

23. IKA
Even though they are financed by the local government, they seem to appear as private. They are not directly run by the city administration; they are like quasi government organisation.

24. JBJ
Ya, they are not part of the city hall administration. We have the same kind of organisation in the tourism sector which is also an independent organisation in Copenhagen which attracts tourism to Copenhagen. The reason for these activities to be placed in independence organisations is have more independent, professional way of working in the area. It is blend or integrated into part of the city administration.

25. IKA
How do you finance these kinds of organisations?

26. JBJ
They are financed completely by the regional authorities. The entrepreneurship is financed jointly by the city of Copenhagen and the Municipality of Fredriksberg, while Copenhagen Capacity is financed by the regions surrounding Copenhagen.

27. IKA
So what type of businesses do you attract?

28. JBJ
I think in later years, since the mid 90s it's been old industrial production have moved out of Copenhagen just as lot of other capitals. So there is a lot of services in Copenhagen, you know accountants, lawyers management consultants and so on. That is bulk, the financial sector is to strong in Copenhagen, but there is also a number of the biotech companies. We have some of the big hospitals in Copenhagen and some of the biotech companies will like to have joint projects with the hospitals, so we have a number of that in Copenhagen and the metropolitan region. Not just wildering the city limit but the entire region of Copenhagen. You know there are a number of biotech companies. We have ICT companies also number of headquarters in Copenhagen. Also a lot of small ICT companies throughout Copenhagen. And particularly in the later years there has been a focus on Copenhagen on the creative industries like design, fashion, music, computer games and so on. For instance, there have been some successful companies in computer games in Copenhagen who are reliable and have grown at a faster rate, made a lot of money. Some have been sold to multinational companies but that is a certainly a new area for computer games companies in Copenhagen. Also fashion designers and there is a strong focus on developing Copenhagen as a city of fashion. You know not in the level of the Paris, Milan, New York and so on, but just below these cities so thus bit towards the creative industries.

29. IKA
Basically these companies are not government owned are they private?

30. JBJ
No they are all private.

31. IKA

32. Why is the government not creating its own industry?
33. JBJ
One of the reasons is that it generates jobs. You know new companies investing in Copenhagen makes jobs for people of Copenhagen also investments. And these companies earning money generate tax revenue for the city of Copenhagen. So I think jobs and tax revenues is one reason. Also another reason in particular when we talk about creative industries these companies contributes to adding a certain atmosphere, certain milieu to a city. I mean if you want fashion designers one of the things you could do is by arranging fashion shows and maybe having a fashion parade through the city and it also attract tourism. This also generates more revenue and so I think it attracts these companies making Copenhagen a more exciting city to live in and then more people come to visit Copenhagen.

34. IKA
I was also interested in how the city creates job opportunities for people.

35. JBJ

Ya, what we just talked about is one way of attracting new companies but then the city of Copenhagen is responsible for those groups of unemployed people who have no unemployment insurance. The city is responsible for finding job for these people and the way that is done is the administration which is the city hall who is responsible for this arranges with private companies in Copenhagen to hire these people and the wages are paid by the city for certain period of time. The goal is that the private companies will be satisfied with having this person working for them than they will hire themselves.

36. IKA
So it's an enticement for the companies to employ these people.

37. JBJ
Ya it is a big system in Denmark concerning when people are unemployed, when you have to get an actual job and the people who do not have unemployment insurance, it is the responsibility of the city government to try to find jobs for these people.

38. IKA
As you know we are in an era of globalisation and competition so what is the city's approach towards the provision of housing, transportation, educational facilities, business and job creation?

39. JBJ
Well I think we talked about some of these things as I mentioned earlier, the Lord Mayor is very focused on the housing situation. I mean if Copenhagen shall remain an interesting, exciting attractive and competitive with other metropolis, in time of globalisation, it is important that there is a lot of life in Copenhagen and one of the things that will ensure that there is life and activity is when people to live in the city. And it is not just a rich people who may live in their flats some of the time and rest of the time in other places, so let us focus on having housing for all kinds both low paid people and middle paid people. That is important part of the housing situation. And also I think that another thing is recreation. I mean Copenhagen is a nice city to be in you can take swimming in the harbour, and we have Beach Park close to the airport, there are a lot of places you can visit. You can not to go to work, go to the museums or something; but just to have a nice time at the beach. It contributes to Copenhagen to have a different atmosphere. So I think it is a focus on recreation. And of course infrastructure, transport is important. There is a discussion at the moment in Copenhagen on putting a tax or fee for driving your car in the city. What do you call it?

