EFFECTS OF CLASSIFICATION OF DISTRESSED SOCIAL HOUSING ESTATES IN A MUNICIPAL PERSPECTIVE

MASTER'S THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The planning approach and the general discourse of distressed social housing estates have taken a turn over the last years. This thesis examines the possible effects of a classification of these distressed housing estates in line with the government's ghetto legislation on the municipal work for the development of the areas. The theoretical frame for the thesis draws on insights from sociology and organizational theory regarding the planning approach of governments, the municipality as a metagoverner and the transformation of the public sector into an arena for co-creation. Municipal strategies and interviews with key actors are the basis for the empirical findings. The results of this thesis point to a disruption of the established norms and rules of a co-creation, when the municipality has to comply with criteria set by the government, and this creates a hierarchy in the partnership between actors. It changes the prioritization and the flexibility for the initiatives and work for the distressed areas, and it also creates an underlying concern for loss of this flexibility of prioritization. The ghetto legislation has limitations for the municipal work for distressed areas, but it also creates opportunities in the right context. Here, it can an argument for structural changes, that can lie close to the original visions and ideas of housing organizations and municipalities, where the funding from The National Building Fund can aid the existing visions for the distressed areas.

Keywords: distressed social housing estates, municipalities, housing organizations, co-creation, planning approaches, strategic planning

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1 INTRODUCTION

Approximately 20% of the Danish population lives in social housing. While most of the social housing estates are well-functioning and the every-day life is safe and good, some of these estates have a high concentration of residents with social issues and these areas are often considered distressed (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017).

In Denmark, and most western countries, the distressed areas are often located in the outskirts of bigger cities and originally established in response to an increased need and demand for housing. To accommodate these developments, there was an industrialization of the building process that made a mass production of well-functioning and good housing that people could afford possible (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). This kind of housing was primarily built as blocks of flats (Bjørn, 2008). Initially, this kind of housing was seen as an improvement of life-quality for the families moving into them in the outskirts of the city. Here was peace and quiet, and nature nearby, which stood in contrast to the dark and unhealthy streets in the inner city. However, as cultural values and societal norms changed, so did the perception of the almost newly built housing estates. And the growing middle class moved to other new areas and to single-family homes. The social housing estates then became a home for single moms, the unemployed and immigrants who did not have the opportunity of buying and owning a home (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017) and these people have been concentrated in a ray of distressed social housing estates in the suburbs which is often separated from the rest of the city – both mentally and physically (Realdania, 2017).

The social housing estates are often built as large separate areas and this physical frame has great implications for how these areas are connected to the rest of the city. If the buildings and roads are planned in such a way that they create a wall around the housing estate, then the area is likely to be excluded from the rest of the city (Bjørn, 2008). Another factor influencing the area's connectivity with the city is the possibilities for other people to visit the area. If the area is enclosed and only consists of housing, then people from the outside might not have an errand, a reason or an interest in visiting the area (ibid.).

Distressed areas are often caused by a misalignment of issues concerning economy, building technique, architecturally and urban character (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). Over the past few years, these issues have gained political attention and especially the problems with integration and a growing fear of "parallel societies" have been contentious. The development of parallel societies is closely associated with the development in the distressed areas (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). Children from a distressed social housing estate have a lesser chance of climbing up the social ladder than children from the middle class, hence there are social inequalities between different areas in the same city, which has both individual and societal consequences (Realdania, 2017).

1.1 'CITY IN BALANCE'

Throughout the last 30 years there have been numerous initiatives for the development of distressed areas, but they have mainly been area based where physical refurbishment plans and social holistic plans have been limited to the certain areas. These areas-based initiatives have had a great impact on the lives of the residents but there is a tendency for the residents who experience a social lift to move away from the area and new residents with social issues to move in. Hence, these area-based initiatives create changes for some residents but not for the area as a whole (Realdania, 2017).

To address this issue the philanthropic fund Realdania has initiated a project titled 'City in Balance' ('By I Balance') which runs from 2016 to 2020, and this project was based on a previous project called 'City-life in balance' ('*Boligliv I balance'*) (Realdania, n.d.)

The aim of the project is to transform distressed areas into lively neighbourhoods that are safe and that can provide the same possibilities for everyone, regardless of where you grow up (Realdania, 2017). The aim is also, to develop the areas so there is a connection to the surrounding city to ensure that the distressed areas do not remain enclosed, thereby creating a socially and functionally mixed city with equal possibilities for all residents (Realdania, 2017). The aim is also to combine physical planning with social, educational- and employment initiatives and to introduce new functions into the areas that can ensure a connection and 'exchange' with the surrounding city (Realdania, n.d.) Hence, this project is based on a new approach that has a broader perspective because emphasis is given to implementing long-term strategic development plans where the distressed areas connected

to the overall development of the cities and the distressed areas become an attractive part of the cities (Realdania, n.d.).

For this project Realdania allocated 75m DKK to create strategic development plans for distressed areas in three different municipalities in Denmark; Værebro Park in Gladsaxe, Stengårdsvej in Esbjerg and Charlotteager, Taastrupgaard and Gadehavegård in Høje-Taastrup (Realdania, n.d.). These strategic development plans have been created in a public/private partnership between the respective municipalities, social housing organizations and Realdania, and these partnerships, then, committed to realizing the strategic plans through different initiatives. These initiatives should create specific changes to the chosen areas and then provide knowledge on how to change distressed social housing areas to more lively neighbourhoods that are more connected with the surrounding city (Realdania, n.d.).

The areas were chosen on the basis of several requirements concerning the social housing organizations and their willingness to cooperate, to work and think in new ways, the housing areas' situations with regard to physical renovations and/or municipal investments in the forthcoming years, and the municipalities' readiness to involve themselves ambitiously in the development of these areas from a strategic planning perspective (Realdania, n.d.).

1.2 "A DENMARK WITHOUT PARALLEL SOCIETIES – NO GHETTOES IN 2030"

Following the Prime Ministers New Year's Speech in 2018 there has been added focus on distressed social housing estates across the country, especially when the government in March 2018 presented a proposal for a legislative package that was passed in May 2018. This legislative package called "A Denmark Without parallel societies – No Ghettoes in 2030" concerns the distressed social housing estates and as the government expresses it – "ghettoes". The overall goal of this package is to lift all distressed areas and ghettoes, so they are aligned with the rest of the country and to remove all ghettoes by 2030 (Regeringen, 2018).

This legislative package has five themes: demolition and transformation, more sanctions related to upbringing and education of children, more control over who lives in the

distressed social housing estates, harder punishments and more policing and last pointing out three national "ghetto representatives" to supervise and control the process of implementing this package. For the coming work of retrofitting and demolishing in the distressed areas 10m DKK has been prioritized (Regeringen, 2018).

Another aspect of this ghetto legislation is the government's "ghetto-list", which consists of a list of distressed social housing estates around the country and the estates that have been on the list for the last four years in a row is pointed out as "hard ghettoes". The social housing organizations in these areas and the respective municipalities have six months to complete a development plan for the area, which is to be completed by July 2019 (Realdania, 2018). The plan must include a strategy for reducing the share of family-sized housing in the designated area to less than 40% (Regeringen, 2018).

1.3 SOCIAL HOUSING ORGANIZATIONS

The social housing estates around Denmark are built and administrated by the social housing organizations. There are approximately 750 social housing organizations that administrate around 7.700 estates located across Denmark (Trafik-, Bygge- og Boligstyrelsen, 2019). These social housing organizations are non-profit organizations with the aim of providing affordable housing for all and give the residents a right to influence the place they live (Boligselskabernes Landsforening, 2019). The housing organizations play a big part in both the development of new housing estates but also in the development of the already established housing estates that experience issues. They work in collaboration with the municipality, where the municipality functions both as a supervisor regarding certain matters and through a partnership of lifting these distressed areas to secure safe and good living conditions in all areas (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2015). Even though the social housing organizations play a big part in the development of these areas, the social housing estates are under the influence of the tenant's democracy. These democratic principles have been included from the beginning and through this tenant's democracy, all projects, initiatives and decisions for the area have to be put to a vote where the residents of the estates can vote for or against projects or initiatives for the area (Boligselskabernes Landsforening, 2019).

1.4 PROBLEM FORMULATION

Currently there is much political focus and debate concerning distressed social housing in Denmark especially after the government's legislative package concerning parallel societies. Although many municipalities have worked at improving conditions in distressed areas over the last decades, it is not clear what implications characterizing some of these neighbourhoods as a ghetto has. Against this backdrop, the problem formulation is:

What effect has the classification of distressed areas had on the way municipalities address issues concerning social inequality?

- How have and are municipalities working with improving living conditions in distressed areas? What are their strategies?
- How do the municipal strategies differ from each other?
- What effects has the classification of the distressed areas as ghettoes had on the municipal strategies? And has this affected their collaboration with the housing associations?

1.5 DEVELOPING AN ANSWER TO THE PROBLEM FORMULATION

The problem formulation will be answered through a case-study of improving distressed areas in two different places. These places are located in the municipalities of Gladsaxe and Høje-Taastrup, which both lie in the greater Copenhagen area. These areas have been chosen on another offset for this thesis that dealt with the rising need for housing in greater Copenhagen due to the rise of housing and rent prices. The focus changed rather quickly to the municipal work for distressed areas and the common ground of the Realdania project 'City in Balance' became the basis for the choice of the two municipalities chosen for the case-study in this thesis. Both municipalities have distressed areas but at a very different scale, whereas Værebro Park in Gladsaxe per. 1st of December 2018 is no longer defined by the government as a distressed area. Høje-Taastrup still has three distressed areas where two of them are classified as "hard ghettoes". One similarity they share is the involvement in the Realdania project 'City in Balance'. Since the project is still ongoing this thesis cannot include or asses the actual physical or social implications of the strategic planning for the

distressed areas. Instead it will focus on the cooperation between the actors involved in the process of developing these strategic development plans and how a classification of these areas affects the work done by municipalities. Hence this thesis will be viewed from the municipalities perspective but can also gain insight in the cooperation between public and private actors in the development of distressed social housing areas.

1.6 STRUCTURE FOR THESIS

The following section will outline the structure of the research in this thesis and how the different sections are connected.

1 Introduction

Problem formulation

2 Research Design and Theory of science

3 Methodology

4 Theory

Classification

Planning approach of governments

Network governance

Public sector as arena for co-creation

5 Analysis

The social housing sector in general and involved actors

Research concerning planning for social housing

Discourse about distressed social housing estates

Involved actors

6 Case description and municipal strategies

Høje-Taastrup	Gladsaxe
History and development	History and development
Discourse of the areas	Discourse of the areas
Involved actors	Involved actors
Strategies and planning approach	Strategies and planning approach

7 The effects of classification of distressed social housing areas on municipal work

8 Conclusion

The introduction (chapter 1) will present the field of the research in this thesis concerning distressed social housing estates and the government's legislative package about parallel societies, which will lead to the problem formulation and the research questions. Following will be a research design and theory of science for this thesis. Chapter 2 will outline the methodological approach and the theoretical frame for this research. The following chapter (chapter 4) will outline the different theories and the context they are used in this thesis. Next is the analysis (chapter 5), which will be in two parts. The first part will describe the Danish social housing sector in general, the ongoing discourse of the sector and the actors involved and their roles. The second part of the analysis will be two separate analyses of the two cases of Høje-Taastrup Municipality and Gladsaxe Municipality. Here the development, history, resources and political agendas of the municipalities will be outlined, and their strategies and planning approaches will be analysed in relation to differences and similarities between them. This will lead to a discussion following up on the findings from the analyses of the two municipalities and their strategies. Here the possible effects of classification and of the ghetto legislation will be discussed in relation to the two municipalities, hence much of the essence of the problem formulation will be discussed in this section. The discussion will then lead to the next chapter containing a conclusion of the thesis and answers to the problem formulation.

2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND THEORY OF SCIENCE

This chapter will firstly outline the research design for this thesis and following will be a section about the validity, reliability and generalizability of this research, which will appear in the last section of this chapter.

2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design for this thesis takes its point of departure in the stated problem formulation and this will set the stage for this research concerning the effects of classification of distressed social housing estates on the municipal work for social inequalities in urban planning. This thesis will then investigate different approaches to planning for distressed social housing estates and the possible implications of a classification in planning for distressed social housing estates where the analysis will explain the possible

consequences and effects for municipal planning in distressed social housing estates (de Vaus, 2001). The chosen methodological approach of this thesis is a case-study of Høje-Taastrup Municipality and Gladsaxe Municipality which will be used as an in-depth study of an overall phenomenon in a real-life situation (de Vaus, 2001). The municipal approach to planning for distressed social housing estates in Høje-Taastrup and Gladsaxe can be seen as the individual case within the overall field of municipal approaches to social housing estates in Denmark. The two cases are relevant for the problem formulation since they have similarities and differences at the same time regarding the size of issues in social housing estates and the participation in the Realdania project 'City in Balance'. This case-study can be used for specific understanding of the work within these two municipals, but it cannot provide a base for empirical generalizations or be representative for a specific issue or problem (de Vaus, 2001) but it can provide a detailed description of one particular example that can generate a more concrete and practical example (Flyvbjerg, 2006) and can offer a more unique knowledge and deeper understanding of the chosen field of research (Flyvbjerg, 2012). When using the case-study as a research design it can provide a detailed insight to the dynamics between certain actors and for this thesis this regards the dynamics between the housing organizations and the municipalities. Based on state-of-the-art research of the field of study and an analysis of the social housing sector in general and the discourse surrounding the sector will be two separate descriptive analyses of the two different municipalities and their political agendas, resources and development history. It will also contain an analysis of the strategies and planning approaches both over time and current. To understand the planning practices and possible effects on this and asking the 'why' questions it is important to gain knowledge of the phenomenon and facts hereof and here the throughout description can lead to a more explanatory research (de Vaus, 2001). This will be unfolded in the last section in the analysis containing a discussion of the different strategic approaches in the two municipalities and outline the differences and similarities and the possible effects of the governments legislative package. The following section will help clarifying the frame for understanding the field of research.

2.2 THEORY OF SCIENCE: RELIABILITY, VALIDITY AND GENERALIZABILITY

The reliability and validity of a research differ whether it is a qualitative or quantitative research and in general it makes sense to measure validity of a quantitative study and context, since the qualitative study often focuses on different actors' subjective considerations that works as snapshots of the reality (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015).

The approach for the investigation of distressed social housing estates in Høje-Taastrup and Gladsaxe Municipality in this thesis have been a qualitative case-based research focusing on the two municipalities. Since the focus of this thesis is the case-study it is relevant to consider the methods used in this thesis according to the validity and reliability. The generalizability will rarely be possible in a qualitative research and the external validity concerns the extent that the results from a study can be generalized beyond a particular study (de Vaus, 2001), hence the degree of generalization. The external validity is often a problem for qualitative research because of the case-study approach and researching smalls samples of a reality (Bryman, 2008). The results from this study concerns the municipalities of Høje-Taastrup and Gladsaxe and both municipalities are participating in the same development project 'City in Balance', therefore it should not be possible to generalize the results to other cases. However, this thesis focuses on the effects of classification of distressed areas and ghettoes on the work of municipalities, and since numerous municipalities experience distressed areas within their district it can be argued that the results regarding classification can be used in other municipalities in Denmark.

Regarding validity it concerns the choice of methods used in a study and whether they are the right ones to examine the chosen problem or field. It also concerns the conclusions of the research based on the empiricism to make based on the collected data (Bryman, 2008). For the interviews conducted for this thesis interview guides were created to keep qualified interviews and the purpose of the questions considered before each interview. Where there is a possibility of similar statements given in interviews by different informants it can be avoided by asking open questions leading to more personalized answers with possible examples (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). To secure internal validity it can be found in agreements of the information gathered for the study (Bryman, 2008) and the statements of the informants can be validated through similar opinions or statements found in the used literature. Another approach to secure validity of a study is by making sure that the study

investigates what the methodology intents to investigate (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). To ensure a validity of the empirical material in this thesis it is important to describe the methodology of how the empirical material is collected and being critical of the collected data. To ensure validity of the empirical material it is important to consider whether the material is analysing the chosen field of study in the same context as it is indented in the thesis. Regarding the validation of the empirical material collected from interviews it is important to ask questions in accordance to the interview guide to ensure that there is a continuous and correct focus on working with development of distressed social housing estates throughout all conducted in interviews which then can support a validity of the research.

3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter will outline the methodological approach to answering the problem formulation. Firstly, the motivation for investigating the chosen problem area will be outlined, and then the theoretical frame will be presented. Followed by a description of the approach to conducting empirical material for the thesis where the informants will be presented, and reflections of the interviews will be outlined.

3.1 MOTIVATION

The motivation for investigating the effects of classification of distressed areas on the work done by municipalities originated from an interest in investigating consequences of the government's legislative package "A Denmark Without Parallel Societies – No Ghettoes in 2030". Working as an intern in the Municipality of Copenhagen in the Unit for Social Housing prior to writing this thesis gave me an insight in the challenges and frustrations of the employees in Copenhagen municipality following this ghetto legislation. Inspiration was also found in literature and other studies regarding the subject and the approach to working for the development for distressed areas in general. The following section will introduce the theoretical frame for this research.

3.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section will describe the literature and theory used to gain an understanding of the field of research and to frame the research of this thesis.

Drawing on insights from sociology, arguments of classification and categorization will be used to understand what it means to classify something and why we do it (Risberg & Pilhofer's (2018).This will be used to understand the classification of distressed areas and the restrictions or issues that occur for the municipalities in relation to this classification. To gain an understanding of the municipal response to the classification of the distressed areas and ghettoes and an understanding of the overall governmental approach to distressed areas, arguments and insight from organizational theory will be used (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). Hereafter the focus will be specified to municipal planning for distressed areas with focus on the internal organization and cooperation within (Engberg and Larsen, 2010). Still drawing on the organizational frame of planning approaches to distressed areas more focused on the external partnerships, hence the cooperation between municipalities and external private partners through a co-creation process (Torfing et.al, 2016), which will be used to gain an understanding of the ongoing collaboration between the municipalities and the social housing organizations in the two cases of Gladsaxe municipality and Høje-Taastrup municipality. It will also be used to investigate a dismantling of the public sector towards something else that has not yet been specified.

3.3 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

To gather important knowledge in this field of study and for this thesis, several documents have been used, and for this thesis three kinds of documents and literature have been used and analysed in this thesis;

- Project descriptions of the strategic development plans for Værebro Park in Gladsaxe Municipality and Charlotteager, Taastrupgaard and Gadehavegård in Høje-Taastrup Municipality.
- Documents and articles about the specific distressed areas
- Municipal plans and policies for the distressed areas

The municipal policies and plans for distressed areas and urban development have been important documents for this thesis, since the focus is on possible effects on the work of

municipalities following a classification of the areas the municipalities work and develop for. The project description for the 'City in Balance' project has been used to gain an insight and overview of the process of strategic development plans in Gladsaxe and Høje-Taastrup Municipality and have been used as a basis for the interviews. The mentioned documents have also been used as a basis for investigating discourses and narratives in official documents such as these. These documents were either retrieved electronically from the municipalities, Realdania or the social housing organizations' website or gained access through informants who would send such documents after the interview as a follow-up.

3.4 THE CHOSEN MUNICIPALITIES

The two case-municipalities in this thesis have been chosen on the basis of another offset for this thesis. The original thought was to investigate the municipal strategies for distressed municipalities surrounding Copenhagen in order to investigate planning approaches regarding a high number of newcomers from Copenhagen due to a rise in housing prices. Gladsaxe municipality has one of the highest numbers of newcomers from Copenhagen per year and hence it was chosen for the first interview. As the interview progressed it became clear that there were very different approaches to the development of distressed housing areas from a municipal perspective. Since Gladsaxe municipality is a part of the Realdania project 'City in Balance' it made sense to interview employees in Høje-Taastrup municipality since they are both involved in the Realdania Project.

Since the area Brøndby Strand was formerly on the government's list of distressed areas the municipality was contacted. They informed that they no longer had any distressed areas in their municipality and therefore could not assist in gaining knowledge of their work. Here there was a clear distinction between the municipal approach in relation to distressed areas whether or not they are classified, and the final focus of the thesis was concluded. Gladsaxe and Høje-Taastrup municipalities were chosen since they were both involved in the making of strategic development plans in cooperation with Realdania. Hence, they have experienced similar processes but have a clear distinction regarding residents, size of the areas and the extent of social issues in the distressed areas.

3.5 INTERVIEWS

To investigate whether the legislative package of the government affects the work done by municipalities it is crucial to interview employees in the chosen municipalities to gain an insight in their everyday-work and how they plan for distressed areas and how this might be affected. The interview is also a way of gaining insight to the cooperation between the different actors in the process of the strategic planning done in both municipalities in relation to the 'City in Balance' project. Hence interviews were conducted with employees in Gladsaxe Municipality and Høje-Taastrup Municipality, but also with employees of the social housing organizations that work together with the municipalities. Here the interviews will work as a supplement to the municipal plans and the strategic planning for the distressed areas. The qualitative interview was chosen as an approach since it can unfold complex relations and dynamics in social interactions (Kvale, 2007) that can otherwise be difficult to uncover, and the interviews are all conducted as semi-structured interviews that allowed the possibility of meanings and personal experiences of the informant to be understood (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). The semi-structured interviews also offer the possibility to discuss and address other issues should the informant open them up and thereby optimizing the knowledge gained from the interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015).

The interview guides all contained questions about:

- The specific distressed areas and the characteristics of these areas
- The planning for the development of the areas
- The cooperation between the different actors
- Political agendas, and other factors that could affect the collaboration between actors

After each interview the questions were reconsidered and altered before the next interview to incorporate new information given in the conducted interview but also to avoid confusion and misunderstanding from earlier interviews.

3.5.1 CHOOSING THE INFORMANTS

The first interview was with the director of the City- and Environment Administration in Gladsaxe Municipality and was used as a way of gaining knowledge and insight to possible issues in the planning for distressed areas. After this interview and the new insight into the

'City in Balance' project, several interviews were set up with key actors in both Gladsaxe and Høje-Taastrup Municipality. The remaining interviews were conducted with staff and employees working specifically with tasks concerning the distressed areas rather than directors or politicians. Hereafter, since the thesis will also focus on the cooperation between actors in this field, interviews were conducted with employees of the social housing organizations involved in the development of specific distressed areas to gain a more nuanced understanding of the work from both sides. Contact to the employees in the housing organizations were established through Philip Arnhild from Høje-Taastrup Municipality and Anette Lykke Otto from Gladsaxe Municipality, since they are colleagues in the process of the strategic development plans for the distressed areas regarding the 'City in Balance' project.

List of informants and interviews conducted:

- Maj Green, Director of The City and Environment administration in Gladsaxe Municipality. Conducted 12th of March.

- Philip Arnhild, Development advisor and in charge of the strategic planning part of the Housing Social Taskforce in Høje-Taastrup Municipality. Conducted 28th of March.

- Anonymous A, Employee of a social housing organization. Conducted 9th of April.

- Anonymous B, Employee at social housing organization. Conducted 23rd of April.

- Antonella De Palo, housing social consultant in VIBO. Conducted 25th of April.

- Anette Lykke Otto, senior consultant in Gladsaxe Municipality concerning cross-organizational tasks for distressed social housing estates. Conducted 26th of April.

The interviews were all recorded and transcribed to ensure accountability. The interviews were all conducted in Danish and transcribed in Danish and can all be found in the appendix. Quotes used from these interviews have been translated by the author.

3.5.2 REFLECTIONS OF THE INTERVIEWS

When creating an interview guide there are some risks to be aware of as an interviewer. The interview guide can often be influenced by the interviewer's own biases, background and preunderstandings. Also, when creating an interview guide the interviewer might seek specific answers which can lead in a direction of the preferred answer and this might not

necessarily be the correct answer. To accommodate this, I was aware of creating neutral questions that were open so the informant could give longer and more subjective answers. When analysing the answers from the interviews and using them for this thesis I was aware of possible underlying purposes of promoting specific answers from the different informants. This is especially relevant because of the ongoing partnerships between the municipalities and the social housing organizations and the political aspect of these partnerships. Therefore, when using the answers in the analysis I had to remain critical since they might be from a repertoire of prepared beforehand (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). Different scenarios were experienced during the interviews conducted for this thesis. In the interview with Anonymous A, he did not wish to answer almost every question even though they had been sent to him beforehand by his request. Here it was necessary to ask more specific questions, whereas he did not respond with long and subjective answers to the more open and neutral question. In the interview with Philip Arnhild he had a very clear presentation of his answers and this might be due to the very political aspects of the strategic development plans.

4 THEORY

This chapter will introduce the chosen theories for this thesis and how they are relevant to the chosen field of research. The first section provides an overall understanding of what it means to categorize something (Risbbjerg & Pilhofer, 2018); in this case the classification of the distressed social housing estates and ghettoes through the government's ghetto-list. In the following section Sørensen & Torfing's (2009) text *Making Governance Networks Effective and Democratic Through Metagovernance* is used to gain an understanding of the planning approach of governments, which will lead to the next section concerning the planning approach within municipalities and network governance from the text *Context-orientated Meta-Governance in Danish Urban Regeneration* by Lars Engberg & Jacob Norvig (2010). At last Torfing et.al's text *Transforming the Public Sector into an Arena for Co-creation: Barriers, Drivers, and Ways Forward* from 2016 will be used to understand the public sector as an arena for co-creation.

The abovementioned literature will be used throughout the analysis and discussion to

understand the categorizations and hierarchy that the municipality operates under and how this might influence the co-creation and cooperation with the social housing organizations.

4.1 CATEGORIES AND CATEGORIZATION

To categorize something is a way of organizing and categorization is essential to our sense making and human activities in general (Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018). The use of categorization can function as a tool or a coping strategy for remaining some sort of control or to structure experiences (Jacob, 2004 in Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018). The categorization is then used to help simplifying and guiding our actions and behaviours by providing routine, structure and order (Banton, 2011, Vergne and Wry, 2014 in Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018). Classification can be put into a system, where things are put into boxes to do bureaucratic work or produce knowledge from the system (Bowker & Star, 2010 in Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018). The categories of a system can sort reality into boxes where the content or object of the box tends to correlate in its attributes. These categories are subjective since the individual perceiving dissimilarities between these categories have different standpoints and points of view hence the people determining the categories can have a power in defining the norm and what aspects are countered as a difference (Swan, 2010 in Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018). Since the people defining the categories have the power of deciding which attributes should act as the differences between groups and therefore a categorization can act as a process of power demonstration (Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018). The different attributes used to divide categories and create distinction and importance given to these attributes is influenced by the perception of these that the individual or people creating the categories possess. The distinction of them is especially influenced by the individual's perception of the differences between them (Harrison & Klein, 2007 in Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018).

The people determining the categories have the power to define what differentiates the different categories, in this case of distressed social housing estates it is the government that have the power to define what is classified as distressed or as a ghetto.
The municipalities that have distressed areas or ghetto within their districts have to comply with the rules and regulations that the classification of these areas imply and to understand the response or options of the municipalities to this classification, theories of governance

will be used and described below. To understand the structure of the work for developing these distressed areas, the following sections will also outline the planning approach of the government and the collaboration and partnership between the municipality and the private actors involved.

4.2 PLANNING APPROACH OF GOVERNMENTS

At first theorists of network governance were mainly interested in the descriptions of different forms of networks and how they might function as mechanisms of governance. Later on, theorists changed focus to an aim of assessing the political impact of these governance networks and how to improve the performance of these networks (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). Here the theorists were more focused on the impacts that the governance networks can have on effective and democratic governance. This is often deemed as important since the idea or rationale behind the networks is to meet the needs for enhancing the effectiveness of public governance (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). But the performance of these networks depends on the context of both the institutional design, potential political struggles and the social context (ibid.).

Sørensen & Torfing (2009) argue that there is an assertion that public managers at different levels, and also politicians, have a responsibility to chase and develop the potentials of the governance networks. Because of these actors' roles they are charged with defending public interests, but there are not guarantee that they assume this position if they might be engaged in political conflict or power struggles and may use their position to pursue other interests (Ibid.). But democracy forces them to justify their actions because of the norm that prescribes the public governance should be democratic and effective (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009).

These governance networks are widely used and praised, but they also have their limitations being somewhat unstable and diffuse. Still they add to the transformation of the functions and form of the government and also break down traditional contradictions of public versus private and create new spaces of governance (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). Here the governance networks can help blurring the boundaries between state and society when facilitating a negotiated coordination and a co-governance (Koiiman, 1993 in Sørensen &

Tofting, 2009). The partnerships bring together both private and public actors that can work across distinctions of different levels of governance (Bache & Flinders, 2004 in Sørensen & Tofting, 2009).

Sørensen & Torfing (2009) describe governance networks as mutually dependent actors, both private and public, that interact in negotiations that take place within an institutionalized framework of shared knowledge, rules and norms and that also facilitates self-regulated policy making in the shadow of hierarchy. There is an interdependency between these actors, and they maintain their autonomy in a way where they are not commanded by superiors (ibid.)

In the beginning of these networks or partnerships the rules and terms are not agreed upon but will be formulated through time and be a framework of norms, rules and values of these partnerships (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). The decision-making within these networks might not only change the policy and regulations of these but also the roles of the actors involved might change and their mutual perception (ibid.). These governance networks might help solve wicked problems and enhance democratic participation in the public policy-making but it can also create possible conflicts and make the public governance less transparent (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). To ensure that these networks contribute to effective and democratic governance, public meta governors must develop strategic and collaborative competences to become able to meta govern these governance networks (Ibid.).

4.3 NETWORK GOVERNANCE – PLANNING APPROACH WITHIN THE MUNICIPALITY

The interest in urban regeneration of a larger scale has had more political focus the last two decades whereas policy agendas and methods have both been integrated into approaches for distressed areas that are area-based and focus both on the physical and the social part of an area (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). These regeneration programmes have also had more focus on the participation of citizens and hence the programmes are often combining public-private partnerships, citizens' participation and place-based bottom-up strategies (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). This stands in contrast to the traditional layout of labour where it is divided into sectors in local government, which has a tendency to create difficulties for

the planning in general but also difficulties when implementing area-based and integrated

public service delivery in new and different forms (Engberg & Larsen, 2010).

In times of budget cuts, the local government can pursue partnerships that includes non-

public actors and resources to meet the growing demands for public services and hence the

local government has a financial initiative for these public-private partnerships. The

implementation these partnerships is depending on the development of governance

networks with actors who are semi-autonomous and interdependent. These actors also

have to engage in negotiation and the production of policy in a framework created by the

public authorities and they have to engage is this framework voluntarily.

These partnerships or networks can have several advantages as they can be adaptable,

flexible, channel knowledge, needs and preferences of actors, act as arenas for dialogue.

They can also channel critique and conflicts of and between actors hence they can be a

strategic tool to solve complex local planning situations that can have a multi-layered

perspective (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). Area-based interventions can then also establish

channels of communication between the citizens and the municipality where the problems

of the citizens can be articulated and incorporated in the planning (ibid.).

These area-based regeneration programmes often experience an insufficient cross-sector

coordination but also governance conflicts. These conflicts and lack of coordination can slow

down the involvement of stakeholders and the insufficient organizational coordination can

cause conflict between municipal administrations that can lead to the establishment of

conflicts in specific projects or partnerships (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). Seen from a policy

view the task and challenge for local government is to evolve partly external and partly

internal participatory governance institutions, but the traditional organisation of public

service organs and decision-making is often characterised by a division of functions, which is

often referred to as the "silo-mentality" (Healey, 2007 in Engberg & Larsen, 2010). But this

generates an ambition to create more linkages between the policy fields in the process of

their impact on places and connectiveness of urban areas and a more collected government

(Engberg & Larsen, 2010).