40. IKA
Congestion charge

41. JBJ
Yes congestion charge. So that is very much of an issue to try to keep some of the traffic congestion out. And the Lord Mayor has travelled to London to talk to ken Livingstone about it. She just a month ago was at a big conference in New York for metropolitan cities and one of the issues discussed in this conference was congestion charges. So there is very much focus on that to do something, to have the air stay clean and healthy.

42. IKA
How does the Copenhagen Municipality relate/coordinate with the private sector towards the development of the housing, transport, educational facilities, location of businesses and job creation?

43. JBJ

When the city has the means of transport which of course not the responsibility of the city but the regional authority but it's a public administration, In that case the regional authorities make a contract with the private business and a private bus company, the region put out a tender or you know describes what needs makes paper work to make bus goes from the city hall to whatever, and then this is put out for different companies to make to make a bid for having this to get this job and then the region says most often the cost and then the cheapest bits and the contract with the start of these companies, so its not a negotiation or its more that the region decides this is what we want and then the outside companies who can deliver this at the most cost. Concerning job creation, these people in jobs that's very much, that case of the city making and individual contract with certain companies, lets say when we have this person who have been unemployed for a certain time and they have has these qualifications and we will like to pay the salary for them for six months or nine months and then maybe arrange with specific companies to have this person. So I think in general in Denmark that is you know a rather strong separation between the public authorities and private companies but there is also a I mean public authorities use these private companies for a lot of activities. but its always in a way that is you know it shall be possible for all companies to make a bide for specific job because a municipality or region c must not favour a particular company it does make it possible for companies to make a bid.

44. IKA

How does the Copenhagen Municipality relate/coordinate with the Ørestad development corporation towards the development of the housing, transport, educational facilities, location of businesses and job creation in Ørestad? I am asking this question because my understanding is that the Ørestad area falls under the Copenhagen municipality.

45. JBJ

Yes, the area is jointly owned by the city of Copenhagen and the national government. With the Ørestad development corporation, the city of Copenhagen has representatives on the board of directors, but the responsibility for the development of Ørestad is the corporation, I mean the city of Copenhagen does not have any responsibility beside the people on the board; the city of Copenhagen does not have a different kind of responsibility in Ørestad…(**the tape recorder stops**)

(**JBJ continues to talk after the tape is changed**)

So the city of Copenhagen doesn't have really a different way of working with Ørestad from the rest of Copenhagen. The city is responsible for making zoning laws for the area. The city council decides on what kind of housing can be built in a certain part of Ørestad, what kind of business, retail shops and so on. But the actual work of giving investors, having investors come to Ørestad and building new houses and so on. That is the Ørestad development corporation which is responsible for that.

46. IKA

So they have to bring all these investors.

47. JBJ

They have to.

48. IKA

I have got this idea that with the sale of land in the area; the prices are high and therefore high rents on houses when completed. So does it mean that the rich or the well to do are the only ones who can afford live in Ørestad?

49. JBJ
Ya that is connected to what we spoke about earlier with the Lord Mayor about having houses for lower income and middle income earners. And one the things the City of Copenhagen does and its is also in the force in Ørestad is to demand that every time the city gives permission for building or developing a new housing in the area, there is a provision that ten or fifteen or twenty percent of these houses has to be for the low rent housing, so that's is on the things the city can do, they can deny permission for new housing area on this circumstance of low rent housing.

50. IKA
So why do they choose to have this sort of mixed used planning where you have your business side by side with housing.

51. JBJ
I think its on of the main reason is to give some sort of variety and activity in the area I mean if Ørestad had been developed only as a housing area, it would have been dead in the day and then people get home at night back from work and go to bed and that's it. If you have a mixture of business areas with people out during the day and then close by you have some housing areas, you have universities, a large shopping malls, you have different activities that people use at different times of the day so it gives, I think maybe is for Ørestad, it to generate more life and activity. I think that is the way it is in theory. There is a discussion in Copenhagen, actually there is a lot of people living in Ørestad area everyday goes to work, or go to the university but if you walk outside the buildings there not a lot of people. Ørestad is not like the inner part of Copenhagen, where we have a lot of café and pubs and people meet on the street and so on. But they don't really do that in Ørestad region. You go from on building to another. So there is certainly lack of life in Ørestad, and I think that's been noticed in the northern part of Ørestad, which is the area that was first developed in Ørestad and the experiences from that part of the area, I think are important at the moment when the development of the southern part of the area is being planned. So I think in the end there will be more detailed planning of this area, there will be more done to get you know small parks, or small squares and having cafes and shops at the ground floors of new building, so there is more activity in the area.

52. IKA
But why has the municipality decided to use the Ørestad development corporation instead of relying on its traditional ways of planning and developing the area?

53. JBJ
I think its some what unusual development taking place in Denmark, I mean most of the time in Danish cities we have usually small areas then you make a small plan to develop a certain part of the area, I mean it's a small housing , it's a small area that has to be developed. Ørestad is very unusually, it is a large area and it is important that the development of this area is co-ordinated, that it has a certain cohesiveness, or it has together, its has integrated planning, I think that was the reason that it was decided. That has been discussed before, we have companies like Copenhagen Capacity to have a kind of jobs……..
(**Nicolaj walks into the room and his presence interrupts the conversation**)

54. JBJ
Oh Nicolai is here.

(**JBJ takes some time to explain to Nicolaj what we have been discussing before he walked into the room**)

55. JBJ
So one reason is that Ørestad is a large area and to achieve coordination, and integrated planning it is best to have an independent corporation and of course not entirely independent because the board of directors are appointed by the city of Copenhagen and the national government but have a corporation that focus on this.

56. IKA

Maybe Nikolai can add a few things. I asked Jesper why the development of Ørestad is being carried out by the Ørestad development corporation and not the municipal authority.

Nicolai (describes the development of Ørestad **from a book)**
Well, I don't know what you mentioned before

57. JBJ
No, No

58. NLN
But basically this is an area to make a railway and develop the area surrounding it will grow in value and basically this is what was done in the 18th century United States when you build the high way towards the west. You have the high way and the vegetations and the green area appears grown up. Basically this is what we are doing in Ørestad, since the area is originally owned by the government-the state, the local authorities. This area was very-very suited to be sold out. And you you can see now, this area is on a very old map. Today they are developing this area for dwellings in the future, and this is the centre of Ørestad appears here in the north, you can see the area that is very well developed today. Basically half of this area is developed already. It is expected to develop fully in twenty to twenty-three years basically. So within the next fifteen years, the rest of this area will be fully developed. Of course it is difficult to say because it is a mater of interest rates and whether you have developers, which people are supposed to build high rises, high houses and stuff like that. So in fifteen to two years we should have a fully developed city.

59. IKA
I always have this feeling that the government is no longer financing development projects from its coffers but rather uses different means to finance them.

60. NLN
Well it is difficult to give the history for now. The government wouldn't give the city of Copenhagen a Metro and this is the way it is financing the Metro and at the same time add some value to some areas where some years ago did not have any thing. The future goal is to have a great city, so you can build the Metro and at the same time develop the city; in a way that it is not going to cost the government anything.

61. IKA
Well, I get an impression from this development that the government has become an entrepreneur by choosing to develop the city through a different entity, the Ørestad development Corporation. This is because in the past, government's development was based mainly on welfare.

62. NLN
Well, the areas that have been sold are at market prices. So it not like the company is trying to benefit social housing in particular. Every thing is sold at the market price. Then we have some criteria to apply to trade diversity in the sector. It is only private housing but there are some social housing. However the social housing is just a minor part today.

63. IKA
Well, do you have plans to expand the social housing in the future?

64. NLN
Well, you need to ask the company about that but not in particular at this time, not beyond what they already plans for have. The mayor of Copenhagen will want to have more dwellings at cheap prices but you need to sell for the market price and that it is quite difficult in Ørestad. And she of course represents all the local authorities but we also need to agree with the government so she cannot just enforce it.

65. IKA
So there has to be some negotiations.

66. NLN
Yes, that is right.

67. IKA
Well, thank you very much

68. NLN & **JBJ**
You are welcome