Regarding the means of participation there exists input and output oriented means, where the input-oriented means strive to secure an authentic representation of the governed, and the output-oriented means focus on the preferences and needs of the citizens and the system's capacity to respond to these needs (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). Engberg & Larsen (2010) argues that this strong emphasis on the area-based interventions has put a main focus on the input means and creating an input overload that can cause coordination problem. To counteract this overload the local government should put greater focus on a strategic integration and coordination of output-oriented governance mechanisms. The local government should also consider the particular procedure and whether it could cause other actors to alter or change in a way that would be beneficial for all actors (ibid.). This multi-level governance is not only relevant between different actors, but it is also relevant inside a municipality because of the different teams and administrations and it is important to ensure a coordination or alignment between these administrations and groups to ensure that the organizational can act as a unit. A coordination internally is also important to counteract possible rivalry that could block a successful implementation of a programme (Engberg & Larsen, 2010).

In these partnerships there is often developed a dialogue of positive feedback between the system and the local participatory processes which influences the way the system responds to the local participatory processes and also stimulates innovation and problem solving (Healey, 2005 in Engberg & Larsen, 2010). This is often reached through the use of strategisation, where potentials and possibilities are drawn out to further particular objectives and to shape actions in reference to new information to ensure the correspondence of the different actors' views (Healey, 2007 in Engberg & Larsen, 2010). These networks that are formed during these area-based regeneration programmes are characterised by being semi-autonomous meaning actors participate in the programme voluntarily and can opt out anytime (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). The networks are only semi-autonomous and not fully autonomous since they only address certain collective issues and policy agendas, but this limited autonomy does not mean that the local government can regulate governance behind the backs of the other actors of the network and act as a unitary meta-governor. But in practice it means that the public authorities can influence

policy arenas by having access to different meta-governance strategies and be selective of the actors and issues and exclude or include these, make their preferences visible and create connections between the actors of the network. In the end the most important tool for a local government is the capability of combining, collecting and to process knowledge through organizational learning (Engberg & Larsen, 2010).

4.4 THE PUBLIC SECTOR AS AN ARENA FOR CO-CREATION

According to Torfing et.al (2016) the public sector is undergoing a transformation from a legal authority and a service provider towards being an arena for co-creation and replacing New Public Management with the so-called New Public Governance. But a complete transformation requires new institutional designs, some systematic changes and new forms of public leadership (Torfing et.al, 2016). The New Public Management has been concerned with importing and using managing tools from the private sector (Morgan & Cook, 2014 in Tofting et.al, 2016) and has been too one-sided and concerning with efficiency (Torfing et.al, 2016).

The public sector is an organisation that serves multiple purposes, which has resulted in an overriding focus on efficiency and the idea of multiple actors capable of improving the public sector has been overlooked and the public sector has sometimes been equated with a private firm where the public and democratic character has been deprived (Torfing et.al, 2016). The public sector has experienced a crossfire between growing demands and expectations and economic constraints, and this has led to in interest is the possibilities of involving citizens and private actors to solve public tasks to generate effective solutions to joint challenges. This has led to the development of the new administration paradigm New Public Governance, where the aim is to alter the public sector from an authority to a service provider and the to an arena for co-creation (Alford, 2009; Bovaird & Loeffler, 2012 in Tofting et.al, 2016).

The co-creation has emphasis om collaborative interaction through networks and partnerships and this new paradigm is widely used at a local level (Torfing et.al, 2016). This has been due to a need for additional resources to meet the exceeding challenges and expectation of the public sector in times of scarcity of public funds (ibid.). The demands for

the public sector are too complex to be met and solved by the public sector alone and the local governments aim to involve citizens in improving public welfare services whereas regional authorities seek to involve private stakeholders in the co-creation of planning and transport solutions (ibid.).

The concept of co-creation is not a new one and, in some countries, there have been tradition of joint forces of public authorities, private actors and citizens but the new aspect is that in some countries the co-creation is perceived as a new public administration paradigm because it involves a whole new thinking about public policy making and service delivery (Torfing et.al, 2016). There is a classic view that the public sector serves as the sole provider of public goods but the co-created public governance breaks with this view, but it also breaks with the idea that competition between the public and the private actors is a key to better and cheaper public services (Torfing et.al, 2016). A co-creation replaces this competition between actors and replaces it with a multi-actor collaboration and also transforms the perception of the public sector (ibid.). Hence the public sector should not function as an almighty authority but should instead facilitate a constructive partnership and collaboration with relevant actors, that can aid in the solving of shared problems (Torfing et.al, 2016).

For this transformation of the public sector to happen public organizations and professionals work together across the institutional borders that are separating the private and public sector. By doing so, all involved actors gain insight into experiences, knowledge, energies and ideas of the other actors (Torfing et.al, 2016).

The co-creation in the public sector can be present in different context, since the public sector has several core functions, such as; public problem-solving trough development of strategies and policies and provision of services (Torfing et.al, 2016). Regarding the provision of services, the context is stable, and the roles of the public and private actors are clearly defined concerning a specific service provider and a specific group of end-users. The actors from both the private users and the public sector is closely connected in most cases regarding the production and delivery of a service, which is beneficial regarding the co-creation (Torfing et.al, 2016). But the problem-solving will often take place in less

institutionalized and less routinized contexts which involves a rather large range of public and private actors who can deem themselves relevant, although these will be of varying degrees. This will often be a diffuse range of actors who might have a potential part in the context makes it difficult to facilitate a co-creation (ibid.). This broad range of stakeholders involved may share a common problem that they wish to solve, but they might not be connected to each other or have any experience with interaction between these types of actors, which can also complicate a co-creation (ibid.).

Another factor regarding the co-creation is the difficulty in reassuring democratic reliability because of the possibility of actors participating that are non-elected and the possible lack of transparent decision-making (Papadopoulus, 2007 in Torfing et.al, 2016). Also, the participation in this decision-making might be biased or favouring the most advantaged segments of the population that have the most time and energy to participate in these decision-making processes. They also might possess knowledge and resources that can help them gain influence on these joint decisions (Torfing et.al, 2016). The resources spent on organizing the collaboration between these actors might also be costly if there exists different commitments and expectations that are hard to align (Huxham & Vangen, 2005 in Torfing et.al, 2016). This could possible lead do conflicts that can compromise or create a deadlock for efficient and positive results and might lead to compromises based on the least common denominator (Gray, 1989 in Torfing et.al, 2016).

In hindsight of these abovementioned risks, the co-creation can be a tool or strategy for more efficient and effective solutions that can be though improving adapting already existing solutions to make them more holistic or though collaborative new and innovative solutions that can replace the previous and existing ones (Sørensen & Torfing, 2011 in Torfing et.al, 2016).

The transformation or change of the organizations and institutions is relatively easy, but the changing roles and identities of the public and private actors are often the ones that are difficult to change. The redefinition of a role and adopting a new role is not always problem-free and the challenge is for these actors to stop clinging to their old perceptions to avoid malfunction in a new environment and within a new governance paradigm (Jæger &

Sørensen, 2003 in Torfing et.al, 2016). The public actors might have issues when collaborating with actors from different organizations and sectors that they cannot control whereas the private actors might see each other as competitions fighting for public contract which can complicate a collaborative problem-solving that is based on the sharing of knowledge (Torfing et.al, 2016). For the successful collaboration between actors and a positive outcome of a co-creation there is a need for a mental shift of the actors to embrace their new roles and new arenas of co-creation – both in the private and public sector (Torfing et.al, 2016). Here it is somewhat a need for a deconstruction of the public sector in order to redefine the terms and create a new co-creation arena with the social housing organizations.

5 SOCIAL HOUSING IN DENMARK: HISTORY AND RESEARCH

To gain an understanding of the municipal work to improve the distressed areas it is important to gain an understanding of the social housing sector in Denmark and how it is organised. This chapter will present the historical background for the social housing sector in Denmark and how the sector is structured. The chapter will also outline initiatives and research regarding planning for distressed areas. Furthermore, the chapter will present the discourse surrounding distressed areas and "ghettoes" and outline the actors involved and their roles in the process of transforming these areas.

5.1 THE DANISH SOCIAL HOUSING SECTOR IN A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

As stated in the introduction, almost 20 % of the Danish population lives in social housing (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). The social housing sector in Denmark consists of housing for rent provided by non-profit housing organizations and these organizations are regulated by the state and supervised by the municipality. There are around 750 housing organizations and 7,700 housing estates that all differ in size (Trafik-, Bygge- og Boligstyrelsen, 2019) and the share of these housing estates that are deemed as distressed areas or ghettoes is only a small share compared to the overall number of housing section in Denmark.

A remarkable aspect of the social housing sector in Denmark is the involvement of residents in the decision-making process through the tenant's democracy (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2015). The tenant's democracy has been practiced since the beginning of the twentieth

century and became a legal aspect of the social housing in 1984 when the Law on Tenants Democracy was passed (ibid.). This means that changes to the estates has to be put to vote among the residents to be passed and that these residents can vote against changes, plans or projects regarding the estates they live in (ibid.).

A lot of these social housing estates and sections were built around the same time in the 1960s-70s as a part of the newly developed welfare state (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2015). During this period 600,000 new homes were built around Denmark and the social housing made up around 200,000 of these new homes (Bjørn, 2008). These new homes should provide universal access housing for all, and where the rent should be regulated to stay at a level where low-income residents could stay in their homes and not have to relocate due to higher rent (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL HOUSING ESTATES

Many of these new estates were built in the suburb surrounding bigger cities and many families relocated from the inner city's dark and unhealthy backyards (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). The surrounding nature, the peace and quiet after a long working day and the safer areas with lesser traffic was an improvement of the life inside the city (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). Because of this improvement and the lack of homes these big social housing estates were a great success – in the beginning. But not long after the social and physical issues appeared (ibid.). Not only did the areas experience issues but the societal norms and values also changed, and families tended to move out to single-family houses that was made possible due to tax advantages (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). The physical part of the social housing also experienced issues, since many of the housing estates faced construction damages, since these were some of the first to be built by premanufactures structures, and many damages appeared (Bjørn, 2008). A lot of money was spent to repair the damages through expensive refurbishment projects in the 1980s (Bjørn, 2008).

Because of this growing need for repair on the estates, the role of The National Building Fund changed, where they would support refurbishment projects and instead the state would support the construction of new homes (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017).

The focus on these issues began already in 1976 when it was pointed out, that these estates no longer provided good homes for all, but the weakest group of society would likely be largely represented in these estates (Bech-Danielsen et.al, 2011). In 1985 a report confirmed the first warning, and that the estates had a bad connection to the surrounding areas and a bad correlation within (Ibid.). This led to the changing political discourse of distressed areas in the 1990s and later the term 'ghetto' appears in relation to these areas (ibid). Here the focus changes to the concentration of ethnic minorities and a failed integration with the rest of society. Here there was a need for social initiatives.

5.2 THE DISTRESSED AREAS IN A RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE AND INITIATIVES FOR THESE AREAS

Through time there have been different approaches to the research regarding planning for distressed urban areas. The following section will provide an overview of the different approaches and also outline the different initiatives that have been applied to solve the issues in distressed social housing estates.

A GOVERNMENTAL AND COLLABORATIVE VIEW

As mentioned in the chapter above, the discourse and general view on the distressed urban areas changed during the 1990s and there was a recognition of comprehensive social and physical issues in these areas. In 1991 Jan Kooiman researched the balance between the government and the society and the public/ private sector (Kooiman, 1993) to investigate the tendency of a shift from the public to the private sector. Kooiman (1993) mentions new patterns of interaction between the society and the government regarding aspects such as welfare, education and physical planning. These new patterns should aid the discovery of new ways of coping or solving problems by creating new possibilities for governing (ibid.). These new patterns concern co-production, cooperative management and public-private partnership on all governing levels and the blurring of lines between the public and private sector and the government and society (Kooiman, 1993). Kooiman's (1993) approach to this cooperative planning is inspired by systems-theory, theories of inter-organizational networks, theories of the state, communication theory and theories of public administration and public management (Kooiman, 1993).

Since Kooiman's approach to collaborative management a lot of different approaches have spurred in the field of research – especially regarding the collaboration between the public and the private sector. Eva Sørensen and Jacob Torfing (2009) recognise the limits of the traditional top-down government and the possibilities of the networks composed by public and private actors as involved stakeholders and to build horizontal interactions between these public and private actors (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). Lars Engberg and Jacob Norvig Larsen (2011) regard the more local administrative practice in transforming the deprived areas with a focus on the municipal work and collaboration between private actors and the local government (the municipality) concerning area-based interventions in distressed areas. The theoretical approach of Engberg & Larsen (2010) is based on Patsy Healey's concept of strategisation and the approach to means of participation by Scharpf (1994). Furthermore, they mention the involvement of citizens in a new participatory planning approach, where local governments can apply for funding by the state for physical and social deprivation in distressed areas (Engberg & Larsen, 2010).

INITIATIVES TO SOLVE ISSUES IN DISTRESSED SOCIAL HOUSING ESTATES

Bech-Danielsen & Christensen (2017) argues, that there is not one plausible cause to some areas becoming distressed. It is a coincidence of several factors concerning construction damages, building style, scale of the estate, rent levels and the housing social assignment of the municipality. This coincidence of different factors has resulted in a concentration of vulnerable groups I certain estates (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017). There have been several initiatives to solve the issues in the distressed social housing estates and the approach of these differ whether they concern the physical or social structure in the area.

Architectonical and physical frame

Through time there have been much focus on the physical and architectonical part of the distressed areas but the approach to the physical frame is not always the same.
As mentioned earlier the housing estates that were built in the 1960s and 1970s had construction damages and many of the estates had to be renovated and the funds for these renovations come from The National Building Fund (Bjørn, 2008). The renovations happen though refurbishment plans, that cover damages to buildings, new facades, balconies and

other architectonical factors (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017).

The social housing organizations can apply for a loan by The National Building Fund that has a very low interest rate, that makes it possible for the housing organization of repair damages, but still keeping the rent low (Landsbyggefonden, n.d. c). The fund requires an analysis of the state of the estates before granting a loan to be sure of technical evidence of needs of repair. The exact content of each plan is different from one housing estate to another according to the needs of the housing estate in question, but the process of the refurbishment plan is mainly the same, hence the actors involved also tends to be the same. But whether or not a project is approved is up to the residents, who vote for or against the project through the tenant's democracy.

The physical frame and architectonical expression of distressed social housing estates have been included in the research with various perspectives. The overall approach is how physical transformations can influence the distressed social housing estates and their integration with the surroundings (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2016; Bjørn, 2008) and how these estates can be renewed in such a way that they can compete with the rest of the housing market concerning popularity (Bech-danielsen, 2012).

This approach is very focused on the overall physical structure and the coherence with the surrounding, hence this approach is somewhat a macro scale of the physical frame of distressed social housing. Another approach is more of a microscale, where the focus is on the individual social housing estate, and even individual sections. Bech-Danielsen et.al (2011) have published a larger study of renovations of ten social housing estates in Denmark built in the period of 1940s to 1970s. Here the renovations are evaluated regarding sustainability and the possibility to reduce the energy efficiency but also the value of the building as cultural heritage (Bech-Danielsen et.al, 2011). Hence, another approach of the physical frame of the social housing is the sustainable and energy efficiency part.

The social perspective

As there is a common agreement that there are issues concerning the physical frame of some of the social housing estates that disconnects the areas form the rest of the city and encloses them, there is also a broad agreement that some of these areas experience social

issues in varying degrees. To counteract the social issues in these distressed housing estates the housing organizations can apply for fund for social holistic plans, also granted by The National Building Fund. The social holistic plans are a collaboration between the housing organizations, the municipality and The National Building Fund. While physical refurbishment plans can be applied to any estate, the social holistic plans are aimed at the distressed social housing estates. The residents in distressed social housing estates have less opportunities for education, getting a job or to be well integrated in society, and the social holistic plans aim to counteract these issues to secure equal opportunities regardless of the neighbourhoods (Landsbyggefonden, n.d. d). These plans concern the aspects of crime prevention, employment, education, safety and responsibility of parents (Landsbyggefonden, n.d. d). The social holistic plans are more oriented towards the individual in the distressed estates with the idea, that supporting the individuals in the estate will create benefits for the whole area (De Palo, 2019). One downfall of this approach is the possibility of the individuals who have benefitted from these social initiatives move away from the area, whereas new residents with social issues move into the estate, creating a never-ending cycle. Hence this might benefit residents and individuals but does not necessarily change the character of the overall area (Arnhild, 2019).

In research, the general approach to the social aspect of distressed areas is somewhat focused on the *sense of place* and *sense of community* and how individuals from low-income and distressed communities connect with their home and environment and the attachment to place (Fogel, 2004; Taylor & Gottfredson, 1985; Giuliani, 2003) and the inclusive participation of individuals in civil society (Camino & Zeldin, 2010). But the use of *social mix* is also widely used both in research (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017) and in the political and municipal approach (Arnhild, 2019).

Strategic perspective

With initiatives regarding either the physical frame and structure or the social aspect regarding the individuals of these areas, there have been a need for a more overall perspective regarding the development of distressed social housing estates.

More long-term physical and social changes and a connection between these were needed as a more holistic and strategic approach. In 2004 the government set up a programme

committee, which task was to follow the development in the distressed social housing estates, as a part of the government's strategy for ghettoization in 2004 (KL, 2009). In 2008 this programme committee initiated that the social housing organizations and the municipalities should play a bigger role in the development of the distressed areas and a better collaboration was also needed (Programbestyrelsen, 2008). Realdania initiated a project called 'City-life in Balance', which is the project prior to 'City in Balance', which aimed to set the stage for a new strategic perspective in the development of the distressed social housing estates (Green, 2019; Realdania, n.d). Hereafter, the project 'City in Balance' was initiated with a very direct focus on the development of strategic development plans for distressed areas in collaboration with the municipalities and the social housing organizations (Realdania, n.d.).

When working for resolving the issues in the social housing estates, Bech-Danielsen & Stender (2017) presents various initiatives for solving these challenges. These initiatives concern the following:

- Mixed functions regarding institutions, culture, job and more
- Traffic connections with new roads and public transport
- Attractions in the estates that can create a reason for other than residents to visit the area. The could have cultural character or be leisure or sports facilities.
- Architectural upgrades or refurbishment of buildings
- Mixed types of housing
- Creating diffuse boundaries and adapting the physical barriers
- Demolition
- Remaking the outdoor areas with more variation and specific functions.
- The edges between the public and the private creating ownership and meeting places
- Tending to the image of the area
- Creating room for new communities and involving the residents and creating a sense of community
- Creating a connection between the physical and the social initiatives

(Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017).

These initiatives draw on the theoretical frame of *social mix* and *neighbourhood effect* (Friedrichs et.al, 2006; Hedman, 2011; Wilson, 1987) but also Sennett's (1977) arguments for the cruciality of a public space where people across social layers meet and that this is crucial for the general and social education of citizens (Sennett, 1977). Furthermore, the *eyes on the street*-approach by Jane Jacobs is used for the theoretical approach of these initiative (Jacobs, 1961).

These abovementioned initiatives are very oriented towards the physical frame and some of these initiatives are about creating a connection to the surroundings and breaking barriers and hereby creating a more strategic approach. Bech-Danielsen & Stender (2016) argues, that the challenge for urban design and policy is connecting and creating a link between different enclaves and create spaces where an exchange between social groups is possible. This has been the challenge for many distressed areas, where the monotonous building reinforces a spiral where the resourceful residents move away from the area and new residents with social issues move in, creating a concentration of social problems within an area, where the image of this area gradually worsens (Bjørn, 2008). Here, Bech-Danielsen & Christensen (2017) argues, that the government's ghetto-list have been a kick-start for working with initiatives more focused on both the physical and the social aspect of developing these areas. As a part of this, these initiatives gain a more overall strategic approach where the distressed area is not seen as a secluded area but included in the strategic planning for the surrounding neighbourhoods and city (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017).

The sections above have provided a description of the current initiatives in trying to resolve social issues and to develop distressed areas. To better understand the chosen field, the discourse of distressed social housing estates and the social housing sector and estates in general will be provided in the following chapter.

5.3 THE RECENT DISCOURSE SURROUNDING DISTRESSED SOCIAL HOUSING ESTATES

The distressed social housing estates have been a hot political topic, especially since the 1990s where the distressed areas were referred to as "ghettos". This rougher tone is noticeable in the policy-making, where the legislative package about parallel societies from 2018 is the sixth of its kind since 1994 (Ritzau, 2018). Around 2000 there was a shift in the focus on distressed social housing estates and the ethnicity of residents became a part of the debate. In 2004 the prime minister at the time, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, mention in his new year's speech;

"Many years of failed immigration policy has created immigration-ghettoes where the men are unemployed, the women are isolated, and the families only speak their native tongues… This creation of ghettoes leads to violence and criminals and confrontation"
(Statsministeriet, n.d, own translation).

This marked a discursive shift regarding the distressed social housing estates and the term of social mix became a part of the debate, the planning approach and also the discourse; that well-functioning housing estates were a mix of residents with different social backgrounds (Ritzau, 2018). Every year the government published a list of social housing estates that are deemed as distressed or as 'hard ghettoes' and since 2010 this is known as 'the ghetto list' (Holek & Bjørn, 2008 & Ritzau, 2018). But the ghettolist is not only ill looked upon – whereas Bech-Danielsen & Christensen (2017) argues, that the ghettolist has helped to start the development of more strategic approaches to solve the issues in the distressed social housing estates. The ghetto legislation from 2010 also marks a shift in the approach to the distressed social housing estates, where "strategic demolition" was introduced and the possibility to assign homes to refugees or people with utter needs in the favour of resourceful residents that were employed or under education, again referring to the social mix as a way to solve issues in distressed social housing estates (Ritzau, 2018).

In 2018 the government presents another ghetto legislation that should counteract 'parallel societies' and the focus on the ethnicity of the residents continue with the new criteria for what defines a distressed areas or 'ghetto' (Regeringen, 2018). It was first presented in the

prime minister's new year's speech and afterwards it has spiralled a massive public debate in the media and the word 'ghetto' was mentioned as many times in the media in the two following months after the prime minister's new year's speech as per year in the years before (Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, 2018).

The criteria for what define a 'ghetto' has changes over time, and hence the discourse of these distressed areas have changed with it. Today, there are five criteria for social housing estates with more than 1,000 residents to get on the 'ghetto list'.

- The share of immigrants and descendants of non-western countries does not exceed 50 percent.
- The share of residents in the age of 18-64 with no connection to the labour market or no education exceeds 40 percent.
- The number of convicted residents for violating the penal code, the firearms act, or drug laws constitutes 2,7 percent of the number of residents.
- The share of residents age 30-59 that only have primary school as education exceeds 60 percent.
- The average gross income for taxpayers age 15-64 in the estate, excluding students, makes up less than 55 percent of the average gross income for the same group in the region.

(Regeringen, 2018)

If the social housing estates meet two of the abovementioned criteria is will be defined as a distressed area, and if it meets two or more of the criteria, and the share of immigrant or descendant from non-western countries exceeds 60 percent, it will be defined as a ghetto. The areas that have been defined as ghettoes for the last four years in a row will then be classified as a "hard ghetto" (Regeringen, 2018). A note to consider is that the ghetto list only contains the social housing estates and not possible distressed areas with private rent. Following this legislation are some very harsh statements of these distressed areas, as it is mentioned in the legislative package:

"Parallel societies are a great strain for the cohesiveness of the society and for the individual. It is a threat to our modern society, when freedom, democracy, equality and tolerance is no longer accepted as foundational values" (Regeringen, 2018, own translation).

Even though the political discourse of the distressed social housing estates and ghettoes might have a rougher character it is somewhat counteracted by positive stories in the media, where people from all layers of society are questioning the approach and the mention of these areas. This might influence the overall discourse of the distressed social housing estates. But changing the discourse does not change the legislation but it can aid in balancing the public discourse, which has an impact on the residents of these areas.

5.4 THE INVOLVED ACTORS AND THEIR ROLES

The following section will list the actors within the field of development of social housing estates in Denmark. It will also outline the roles of these actors. The specific roles and involved actors in the two cases will be elaborated in chapters 6.1.3 and 6.2.3.

The government is the highest authority that regulates the laws that concern every aspect of the social housing in general and the overall approach for developing the distressed areas. This interest and approach to the distressed areas and regulation regarding social housing will change depending on the current government, the elected parties and the composition of the government at the time. The interests of the current government have been clearly stated in their legislative package "A Denmark without parallel societies – No ghettoes in 2030" that includes strict sanctions that affects both the municipalities, social housing organizations and the residents (Regeringen, 2018).

The municipalities are to meet certain requirements following the legislation, but the municipalities can alter the approaches and processes of meeting these requirements hence they can differ between the different municipalities. The municipalities are not only responsible for planning for distressed areas but also for all other aspects of the city related to the citizens (KL, n.d). Regarding the social housing estates, the municipality has different aspects to cover. From 2010 compulsory steering dialogues were introduced between the

municipality and the social housing organizations, where the municipality supervise the economy and other aspects of the housing organization. It was introduced as a way to improve the process of the decision-making due to the many different actors and boards involved that can slow down a decision-making process (Vestergaard & Scanlon, 2015). But the municipality does not only serve as a supervisor for the housing organisations. It also functions as a stakeholder is the social holistic plans between the National Building Fund, the housing organisations and the municipality.

The National Building Fund is funding loans for the development of new building in the social housing sector and was established in 1967 by law (Landsbyggefonden, n.d). When the loans for the already built housing estates are paid, off the income from the rent goes to the fund. The National Building Fund also provides funds for physical refurbishment plans and social holistic plans in the social housing estates (ibid.). It is run by nine members whereas five members are from The National Association of Social Housing Organizations (Boligselskabernes Landsforening), two of them are residents residing in social housing, one from The National Association of Local Authorities in Denmark (KL) and one from either the municipality of Copenhagen or Frederiksberg (Landsbyggefonden, n.d). Hence the interests from all the involved actors are represented in the management of the fund. The role of the fund is somewhat an authorative actor since they set the criteri concerning requirements for physical refurbishment plans and the focus of the overall gorals of the social holistic plans (Landsbyggefonden, n.d.).

The social housing estates are administrated by the social housing organizations and in Denmark there is approximately 750 social housing organizations of various sizes, that administrates around 7.700 estates around the country (Transport-, Bygge- og Boligstyrelsen, 2019). The social housing organizations are gathered in The National Association of Social Housing Organizations (Boligselskabernes Landsforening), and they state that;

"Social housing organizations have the aim of providing available and appropriate dwellings for all in need hereof at a reasonable rent and to give tenants the right to influence their own living conditions" (Boligselskabernes Landsforening, 2019).

Even though the social housing organizations administrates the estates the residents can vote for or against initiatives or projects regarding the housing estate they live in (Boligselskabernes Landsforening, 2019). Hence the estates are affected by the tenant's democracy, where the residents elect representatives who participate in different meetings and decision making regarding future projects or steering dialogues with the municipality (ibid.).

These abovementioned actors all play an active part in the transformation of distressed social housing estates, and advocates for their interests in partnerships. But another actor that is often involved in projects for this transformation is Realdania. Realdania is an association of approximately 150.000 members, where all these members are property owners, and they all receive money from investment incomes from various projects (Realdania, n.d). Realdania does not have a very strict part in this very organized collaboration for the distressed areas. Instead, they invest money in projects for the common good in the field of built environment either by improving the social housing estates by renovations or by doing projects such as 'City in Balance' (Realdania, n.d). Even though Realdania is not part of the organized collaboration for the distressed areas it plays an important role as a stakeholder influencing the way these distressed areas are shaped by the municipalities and the social housing organizations.

SUMMARY

The abovementioned actors all have different interests they advocate for in the collaborative work for the transformation of the distressed areas. The government as the highest authority sets the legislations on the area, whereas the municipality works to plan according to these legislations in collaboration with the social housing organizations. Outside actors like Realdania plays an important part in the work to transform the distressed social housing estates, but in the end, it is the residents who can approve or dismiss projects or initiatives for the area through the tenant's democracy. One exception is the regulations set by the state, where the residents do not have a say in the outcome. The following chapter will elaborate on the involved stakeholders and their collaboration in the planning for distressed social housing estates in Gladsaxe and Høje-Taastrup

municipality. Furthermore, the chapter will analyse the outcome of these collaboration in the form of the strategic development plans for the areas of Værebro Park in Gladsaxe municipality and Charlotteager, Taastrupgaard and Gadehavegård in Høje-Taastrup municipality.

6 CASE DESCRIPTION AND MUNICIPAL STRATEGIES

The following chapter will provide a description of the two chosen cases of Gladsaxe Municipality and Høje-Taastrup Municipality and an analysis of their strategic plans for the distressed areas; Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe in Gladsaxe Municipality and Taastrupgaard, Charlotteager and Gadehavegård in Høje-Taastrup Municipality. The two sections will start by outlining the history of the areas, the discourse and the involved actors.

6.1 CASE DESCRIPTION OF GLADSAXE MUNICIPALITY

This chapter will outline the historical development of the areas of Gladsaxe Municipality and how the area is presented today regarding the composition of residents and political agenda and also the discourse and perception surrounding Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe. Following will be a section about the actors involved in the process and the roles and relations of and between these actors. This will lay out a pre-understanding for further investigating the planning approach and the municipality's strategies for the areas of Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe and also to investigate whether a classification of these areas might affect the work of the municipalities.

6.1.1   HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF GLADSAXE, VÆREBRO PARK AND HØJE GLADSAXE

The municipality of Gladsaxe lies just outside of the municipality of Copenhagen and consists of four towns; Gladsaxe, Mørkhøj, Buddinge and Bagsværd, with quite varying types of neighbourhoods (Nielsen et.al, n.d).

In the northern part of Gladsaxe lies a ruin of a castle with a park that stretched all the way to the lake, and the ruin tells a tale of the past with hints to a baroque style (Lohse, 2006). Today the area around the lake consists of grand houses worth millions. The areas Høje Gladsaxe and Værebro Park is as sharp contrast to this, and especially Høje Gladsaxe with its

sky-high concrete buildings (ibid.). The main challenges and social issues within the
municipality are to be found in Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe, but also the area of
Mørkhøj experiences social issues but in a smaller and more upcoming scale (Green, 2019
and Otto, 2019). The estate Høje Gladsaxe is not a part of the Realdania project 'City in
Balance', but still the informants from the municipality mentions this area as an estate
facing similar issues, hence it is included in this thesis. Since the municipality does not have
larger strategies for the area Mørkhøj and it does not solemnly consist of larger social
housing estates, it will not be included in the same scale as the other distresses social
housing estates, but it will be mentioned and considered in this thesis. The municipality's
boundaries and the social housing estates, including Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe are
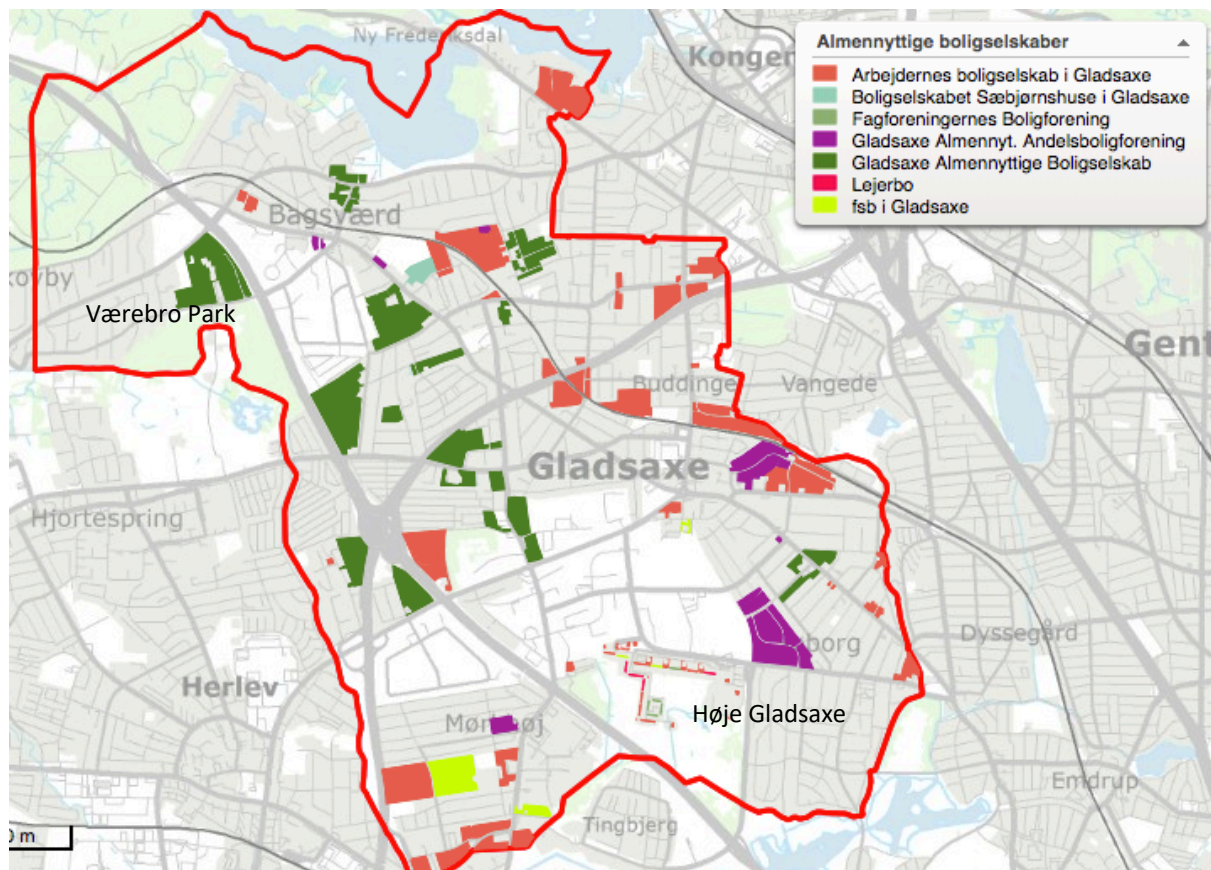mapped out in figure 1 below.

Figure 1 Own alteration from Gladsaxe Kommune, 2019.

In the 1920s and 1930s the housing was primarily built as smaller villas and apartment
houses along the main street, but during the 1960s the large concrete and montage building
was established. Today, approximately 40% of the housing in the municipality is social

housing (Nielsen et.al, n.d), but the municipality is also characterized by larger industrial areas resulting in many workplaces in the companies lying in these areas (ibid.). Gladsaxe municipality has since the 1960s created initiatives concerning housing, children and culture and has somewhat been a pioneer, that other municipalities turned to (Lohse, 2006) and politically the municipality has been run by The Social Democrats since 1913 (Nielsen et.al, n.d).

VÆREBRO PARK

The estate was established in 1966 on an open field. The first residents moved in while the place was still under construction and in 1968 the estate was finished. The housing organizations has since the beginning supported the local clubs of various kinds, and a football club was established together with a local newspaper called 'Værebro Park Posten' (Værebro Boldklub, n.d). The estate lies between a large road and a marsh hence it is infrastructurally excluded from the rest of the city (Green, 2019). Approximately 2942 people live in Værebro Park, which makes up around 4,37 % of the overall population in Gladsaxe municipality. The share of residents with a non-western background is at 56,1 %. There is a demographic misalignment of the composition of residents in Værebro Park compared to the rest of the municipality, and the share of resident with lower income and primary school as their highest education is also higher (Gladsaxe Kommune et.al, 2016). Regarding crime and convicted residents, their share is almost twice as high in Værebro Park as the rest of the municipality (Gladsaxe Kommune et.al, 2016).

HØJE GLADSAXE

In the 1960s the ideal for housing estates in the style of Høje Gladsaxe was for them to contain all necessities for every-day life like day-care, shopping facilities, parking and laundry-service and everything that a resident should need would be within short walking-distance (DAC, n.d). Høje Gladsaxe was the first pre-fabricated housing area of this scale and because of the pre-fabricated elements the five blocks were built over only a few years and was also a way to solve the excessive need for housing in Copenhagen (DAC, n.d). The areas consist of five blocks of around 2000 apartments, that all lie close to a main road. A shopping mall is located on one side and a gathering house and day-care facilities on the

other (ibid.). Today the area is criticised for being 'inhuman' with no room for social life between the buildings and the shopping mall has many vacant stores. The blocks and area of Høje Gladsaxe is also a very sharp contrast to the close and low oriented building style from the same period (DAC, n.d).

Today, approximately 4.100 people live in the estate, whereas 49 % have a non-western background. The composition of residents regarding age differs from the rest of the municipality, whereas the share of residents under the age of 18 and above 65 is higher than the average for the rest of the municipality (Gladsaxe Kommune et.al, 2017). The main issues in the area concerns the safety, crime and socially vulnerable children and the share of residents in the age of 10-17 that have been convicted at least once was at 2,8 % in 2015, compared to the average of 1 % in the rest of the municipality (Gladsaxe Kommune et.al, 2017). The area is characterized by issues concerning gang-related crime and activities, whereas some of the abovementioned minors are included in the gangs (Gladsaxe Kommune et.al, 2017). At last, the share of residents with primary school as their highest education is at 26 % (ibid.).

6.1.2   DISCOURSE OF VÆREBRO PARK AND HØJE GLADSAXE

The different areas in Gladsaxe municipality has a very different character. Some areas consist of primarily single-family houses, where the everyday suburban life unfolds. Some areas there are houses worth millions with a view by the lake. And some areas are characterised by sky-high concrete montage building (Lohse, 2006). These last-mentioned areas are often affected by gang-related crime and other social issues. These gang-related crimes have gained attention in the media, especially around the two areas of Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe. In 2013, when two people lost their lives because of conflicts between two rivalling gangs, a lot of the media coverage of the two areas focused on a narrative of an unsafe and dangerous neighbourhoods (DR, 2013). The media tells a tale of children calling out for their parents and crying over the gang-related crime of the unsafe neighbourhood they live in (DR, 2013). Today, the security and feeling of safety is decreasing and the local newspaper mentions, that Høje Gladsaxe has been on the police's list of specially distressed housing areas for the past five years (Løfberg, 2019). The mention of various sorts of crime such as the gang-related crime, burning of cars and shots fired in the

neighbourhoods (Ritzau, 2018) and that the neighbourhood is mentioned as a place for the lower class, where abuser, gangs, alcoholics, crime and people with no relation to the job market resides and creates a negative picture of the neighbourhood (Asif, 2013). Also, the residents of these areas experience difficulties in the search of a job, whereas many residents inform of a different address when applying for jobs to avoid stigmatisation in relation to the neighbourhood they reside (Green, 2019). The municipality does experience a tendency of this stigmatisation of areas in relation to job especially regarding residents from Værebro Park, and they mention that the reputation and discourse of Værebro Park is more negative than the one for Høje Gladsaxe (Otto, 2019). Furthermore, the municipality mention that these negative stories that flourish regarding the neighbourhoods they experience difficulties in making contact to the residents and the support of the board meetings decrease (Green, 2019 & Otto, 2019). From the perspective of the social housing organization, the stories about the crime in Værebro Park is very much a 'media story' from the time the estate experience these issues around 2015-2016, but states that the situation has improved today (Anonymous A).

6.1.3   THE INVOLVED ACTORS

The two areas Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe are administrated by several social housing organizations. Værebro Park is owned by Gladsaxe Almennyttige Boligselskab and administrated by DAB, whereas Høje Gladsaxe is owned by AAB, 3B, fsb Gladsaxe, Lejerbo and Arbejdernes Boligselskab Gladsaxe (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2018). These social housing organizations administrates the estates and work in collaboration with the municipality to avoid negative development in these areas. The municipality is responsible for the development of the different areas in the district, hereunder the possible distressed areas, and to provide public service to the citizens of the municipality (Green, 2019). The municipality also has to meet certain requirements of the government concerning all aspects of the city that is related to the citizens (KL, n.d). The municipality supervise the economy and other aspects of social housing estates, but municipalities are also responsible for evaluating the need for new constructions within their district, and this makes the social housing a part of the local urban development (BL, 2019). Other actors, such as Realdania are involved externally since they are only involved in a shorter period of time, hence they

are not a fixed part of the collaboration. They have provided a team of advisors to aid the municipality and housing organization in developing these strategic development plans for Værebro Park. Høje Gladsaxe is not a part of this project, but the area is included since several of the informants mentioned the work for this specific area in extension to the work for Værebro Park. According to the employees at Gladsaxe municipality, Realdania has provided some extra work power in the development for Værebro Park (Green, 2019 & Otto, 2019).

The social housing organizations and the municipality has different perceptions of the residents in Værebro Park and their resilience or positivity towards the future work for the area (Green, 2019 & Anonymous A, 2019). The municipality has tried to meet the residents on their ground and inform them of a possible infrastructural plan, that had already been developed, but because of the tenant's democracy, the residents can vote for or against projects like this, and this particular example was voted against (Green, 2019). Hence, there lies some miscommunication or resilience between the residents and the municipality when it comes to the development of the area.

Another actor in the development of the areas Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe is the local private actors, that the municipality aims to involve at a much larger scale in the future if possible (Green, 2019 & Otto, 2019). For now, the municipality has together with the social housing organizations agreed to let a local entrepreneur use the vacant spaces in the housing estates in exchange for activities for the areas and the residents who live in them. Another example is a local paint store, where they collaborate with the local schools to attempt to beatify certain areas and to create new 'stories' and reputation of these areas (Green, 2019 & Otto, 2019).

6.1.4   GLADSAXE MUNICIPALITY'S STRATEGIES FOR VÆREBRO PARK AND HØJE GLADSAXE

This chapter will describe and analyse the municipal strategies for the distressed areas. First, the strategy for these areas before 'City in Balance' will be described, second the current strategies for the areas. Following there will be a section about the change in strategies and the possible change of roles in this partnership.

THE MUNICIPAL STRATEGY BEFORE 'CITY IN BALANCE'

The municipality of Gladsaxe have been aware of social issues that were concentrated in specific areas within the municipality, and in 2016 they passed the strategy called *Neighbourhoods in Social Balance* that dealt with the areas Værebro Park and Høje Gladsaxe (Otto, 2019).

The aim of the strategy was two-folded:

"To secure that the residents who live or grow up in distressed neighbourhoods have equal opportunities as if they lived anywhere else in the municipality" (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2016, own translation)

and

"To maintain the residents living there and attract more citizens that can contribute with resources to the community in the distressed areas" (Gladsaxe Kommune, 2016, own translation)

The name of *Neighbourhoods in balance* refers to a balance in the composition of residents in the housing estates but also in the schools and day-cares (Gladsaxe Municipality, 2016). The municipality aimed for an overall strategy for the whole organization in order to gain a common ground in the prioritization of the initiatives for the distressed areas in order to achieve this social balance (ibid.). Within this strategy there is formulated three branches; the social, the physical and the organizational.

The social branch concerns aspects such as;

- Creating better schools and day-cares to secure a better learning environment for children
- Family-related initiatives to support the up-bringing of children
- Creating attractive communities based on interests to steer the younger population in a positive direction and away from criminal activities
- Adapting the initiatives based on the specific area, for example by creating a new structure for the schools.

The physical structure concerns;

- Safe and easy to passage across neighbourhoods by creating a path system
- The use of temporary urban spaces to engage the citizens in the development of local communities

- To design the city in a way that it prevents crime by creating attractive public spaces by the use of lights

- Creating a better balance between neighbourhoods by the use of green areas

The organizational branch deals with the following aspects:

- Steering towards a work culture where the problems are solves by the involved actors

- To create a link between the municipality and the private actors such as organizations, volunteers, police, associations etc.

- To involve the housing organizations and the residents in the development of distressed areas and meet them with respect and expectations in the ongoing partnerships.

(Gladsaxe Municipality, 2016).

These different aspects of the strategy have a very overall character and are not very place-specific. The municipality aimed a creating a strategy that have an overall character, that can be specified for each area. Considering that the municipality does not experience social issues in many places, one could argue that a more specific strategy towards the two distressed areas within the municipality could be more beneficial regarding the development of the areas. Here, a collaboration with the housing organizations and private actors could be specified and organized in a way that could avoid a diffuse process of co-creation. As Sørensen and Torfing (2009) argues, there is an assertion, that public managers should chase and develop the potentials of these governance networks, hence a more organized approach could create a better prerequisite for a change of the arena for co-creation (Torfing et.al, 2016). To transform the public sector from a legal authority to this arena it requires a change of the institutional design, and the involved actors have to consider their roles (Torfing et.al, 2016). So, in order for a shift towards a more beneficial partnership, there has to be a mental shift for the actors to embrace their new roles and this new arena for co-creation (Torfing et.al, 2016). The municipality does mention partnerships with private actors in their strategy, but one could argue that the roles of the involved actors could be specified.

The following section will analyze the current strategy for the distressed areas within Gladsaxe municipality in order to investigate whether there has been a change in the approach following the Realdania project 'City in Balance' and whether there has been a change of roles of the involved actors.

CURRENT STRATEGY FOR VÆREBRO PARK AND HØJE GLADSAXE

The current strategy for the distressed areas in Gladsaxe municipality is the result of the work done in the Realdania project 'City in Balance', where the aim was to produce strategic development plans for the areas.

At first, the plan was supposed to be for Værebro Park only, but as the work progressed, the municipality became aware of the importance of working with the surrounding areas and trying to create connections between these (Otto, 2019). Originally the plan was called *In Værebro Park*, but it was changed to *Bagsværd in Social Balance* and it was passed politically in 2018 (Otto, 2019; Green, 2019).

The strategy has a common vision for the involved actors, that:

"Bagsværd must be a neighbourhood in social balance. The place you grow up must not create limits for the opportunities for an independent, active, healthy and responsible life"

(Gladsaxe Kommune & DAB, 2018)

This strategy builds upon the prior strategy and hence it bears a lot of resemblance to this and also a partnership that was formed in 2013 between the municipality, the social housing organizations DAB and the residents (Gladsaxe Kommune & DAB, 2018).

Within this strategy there is three phases for the development of the distressed social housing estates in Gladsaxe municipality:

- Phase 1: Handling the issues at hand (2013-2015): This regards the 'here and now' solutions focusing on the crime and the upbringing of the children within these areas.

- Phase 2: Securing the future of the areas (2016-2019): The focus of the partnership was moved from short sighted initiatives to a more long-term and strategic development focus with the collaboration with Realdania
- Phase 3: From housing estate to overall neighbourhood (2020-2025): A shift from the focus of one housing estate to the overall areas or neighbourhoods, making Værebro Park an attractive part of the surrounding city.
(Gladsaxe Kommune & DAB, 2018).

The three branches; the social, the physical and the organizational, that was introduced in the prior strategy, has been included in the current strategy as well, but with five added principles, that should act as guidelines to secure a strategic thinking process for now and for future project and initiatives, in order to remind that it is a long-term movement. The five principles are;

- From isolation to openness
- From enclosed to connection; creating meeting places
- Form "them and us" to "we"; building new relations and support the existing ones
- From housing estates to overall town; new functions of the areas and different forms of housing
- From one perspective to several; involving more actors
(Gladsaxe Kommune & DAB, 2018).

It is also mentioned in the strategy, that the goal is to make an organizational development between the municipality and the housing organizations to develop the competences and create common methods in the development of distressed social housing estates (Ibid.).

In general, the strategy is as the prior one very overall in order to be able to adapt it to certain places (Green, 2019). There are not any specific goals to reach, but it is more used as an approach and a way of working with these areas (ibid.). The municipality argues that the reason behind this very overall approach is, that the distressed areas are very different, considering Høje Gladsaxe has five social housing organizations whereas Værebro Park has only one (Green, 2019). Hence, there has not been many changes compared to the prior

strategy as they are both concerning the entire neighbourhoods and not the estates only, and that they focus on the same aspects within their three branches; the social, the physical and the organizational.

Even though this strategic development plan is quite overall, the municipality has other initiatives for these distressed areas as a supplement to the strategic development plan. They have strategies for different areas of public service delivery, such as learning environments in the primary schools and initiatives for the youth and these concern the whole municipality, hereunder the distressed housing estates, hence these strategies also contribute to creating a social balance in all areas of the municipality (Green, 2019; Otto, 2019). The municipality also uses digital data to create initiatives for an early intervention that can have a prerequisite effect, this could be the absence from the school or unemployment among youths (Green, 2019). If any areas experience more than usual or he average for the municipality, they can act on the given data to counteract a negative development, even in the smallest scale. This has widely been used in the area of Mørkhøj (Green, 2019).

COLLABORATION BETWEEN ACTORS AND CHANGING ROLES

The aspects of the strategic development plan are primarily within the field of the municipality, and the collaboration with the housing organization and the arena for a co-creation is scarce. The housing organization deems the partnership as well functioning and now sees the collaboration more as a strategic partnership than before and not just an operational cooperation (Anonymous A, 2019).

But in terms of collaboration, the local government, here the municipality, could consider the procedure and if it could cause other actors to change in such a way that it could be beneficial for all actors (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). When the municipality works more strategically there might be more coordinated initiatives that can have a spill-over effect on the housing estates when the municipality prioritizes some areas more than more. Here it could be one common portal or access to the municipality for the residents in their communication with the municipality regarding all aspects (Anonymous A, 2019). Here, the housing organizations could function as a feeder mechanism, providing contact to the

residents of the distressed social housing estates trough the work of social holistic plans, and hereby aiding the work of public service delivery of the municipality (ibid.).

In this partnership between the housing organizations and the municipality, the stakeholders have the same end goal, but might not have the experience of working with each other, and this might complicate the co-creation (Torfing et.al, 2016). The municipality mention, that it is a challenge working with the housing organizations and they experience very different 'work culture' and that the social housing organizations have a somewhat narrow-minded perspective that only focuses on their estate and their residents (Green, 2019). They mention, that they have a broader perspective, and focus on not only the estate but the overall neighbourhood and that this difference affects the collaboration between the two actors (Green, 2019). It is also mentioned, that the municipality are concerned with the mix of actors and see it is a good idea, but they also see many challenges in relation to this and to finding solutions that the actors can all agree upon (Green, 2019).

The municipality has a perception that if the initiatives are funded by the housing organizations then the initiatives will only concern the residents, and since many of the projects in the estates are funded by The National Building Fund the initiatives can only function within the limits of the estates (Green, 2019). In order to create an efficient and successful arena for co-creation there is a need for a change in a mentality such as this. In order to transform the current institutional design, it is crucial that the actors change their mentality towards the other actors and embrace their new roles, in order to create an efficient arena for co-creation (Torfint et.al, 2016). Otherwise, the partnership might be diffuse and complicate the process of implementing initiatives or strategies in order to develop the distressed social housing estates. These partnerships can then also function as an arena for dialogue, where knowledge can be shared and where the needs and preferences of actors can be channelled (Engberg & Larsen, 2010) whereas the needs of the residents, as the end user, can be raised.

6.2 CASE DESCRIPTION OF HØJE-TAASTRUP MUNICIPALITY

The following chapters will present the discourse and perception surrounding the three distressed areas Charlotteager, Gadehavegård and Taastrupgaard in Høje-Taastrup municipality and the history of the area of Høje-Taastrup and the municipality. This will lay out the context to further understand the changing planning approach and the municipality's strategies for the three distressed areas and how the work of the municipality might be affected of a classification of these areas.

6.2.1 HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT HØJE-TAASTRUP, THE MUNICIPALITY AND THE DISTRESSED AREAS

The municipality consists of three main towns; Hedehusene, Høje-Taastrup and Taastrup and several smaller villages. The main issues and challenges, and the three distressed areas, are to be found in the main towns. These are mapped out in figure 2 below.
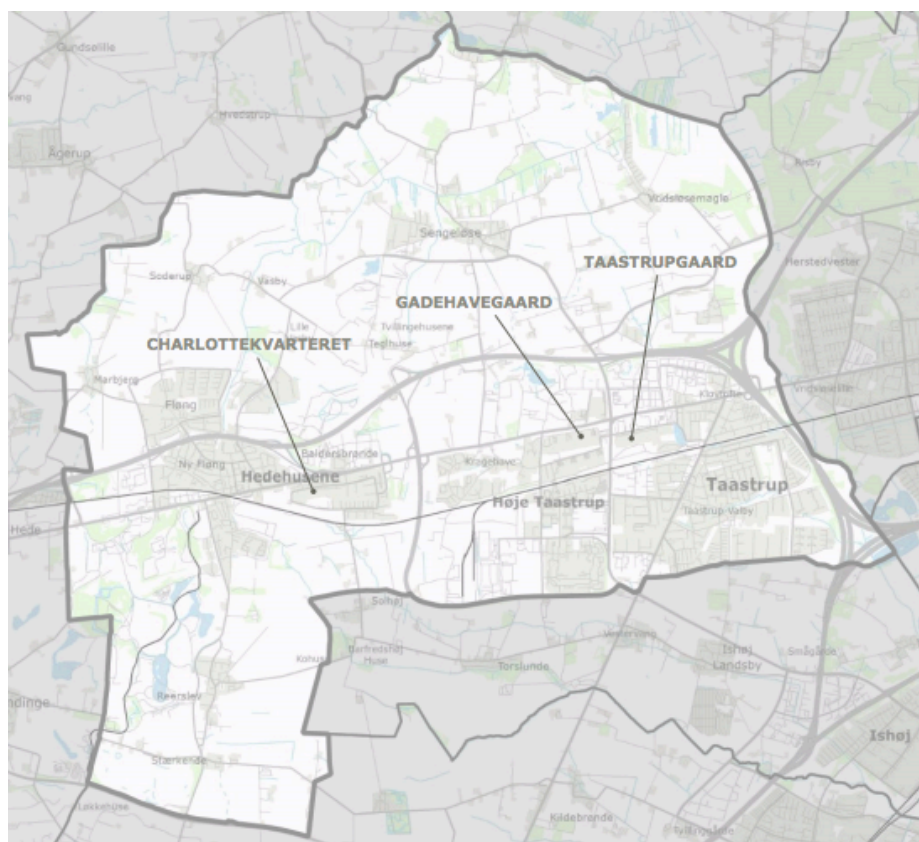

Figure 2 (Høje-Taastrup et.al, 2017)

In the 1960s the area of Høje-Taastrup became a part of the plan for the suburbs of Copenhagen to meet the exceeding demand for housing, and in the regional plan from 1963 the area was mentioned as one of three regional centres together with Lyngby and Hundige (Faber, 2018). Before this Høje-Taastrup was a small village in Taastrup Municipality but the new visions for the areas was enormous; with a new central station with multiple train connections, Denmark's first shopping mall, attractive housing areas and 80.000 new residents and 80.000 new jobs were to be constructed (Faber, 2018; Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2016). The thought behind this vision was that the areas could serve as a secondary centre for Copenhagen, hence it got the name "City2", outlining the ambitions of the project. At some point it was planned that the government should be relocated to Høje-Taastrup and that the regional train station should relieve some of the pressure on the Central Station and be a new gathering point for traffic (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2016). This grand vision for the area was inspired by the big cities of USA with big boulevard and a focus on car traffic (Faber, 2018).

The visions were grand but never fulfilled and some of the decision dragged out and hereby creating different isolated areas within Høje-Taastrup, resulting in an area that is not coherent and that is divided into different functions (Faber, 2018; Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2016). This resulted in a shortage of urban life in the commercial areas near the station, with all the workers leaving in the end of the workday (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2016). Høje-Taastrup is also characterized by large road cutting across the town creating isolated areas. With the great focus on car traffic it leaves it difficult and unsafe for pedestrians and bikers to travel across the town (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2016).

Today approximately 50.00 people live in Høje-Taastrup municipality and every day 27.000 people commute to work in the municipality (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, n.d. a). Every year the municipality a prognosis for the residents within the municipality and the population is expected to rise to approximately 56.000 in 2030 (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2019). This prognosis also outlines the expected population divided into age categories, and according to the prognosis, in the future the population will have a larger amount of elderly people and the amount of youth will decrease slightly (ibid.). The political structure of the municipality has been run by The Conservative People's party since 2006 and the political

agenda and decision-making and collaboration bear the mark of a conservative political course (Anonymous B, 2019)

To gain a better understanding of the distressed social housing areas within the municipality and understand the scope and size they are planning for, the following section will present the three areas of Taastrupgaard, Gadehavegård and Charlotteager and how they are composed.

TAASTRUPGAARD

When Taastrupgaard was established in the beginning of 1972 (Høje-Taastrup commune et.al, 2017) it was planned for the middleclass and the large number of apartments was planned to be spread across far more land than it is today. Instead newly built single-family homes were built nearby, making the area of Taastrupgaard with its 913 apartments a much smaller and more tight area than originally planned (Nilsson, 2017, Høje-Taastrup Kommune et.al, 2017). The original plan also included a local centre with shops, a meeting hall and day cares in the centre of the overall area, but it was instead built in the outskirts of the area, hence the was a lack of centre or gathering point (Nilsson, 2017). The materials used for the buildings were of poor quality and the estates had to be renovated only a few years later in 1981, creating an increase in rent (ibid.).

The number of residents living in Taastrupgaard is around 2.448 and the estates are owned by AKB Taastrup and administrated by KAB (Transport-, Bygnings og Boligministeriet, 2018 and Høje-Taastrup Kommune et.al, 2017). The number of residents who does not have a relation to the job market is at 28,7 percent and the share of residents with primary school as the only education is at 83,5 percent, which is the highest of the three distressed estates in Høje-Taastrup. The share of residents with a non-western background is at 64,5 percent, and the number of convicted residents above the age of 18 is at 1,78 percent (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2018).

GADEHAVEGÅRD

The area where the social housing estate Gadehavegård lies today was originally a farmer's land that was passed down through generations but in 1964 the land was sold (Gadehavegård, n.d) and in 1977 987 apartments were built and today Gadehavegård has

2153 residents and is administrated by Domea (Høje-Taastrup Kommune et.al, 2017). The share of residents with no relation to the job market is at 39,4 percent, and the share of residents with primary school as their only education is at 72,5 percent. The share of convicted residents above the age of 18 is at 1,86 percent and the number of residents with a non-western background is at 56,5 percent (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2018).

CHARLOTTEAGER

Charlotteager is part of one of the three main towns in Høje-Taastrup municipality; Hedehusene. Before the post war period the town was influenced by the industry companies in the area, but afterwards there was a negative development that resulted in changing the character of the city from a well socially integrated city, to a suburb, to a functionally divided larger city close by; Høje-Taastrup (Landsbyggefonden, n.d a). Charlotteager in Hedehusene consists of three estates; two of them administrated by VIBO and built in 1979 and 1981 and one by DFB built in 1975. Together the estates consist of 768 apartments (Landsbyggefonden, n.d a) and has 1755 residents (Høje-Taastrup Kommune et.al, 2017). Out of these residents, 35,5 percent have no relation to the job market, and 70,2 percent have primary school as their highest education. The number of convicted residents above the age of 18 is at 1,99 percent, which is higher than both Taastrupgaard and Gadehavegård (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2018).

With a lack of social communities due to the negative development, the town became divided into areas that were excluded from the rest. Charlotteager became excluded from the rest of the surrounding areas and it became a mono functional area, where residents mainly live, and does not serve many other functions part from a school in the areas, that is to be moved to another neighbourhood (Landsbyggefonden, n.d a, Arnhild, 2019).

6.2.2   DISCOURSE OF CHARLOTTEAGER, TAASTRUPGAARD AND GADEHAVEGÅRD

Taastrupgaard has received a lot of media coverage because of the status as a 'hard ghetto' and the medias focus is at the demolition of apartments following the governments legislation (Information, 2018; Schaadt, 2019; Laurvig, 2019). Even though there is a

negative reputation of Taastrupgaard, the media highlights the area and the residents for wanting to get rid of the label as ghetto, and how the residents, municipality and housing organization have worked somehow ahead of the government's plan to demolish section within the housing estate (Nilsson, 2017), even though it is not in the same scale as the governments legislation regulates. Positive stories of the youth of the estate fills the picture in the media and how the youth is doing well despite living in a hard ghetto (Gauger, 2019). Even though these positive stories of the estate emerge, Taastrupgaard still has a reputation as one of the toughest ghettoes, and they also experience gang-related crime, and the estate is even mention as a 'deadly area', following a killing of a gang-member in the estate in 2018 (Karkov, 2018). Gadehavegård does not experience the same amount of crime as Taastrupgaard and the estate meet all the criteria for being listed as a ghetto, except the criteria concerning crime-rate (Brandt, 2018). For it to be listed as a ghetto has consequences for the composition of residents, since the stigma as ghetto does not make families want to settle in the area. Here, the rhetorics used regarding the estate might have consequences for the process of removing the estate form the ghetto-list (Brandt, 2018). Regardless of this stigma, the residents remain positive and mention the estate as *Denmark's most beautiful ghetto* (El-Khatib et.al, 2018). Regarding Gadehavegård, it is mentioned that the ghetto legislation only considers bricks and walls and not the humans living there (Poulsen & Nathan, 2018).

Charlotteager has shifted on an off the ghetto-list because of a shift in the criteria for areas to be listed as distressed areas (Møller, 2018). When the area is listed as a distressed area, the residents are concerns with the reactions from outsiders, and they consider the estate a safe and secure neighbourhood (ibid.). The estate stands somewhat in the shadows of the 'hard ghettoes' Gadehavegård and Taastrupgaard when it is mentioned in the media.
The municipality mentions a focus on creating an identity in each of these three distressed areas in order to create a form of place identity for the residents and a feeling of belonging and pride for these neighbourhoods (Arnhild, 2019).

6.2.3   THE INVOLVED ACTORS

The distressed areas in Høje-Taastrup consists of three different social housing estates;
Charlotteager as a distressed area, and Taastrupgaard and Gadehavegård as 'hard ghettoes'
(Arnhild, 2019). The following section will describe the involved actors in the work for
developing the distressed areas and the roles of these actors.

The social housing organizations are facing challenges of the same aspects but at a very
different scale. VIBO and DFB owns the housing section in the estate Charlotteager. This
estate is deemed as distressed and therefore the housing organizations and the municipality
does not have as strict regulations for this estate as the municipality, Domea and AKB
Taastrup/KAB has for the estates Taastrupgaard and Gadehavegård, as these areas are
classified as 'hard ghettoes' (Arnhild, 2019). Here, the social housing organizations work
together with the municipality to compile development plans for the two areas, to live up to
the regulations set by the government. Hence, the municipality has several distressed areas
to consider and also different areas and housing organizations to collaborate with, all within
the same municipal district. Other than developing the distressed areas, the municipality
has to provide public service to the citizens of the municipality and at the same time meet
certain requirements of the government regarding the distressed areas (KL, n.d). Even
though the municipality collaborates with the social housing organizations it also functions
as a supervisor of the housing organizations, and they are also responsible for evaluating the
need for new constructions in the areas and the local development (BL, 2019). The
collaboration between the municipality and the social housing organizations in Høje-
Taastrup is organized at various levels of influence, e.g. residents, municipality and director
level (Arnhild, 2019).

In this case of the actors involved in the development of the distressed areas and 'ghettoes'
in Høje-Taastrup, Realdania plays an important part as well in providing a team of advisors
to aid the process of creating a strategic development plan for the three distressed areas in
Høje-Taastrup (Arnhild, 2019). Realdania is not a part of the organized partnerships but has
been an extern actor in the duration of the project 'City in Balance'. The municipality
considers the collaboration with Realdania as somewhat challenging because of an

associated six to seven advisor teams but see the project as a guideline for future development; a guideline they can turn to and that further developed the foundation of ideas that the municipality and housing organizations already established before the start-up of the 'City in Balance' project (Arnhild, 2019.

As the tenant's democracy is set by law in all social housing estates, the residents in the distressed social housing estates in Høje-Taastrup too have to vote for or against projects or initiatives for the area. During this process of developing the areas, neither the municipality or the housing organizations have met any complications or resilience from the residents regarding development projects and ideas for the future of the areas (Arnhild, 2019 & Anonymous B, 2019). In fact, when the school in Taastrupgaard was damaged during a fire, the housing organization asked the municipality for a collaboration for the future of the area, and the residents voted for the demolition on several apartments to make space for a new 'children- and culture house' (Arnhild, 2019).
To gain a better understanding of the differences of the social housing organisations dealing with distressed areas in Høje-Taastrup, there will be a short description of these.

AKB Taastrup owns the estate Taastrupgaard, but the housing organizations merged with KAB in 2013, and KAB now manages the estate (KAB, n.d). KAB was established in 1920 and today it is the largest administrative organization in Denmark (ibid.) which enables the organization to handle larger developments because of their capacity and collected knowhow. Hence the organizations might have better preconditions for developing strategic plans than smaller housing organizations, but the relationships with the residents might be more distanced because of the size of the organization. The same might be applied to the estate Gadehavegård, which is owned by DFB, but administrated by Domea, since Domea is an administrative organization approximately the same size as KAB (Domea, n.d.) They also administrate on housing section in Charlotteager called Charlottegården. Here they face different challenges since the estates differ in terms of issues and regulations and restrictions. The last two section in the estate Charlotteager is owned and administrated by VIBO, which was established in 1974 (VIBO, n.d). This housing organization is of a different size than KAB and Domea, since they administrate around 6.000 tenancies, whereas Domea

and KAB administrate around 50.000 (KAB, n.d, Domea, n.d, VIBO, n.d). Since they are a smaller organization, they might not have the same resources and capacity for urban development as organizations as Domea and KAB might have, but they might benefit from a closer relationship to the residents and their democracy.

The changing roles of the abovementioned actors will be elaborated in later chapters.

6.2.4   HØJE-TAASTRUP MUNICIPALITY'S STRATEGIES FOR CHARLOTTEAGER, TAASTRUPGAARD AND GADEHAVEGÅRD

This chapter will describe and analyse the municipal strategies for the areas Charlotteager, Taastrupgaard and Gadehavegård before and after the 'City in Balance' project. The chapter will also outline the collaboration between the different actors and the possible changing of roles of these actors.

THE MUNICIPAL STRATEGY BEFORE 'CITY IN BALANCE'

The municipality of Høje-Taastrup has several distressed housing estates hence there have been various initiatives to solve these issues. A lot of these initiatives have been through social holistic plans and area-based interventions (*områdefornyelser).* Then in 2015 the municipality initiated a process for a new approach based on the fact that the prior initiatives that had been used for years did not make sufficient changes for the areas, even though it did change the circumstances for the individuals (Arnhild, 2019). This is an example of the so-called elevator-effect, where the individuals that gain resources or experience fewer social issues move somewhere else, and new individuals with social issues move in (ibid.). The municipality became aware that even though this helped the individuals it did not change the structure of the area and the fact that they cannot seem to get off the government's ghetto-list (Arnhild, 2019). They formulated a new approach called *New Focus*, that was passed in 2016 by the City Council (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2019) that aimed for a more strategic and holistic approach that embraced both the social and the physical dimensions (Arnhild, 2019).

The following five areas of focus are formulated in the strategy:

- Transformation of the city; to ensure that the areas do not become excluded but are integrated trough roads and paths.

- Different profiles for each area; to create an identity and attraction for each area.
- An attractive housing policy that can secure a good distribution of social housing in the municipality and thereby create more mixed neighbourhoods
- Initiatives for families to help families experiencing challenges, by becoming better at cooperating within the municipality across administrations
- Day-cares and schools; securing a high quality and a good learning environment, in order to secure the resourceful families do not opt out of some schools.
  (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2019).

Another part of the strategy is the organization of the partnership between the municipality and the social housing organizations. They have initiated an article 17, sub article 4 committee. This committee can be set up by the city council to handle a specific task and the city council can decide the composition, the involved actors and the rules of this committee (Økonomi- og Idenrigsministeriet, 2018). The actors in this committee is the municipality, politicians from the city council and the social housing organizations from the three areas (Arnhild, 2019). Underneath this committee is a programme steering group consisting of staff from the municipality and the social housing organizations and at last there is a project secretariat with project staff form all actors (Arnhild, 2019).

By establishing this very organized structure for the collaboration between the municipality and the social housing organizations, the municipality has organized a network governance structure between the actors for the development of the local areas (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). These actors are not only external, but all departments of the municipality were included in the making of the policy and this could be argued as an attempt to megagovern the municipality within itself as a way of acting as a unit in the local government (ibid.).

As a part of this new approach the municipality also created a task force within the municipality, that are responsible for the daily administration of initiatives, the strategic collaboration and the social housing sector in general in the municipality (Arnhild, 2016). Each employee in the taskforce have their responsibilities and these cover the social holistic

plans, physical refurbishment and area-based interventions, initiatives regarding the children and youth and the strategic and political perspective (ibid.).

Often the governance networks can be diffuse and unstable, but by organizing a very structured collaboration and committee this diffuse state can to some degree be counteracted (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). Even so, there is no guarantee that the public managers will defend the public interests of they are engaged in power struggles or political conflicts (ibid.) hence there might be challenges of the political background of the local government that can influence the implementation of solutions and collaboration, despite the structured partnership.

THE CURRENT STRATEGY FOR CHARLOTTEAGER, TAASTRUPGAARD AND GADEHAVEGÅRD

This strategic development plan differs from the one in Gladsaxe, whereas Høje-Taastrup has not only one but three distressed estates that should fit into one development plan. The aim of this strategy is to provide the involved actors with a common vision for the future of the estates and to develop decisions and investment in a long-term perspective to the year 2040, with a focus on ambitious and holistic initiatives, in order to make the distressed estates into well-functioning neighborhoods (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2018). This strategy is based on the *New Focus* strategy and the experience and initiatives and tries to identify the potentials of the different areas in order to create a coherence with the surrounding areas (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2018). As the prior strategy, there is also great focus on the collaboration between the housing organizations and the municipality. The strategy contains three visions for the areas Charlotteager, Taastrupgaard and Gadehavegård, which will be described below. Focus for all the areas are to create place identities for each of these three estates (Arnhild, 2019).

CHARLOTTEAGER

The vision for Charlotteager is to create a connection to Nærheden, which is a private development project establishing a community with various types of housing and selling the "suburban dream" (De Palo, 2019). It is also to use the closed Charlotteskole as a place to try out different functions and housing types than can later be established in the area. The

housing organization stresses the importance of the connection to Nærheden in order to benefit from the positive development and for resourceful families and individuals to move to the area (De Palo, 2019).

The idea is also to use the area as a temporary urban space, where the functions later can become permanent, which also concerns the possible organizations, nature elements and housing types in the area (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2018). Hence the overall vision is turning the area into an entrepreneur area, but also with a focus on nature and community (ibid.). The housing organization VIBO views the outcome of 'City in Balance' as very overall and not place specific enough for Charlotteager, hence they are investigating the possibilities of a new project with a team of advisors for a more specific proposal but still developed in line of the current strategic development plan (De Palo, 2019).

TAASTRUPGAARD

The focus for Taastrupgaard is the place specific resources that can be used for a strategic approach, such as the local theatre. Hence, the identity for the estate is a *culture neighbourhood* (Arnhild, 2019). This also relates to the plans of a *children- and culture house* within the area, and the idea for this appeared when the local school burned down, and the social housing organization approached the municipality and suggested changes for the area in collaboration with the municipality. Some of the sections are to be demolished in order to make place for this new institution that is supposed to be containing both primary school, culture activities for children such as a music school and also day-cares (Arnhild, 2019).

GADEHAVEGÅRD

The vision for Gadehavegård is to create an identity for the place as a *knowledge city* and to create a meeting place for organizations and educational institutions to discuss innovative initiatives regarding the build environment and to create a place for experimenting with new types of housing (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2018). The municipality mentions possible collaborations with universities to gain access to the latest research and knowledge concerning the built environment (Arnhild, 2019). The vision for the future of the area is also to include the private housing surrounding the areas in order to develop a collaboration and development for the whole area (ibid.).

These visions for the areas are a combination of the prior thoughts of *New Focus* and the results from the advisor teams from the 'City in Balance' project. The municipality decided to use the outcome of the project as an advisor's report and to use it as a guideline in their future work (Arnhild, 2019). They also mention, that the principles and initiatives from the report can be included in the ongoing project that are already initiated, but some of these initiatives from the advisor teams needs a reconsidering whether they can be realized, since they involve actors and participation from extern actors such as landowner (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2018). Here, the public managers might have difficulties in collaborating with these external actors from different organizations since they do not have authority over them (Torfing et.al, 2016) and cannot control then in the same sense that they can with the social housing sector. Even so, the establishing of the connection and networks with these external actors might help to channel knowledge, needs and preferences (Engberg & Larsen, 2010) in order to understand the possibilities of a better connection with the surrounding areas, hence the partnership can act as an arena for dialogue (ibid.) in the development of the area as a whole.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN ACTORS AND CHANGING ROLES

A result from the advisor teams in 'City in Balance' is that the structure of the collaboration with the article 17 sub article 4 organization is well-functioning, but there is a need for developing local organizational structures between the municipality and the housing organizations in order to lift the challenges and projects in the three areas (Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2018). The strategic development plan was supposed to be a common plan between the municipality and the housing organizations, but ended up being an advisor's report (Arnhild, 2019). But within this collaboration, there are different perceptions of the partnership, and the social housing organization VIBO mentions, that the municipality somewhat have taken ownership of the plan in relation to the financing of the plan brought by the municipality (De Palo, 2019). Despite this, the municipality mentions that the partnership is well-functioning both politically and administrative, and the initiatives are done in unison and stresses that the approach should be the same for both actors (Arnhild, 2019). But the tasks might differ since some aspects are within the municipality's work and

other aspects are at the housing organizations' field with the physical refurbishment plans and different funding (Arnhild, 2019), but that the overall approach of the actors should align (ibid.). Here, the actors interact within a governance network that take place within a very structured and institutionalized framework, where the shared norms and rules are established (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). But the actors of this governance network engage in negotiations and production of policy in a framework that is created by the public authority, and they engage here voluntarily (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). But even though there is a co-creation, there is still an underlying hierarchy, that the housing organizations experience during decision-making processes (Anonymous B, 2019; De Palo, 2019)

The municipality deems the organization of the partnership and the overall collaboration as well-functioning and as a way of lifting challenges and issues on different levels (Arnhild, 2019). At several aspects, the housing organizations deem the municipality as somewhat opposing to the suggestions that the housing organizations bring to the decision-making (Anonymous B, 2019). Even though a better road and path system in mentioned in the strategy, when the housing organization proposed a development exactly this, the municipality closes the discussion by mentioned an already established biking lane, which the housing organization does not deem as sufficient (Anonymous B, 2019). Here, the time spend on making the relations between the actors might be costly if the different commitments and expectations are difficult to align (Torfing et.al, 2016). This might be due to the difficulties or issues when collaborating with actors that cannot be controlled (ibid.). Often the problem-solving of challenges or issues will take place in less institutionalized and less routinized contexts (Torfing et.al, 2016) but the partnership in Høje-Taastrup is both structured an organized on various levels. The aspect that might challenges the actors of this network is the political agenda of the municipality, whereas the public managers can be selective of the issues and exclude or include these, hereby making their preferences visible (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). In Høje-Taastrup, the local government is conservative and is generally working against the idea of more social housing within the municipality, according to a housing organization (Anonymous B, 2019). The employees of the municipality have to follow the regulations form the local policies and policy making, which might influence the development of initiatives for the distressed areas, if they have to comply with a political

agenda, that might not be in the line of the partnership with the social housing organizations. By making the taskforce within the municipality it can counteract the negative influence of an insufficient organizational coordination that can slow down and affect the process solving issues in the distressed areas and ensure an internal alignment between the different administrations to act as a unit (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). Even so, the public managers involved in the process is still somewhat restricted by the political agenda of the municipality.

The transformation of a legal authority to an arena for co-creation requires new institutional designs (Tofint et.al, 2016) and the taskforce in Høje-Taastrup can be an example of a step towards this change. While a co-creation emphasizes collaborative interaction through networks and partnerships there is a need for a change of roles of the actors and this is often difficult to change (Torfing et.al, 2016). There is a need for a mental shift and a change of perception of the other involved actors in order to create a successful arena for co-creation (Ibid.). Hence the local government can consider their procedure for a change of the other involved actors, in a way that could be beneficial in the long run (Engberg & Larsen, 2010). KAB that administrates Taastrupgaard is a large administration that have a lot of experience in strategic development of larger areas (Anonymous B, 2019), and by changing the role of the actor, KAB might be able to contribute in a way that could be beneficial of the municipality. This is especially related to the fact that the involvement of private and local actors is often used in relation to the contradicting budget cuts and shift of expectation of the public sector (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009).

7 EFFECTS OF CLASSIFICATION ON MUNICIPAL WORK FOR DISTRESSED AREAS

This chapter will compare the strategic development plans and work of Gladsaxe and Høje-Taastrup municipality and outline the differences and similarities of these. The chapter will also discuss the effects of a classification of distressed areas on the work done by municipalities for these areas.

7.1 DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES OF THE STRATEGIC PLANS IN GLADSAXE MUNICIPALITY AND HØJE-TAASTRUP MUNICIPALITY

When regarding the development plans for distressed social housing estates in Høje-Taastrup and Gladsaxe municipalities, there are many similarities in the written strategy. In practice the strategies are expressed differently.

The extent of the strategies is very different whereas Gladsaxe only covers Værebro Park (and Høje Gladsaxe to some extent) that is no longer listed as a distressed are, and Høje Taastrup covers three distressed estates whereas two are classified as 'hard ghettos. Hence Gladsaxe municipality can be a lot more place specific in their strategy whereas Høje-Taastrup municipality has to embrace three different areas. Even so, Gladsaxe municipality has chosen to develop a very overall strategy that is not very place specific. Høje-Taastrup municipality has just as many 'hard ghettos' as Copenhagen and Århus, but the municipality is of a much smaller size that also have fewer residents, hence the resources for developing these areas are not the same as some of the larger municipalities but they still have the same amount of areas listed as 'hard ghettos' (Arnhild, 2019). This also results in the municipality having experience and knowledge of planning for these areas and they have several initiatives to transform the areas, also before the legislation. Especially with their new approach starting in 2015, where they change the focus to a more holistic and overall approach that was not only concentrated in certain estates or sections (Arnhild, 2019). Around the same time, Gladsaxe municipality also passed their new approach *Neighbourhoods in social balance*, which also featured a very overall approach (Green, 2019). Even though Høje-Taastrup municipality has a workload of a different scale than Gladsaxe, they have managed to create visions for each estate, trying to create an identity

for these estates. This, combined with their organizational structure with the involved actors, creates a shared norm, goal and rules of the collaboration for the development of the area (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). On the contrary, Gladsaxe municipality's approach is very overall and not very place specific, which can cause a diffuse and unstable partnerships with the involved actors, if the rules and norms of this collaboration and the different roles of the actors are not established beforehand (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). But despite the efforts of creating a common vision for each of the areas in Høje-Taastrup, some housing organizations still find the strategy too holistic and not place specific for their estate in question (De Palo, 2019). This might be due to the differences of the areas and a need for prioritization because of criteria and demands from the government concerning the 'hard ghettos'.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTNERSHIPS

In the case in Høje-Taastrup the municipality has provided funding for the strategy, whereas it according to the housing organizations creates an ownership of the plan for the municipality (De Palo, 2019). It can be argued, that this creates a hierarchy in the partnerships, when the municipality has provided funding and might seek a result or development in line with their ideas in continuation of them funding a part of the plan. In the case of Værebro Park, both the municipality and the housing organization have funded the plan, whereas it created a more equal relation between the two actors (De Palo, 2019). The structure of the organization in these partnerships varies, whereas in Høje-Taastrup the collaboration is structured into various boards at different levels, where there is a common vision for the areas in order to create a common frame for the work in developing the distressed social housing estates. In Gladsaxe, they have established a partnership between the municipality, the social housing organizations and the administration of the estate (Green, 2019). The issue with the other area Høje Gladsaxe is the number of involved actors, since there are five housing organizations that own the estates, which challenges the process of agreeing on common rules and norms for a collaboration (Torfing et.al, 2016) which can influence a positive outcome if the process is slowed down due to organizational differences of actors.

The two case municipalities have very different challenges regarding the estates that they plan for, but the formulations and overall vision of the strategies are somewhat similar in relation to creating a cohesion between the distressed estates and the surrounding areas and neighbourhoods. But their organization of the partnership and co-creation process established in order to meet these visions differ. Whereas Høje-Taastrup municipality has a strategy and vision for each of the areas (Arnhild, 2019; Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2018), Gladsaxe municipality has developed a very overall approach that set a vision for the whole municipality and plans to also rely on the public service delivery that can counteract the social issues of the residents within the whole municipality (Green, 2019; Otto, 2019).

7.2 EFFECTS OF CLASSIFICATION OF DISTRESSED AREAS IN RELATION TO THE LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE ABOUT PARALLEL SOCIETIES

In the previous sections the strategies of the municipality both before and after 'City in Balance' have been described. This section will then focus on the possible effects of the ghetto legislation set by the government.

When the government passed the ghetto legislation it can be seen as a classification of distressed areas and ghettoes, where they are "put into a box". This use of categorization can be seen as an attempt to remain some sort of control (Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018) and the government who is defining these categories have the power to determine the norm and factors that deem certain areas as distressed or as ghettoes and the municipalities have to comply with the regulations that follow this legislation.

In Høje-Taastrup, two areas are listed as 'hard ghettoes' and one as a distressed area and the social housing consists of 44% of the overall housing in the municipality (Arnhild, 2019). This means that the context in Høje-Taastrup is different from the one in Gladsaxe.

In Gladsaxe, none of the social housing estates are no longer on the list of distressed social housing estates, but they still experience issues and challenges. While none of the areas are on the list, there are no direct consequences in the form of e.g. demolition. But the municipality still deem the legislation and the list as a threat to the area indirectly (Otto, 2019). If the municipality does not succeed in developing these areas towards a more positive development, they might end up on the list again. If so, the municipality does not

have the same flexibility in making changes for the areas in their own ways and prioritize as they deem right, since the legislation will set regulations for the work done in the areas (Otto, 2019).

With the passing of the government's legislation follow certain regulations and demands and this affects the work done in Høje-Taastrup. This means, that initiatives that are either in discussion or being initiated have to be put aside to accommodate the demands of the legislation. A direct effect of the legislation concerns the children- and culture house in Taastrupgaard. According to the legislation, no more than 30% of the children in the day-cares in the distressed estates can be from the area and with the children- and culture house being both a school, culture house and a day-care it affects the possibility of this aspect of the new project (Arnhild, 2019). But it does not only concern this specific project but will affect the day-cares of the entire municipality. The project then has to be set aside in order to focus on other aspects such as the development plans that are mandatory. Hence the process of the children- and culture house in Taastrupgaard was brought to a stop and the municipality had to consider the possibility of having to apply for dispensation, which is a long process of figuring out wat the possibilities for the areas are (Arnhild, 2019).

When the areas are listed as distressed or ghettoes, there is a concern of the stigmatization and the possibilities of breaking with this negative stigma in order to reassure that the estates are safe and livable (De Palo, 2019; Arnhild, 2019). Even though Værebro Park in Gladsaxe is no longer listed as a distressed area, the municipality and housing organization still experience negative stigmatization of the area, and there is an underlying concern for all actors that the area reappears on the list (Otto, 2019; Anonymous A, 2019; Green, 2019). This concern of reappearance on the list of distressed areas for Værebro Park, and to some degree Høje Gladsaxe (even though it has not been listed before) is especially focused on the part of the legislation concerning a maximum of 30 percent of children form the distressed housing estate in the day-cares and Gladsaxe municipality is concerned regarding the consequences of such a regulation;

"If they (the day-cares) appear on some sort of list and suddenly they cannot have more than 30 percent of children from the area, then it is the same as closing them. This might make sense in a governmental logic, but you cannot just close a day-care and then it reappears somewhere else. It is a long process and a huge investment" (Green, 2019, own translation).

Hence this legislation creates an underlying concern of both the municipality, the social housing organizations and the residents of Værebro Park both regarding the reappearance on the list, the stigmatization that follows and the possible consequences for the day-cares (Green, 2019; Otto, 2019). The municipality often gets requests form the tenants' committee whether or not the estate is close to appear on the list of distressed housing estates and they are very aware of the risk (Otto, 2019). The residents feel stigmatized by this categorization and it affects the youth when they are applying for jobs, whereas they give up a different address in order to steer clear of this stigmatization (Otto, 2019). This aid the negative stories and stigmatization of the areas and how the outside world views the estate, and many new comers and new residents have positive stories to tell (ibid.).

The classification of the areas as either distressed or as ghettoes have some negative consequences, but KAB mentions it as convenient in their situation. They had, together with the municipality, plans for large transformations in the area by demolishing sections in the estate (Anonymous B, 2019). These plans were supposed to last over two phases, but only the first had been presented to the residents. Here, the legislation works as justification for making these radical changes of the area and justifies their original plans, that are no longer debatable but set by law (Anonymous B, 2019). Also, the classification of these areas equals funding from The National Building Fund to develop and make changes, that the housing organizations and somewhat the municipality already had in mind regarding the infrastructure and housing types, to create a more coherent neighbourhood instead of big anonymous blocks (Anonymous B, 2019). Even though the legislation can be convenient at some level it creates a challenge concerning the rehousing, since 50% of the social housing lies within areas that are classified as either a ghetto or as distressed (ibid.). The political agenda does not favour this challenge, since the politically there is not an interest in

building new social housing, where these residents could be re-located (Anonymous B, 2019).

Whether a municipality has social housing estates that are either listed as distressed estate, ghettos or if these areas are no longer listed, the legislation creates a concern for the development both for the municipality and the housing organizations. Even though, Gladsaxe municipality expresses and understanding of the thought that lays behind the legislation - that we have to do something else than before, because it is not working. Bearing this in mind the municipality still wishes for more understanding that the solution for each area is differs and can be found at a local level (Green, 2019) and these cannot be lumped together under an overall approach.

The legislation has limitations, but it can also work in favour if the right situation is present. In the case of Taastrupgaard, the actors already had plans for demolishing and creating a new structure for the area, hence the classification brought funding to their already established ideas and the strategic development plans for these areas are partially build on the ideas and visions that were already created by the partnerships and collaboration for the development of these distressed estates. But in some cases, it can stand in the way of a successful co-creation, whereas the municipality outranks the housing organizations, when they have to prioritize and comply with rules and regulations that are set by the government. This changes the rules and norms of the collaborations (Torfing et.al, 2016), whereas the framework for the partnership can change character to become more diffuse and the rules and norms have to be re-established and the involved actors might have to change their role or perception of each other over again (ibid.).

8 CONCLUSION

The conclusion will provide an answer to the stated problem formulation:

What effect has the classification of distressed areas had on the way municipalities address issues concerning social inequality?

To investigate the possible effects of the classification of distressed social housing estates as an effect of the governments ghetto legislation, two municipalities were chosen; Høje-Taastrup and Gladsaxe. These cases both have similarities and differences, hence the possible effects of a classification of areas has been investigated in different scenarios. This is especially related to Gladsaxe Municipality no longer having estates listed as distressed, and Høje-Taastrup having two estates listed as 'hard ghettos' and one as a distressed area. Here, the range of differences between the areas help to gain a better understanding of the possible effects at different 'levels' of classification because of the different contexts. Despite these differences, both municipalities are involved in the Realdania project 'City in Balance', with the aim of developing strategic development plans for the distressed areas between the social housing organizations and the municipality (Realdania, n.d.).

When the government passed the ghetto legislation, they defined certain categories and criteria for determining whether or not a social housing estate is classified as distressed or as a ghetto. This can be regarded as an attempt to remain some sort of control by using their power to define the norm (Risberg & Pilhofer, 2018). Being on this list has consequences not only for the estate that is listed, but also for the actors working for a positive development in these areas; the social housing organizations and the municipality. Previous initiatives have often focused on either the social or the physical aspect of as distressed social housing estate with social holistic plans and refurbishment plans (Arnhild, 2019). After several years of using said initiatives, the actors understand the importance of a new approach (Green, 2019; Arnhild, 2019). The 'City in Balance' approaches this by developing a process for strategic development plans with a broader perspective (Realdania, n.d). The ideas that aspired along this project is much in the line of the previous work and visions by both the housing organizations and the municipalities (Arnhild, 2019; Anonymous B, 2019). Even though the municipalities experience different issues and challenges in the

estates that they plan for, the visions and overall approach of the strategies are somewhat similar, whereas they both focus on the cohesion between the housing estates and the surrounding neighbourhoods (Arnhild, 2019; Otto, 2019; Green 2019). During the Realdania project, the aim was to create strategic development plans by a partnership between the actors and a common approach, which can set the frame for a successful co-creation, if the norms and rules of the collaboration is established in agreement (Torfing et.al, 2016). In both cases there was a partnership established before the Realdania project, but the organization of the partnerships and the co-creation process of the two cases differ; a formal partnership for Værebro Park in Gladsaxe and a more structured one in Høje-Taastrup with an article 17 sub article 4 committee (Green, 2019; Arnhild, 2019). Also, whereas Høje-Taastrup municipality has a strategy and vision for each of the areas (Arnhild, 2019; Høje-Taastrup Kommune, 2018), Gladsaxe municipality has developed a very overall approach that sets a vision for the whole municipality and plans to also rely on the public service delivery that can counteract the social issues of the residents within the whole municipality (Green, 2019; Otto, 2019).

With the passing of the government's ghetto legislation follows certain regulations and demands, and these affect the work done in Høje-Taastrup, whereas they have to consider their prioritization in order to meet the demands and criteria from the government (Anonymous B, 2019; Arnhild, 2019). This affects their ongoing project such as the children- and culture house, where initiatives that are ongoing or in the making or brought to discussion have to be put aside to accommodate the demands of the legislation and to focus on aspects such as the development plans, that are mandatory (Arnhild, 2019). Whereas Høje-Taastrup might face radical approaches such as demolition of sections, there are no direct consequences in Værebro Park in Gladsaxe, but the municipality still deem the legislation and the list as a threat to the area indirectly (Otto, 2019). At the moment, the municipality has a flexibility in making changes for the areas in their own ways and at their own pace, but this liberty of prioritization might be challenged if the municipality does not succeed in developing these areas towards a more positive development to counteract Værebro Park appearing on the list again (Otto, 2019; Green, 2019).

When some areas are listed as distressed or as ghettos, there is a concern from all actors involved regarding the stigmatization of the areas and the possibilities for breaking this negative development (De Palo, 2019; Arnhild, 2019; Anonymous B, 2019; Otto, 2019).

The legislation has limitations, but it can also work in favour in the right context. In the case of Taastrupgaard, the actors already had plans for demolishing and creating a new structure for the area, hence the classification through the legislation brought funding to their already established ideas and the strategic development plans for these areas are partially build on the ideas and visions that were already created by the partnerships and collaboration for the development of these distressed estates. Also, the classification brings funding from The National Building Fund, which in this case can be used to develop the vision and ideas for the area that were already present. But in some cases, it can stand in the way of a successful co-creation, whereas the municipality outranks the housing organizations, when they have to prioritize and comply with rules and regulations that are set by the government. This changes the rules and norms of the collaborations (Torfing et.al, 2016), whereas the framework for the partnership can change character to become more diffuse and the rules and norms have to be re-established and the involved actors might have to change their role or perception of each other over again (ibid.).

Whether or not a social housing estate is listed as distressed or as ghetto, the legislation creates a concern for the housing organizations and the municipality for the possibility of the social housing estates being listed as distressed and the following consequences of this classification. Even so, Gladsaxe municipality mentions an understanding of the idea behind the legislation – that we must do something else, because what we are doing is not working (Green, 2019). But a general thought of both the housing organizations and the municipalities in the two cases is a wish for more understanding that the solution for each area is different and must be found at a local level (Green, 2019; Anonymous B, 2019) and that these cannot be lumped together into an overall approach with overall demands and criteria.

9 FURTHER PERSPECTIVE

This thesis has investigated the possible effects of a classification of distressed areas on the municipal initiatives to counteract social inequality based on the cases of Høje-Taastrup municipality and Gladsaxe municipality. This chapter will introduce other approaches to research regarding the distressed social housing estates in Denmark.

SOCIAL MIX AND THE AIM OF A MIXED COMPOSITION OF RESIDENTS

The use of the concept social mix is widely used by the government, the municipalities and the social housing organizations. It covers the belief that a more heterogenous composition of residents will create better opportunities and improve the situation for the current living residents (Musterd & Andersson, 2005). Since the distressed areas often experience a concentration of residents with social issues the aim is often to attract resourceful citizens to the estate in order to create a more mixed composition.

This can be seen as a way of solving issues by creating another composition, whereas these citizens with social issues will have to find another area to settle. Hence there is not a real solving of the concrete issues but rather moving them around. Also, in literature there is much assumption regarding the relation between social mix and social opportunities (Ibid.). Here it could be interesting to investigate the use of social mix in planning approaches on the basis of various assumptions about the effects.

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPACES AND THE COHESION BETWEEN THESE

The strategic approach of what is being developed in the two cases of Høje-Taastrup and Gladsaxe has an overall aim of creating a cohesion between the social housing estates and the surrounding areas. In some cases, these surrounding areas are private properties, whereas there is to be a connection between the public and the private public space. Also, when there is to be a mix of housing types within one area it is also relevant to consider the possibilities and complications or opportunities and the use of these spaces. Here, Jan Gehl's theory of activities in public spaces (Gehl, 2003) could be used in order to investigate the use of these spaces and the possible complications in relation to the municipalities' vision of creating attractions within these areas to attract people from outside the area. This can also be used in relation to the narrative of the different public spaces that the municipality plan for e.g. the *culture neighbourhood* and the *entrepreneur neighbourhood* in

Høje-Taastrup. Here, it could also be relevant to consider the perspective of the involved actors, such as social housing organizations, residents and other private actors in order to investigate both how this approach of planning affects them and their collaboration but also whether the narratives created for the areas are the same narratives that the residents experience.

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