

THE ROLE OF HOUSING IN SUSTAINABLE AND INCLUSIVE URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Iván Tosics

Metropolitan Research Institute, Budapest, Hungary

Third OIKONET conference

Global dwelling: sustainability - design – participation

Manchester

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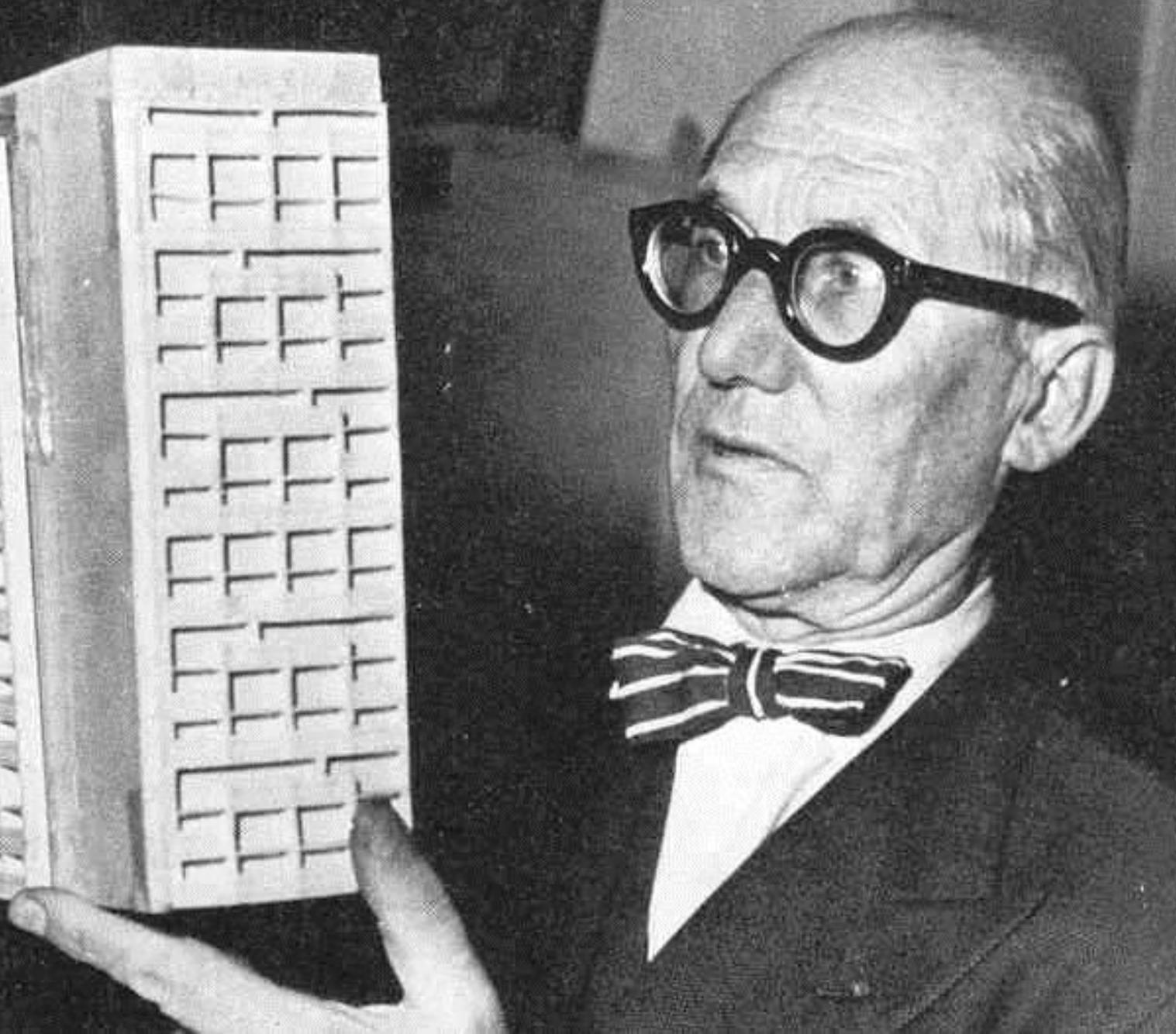
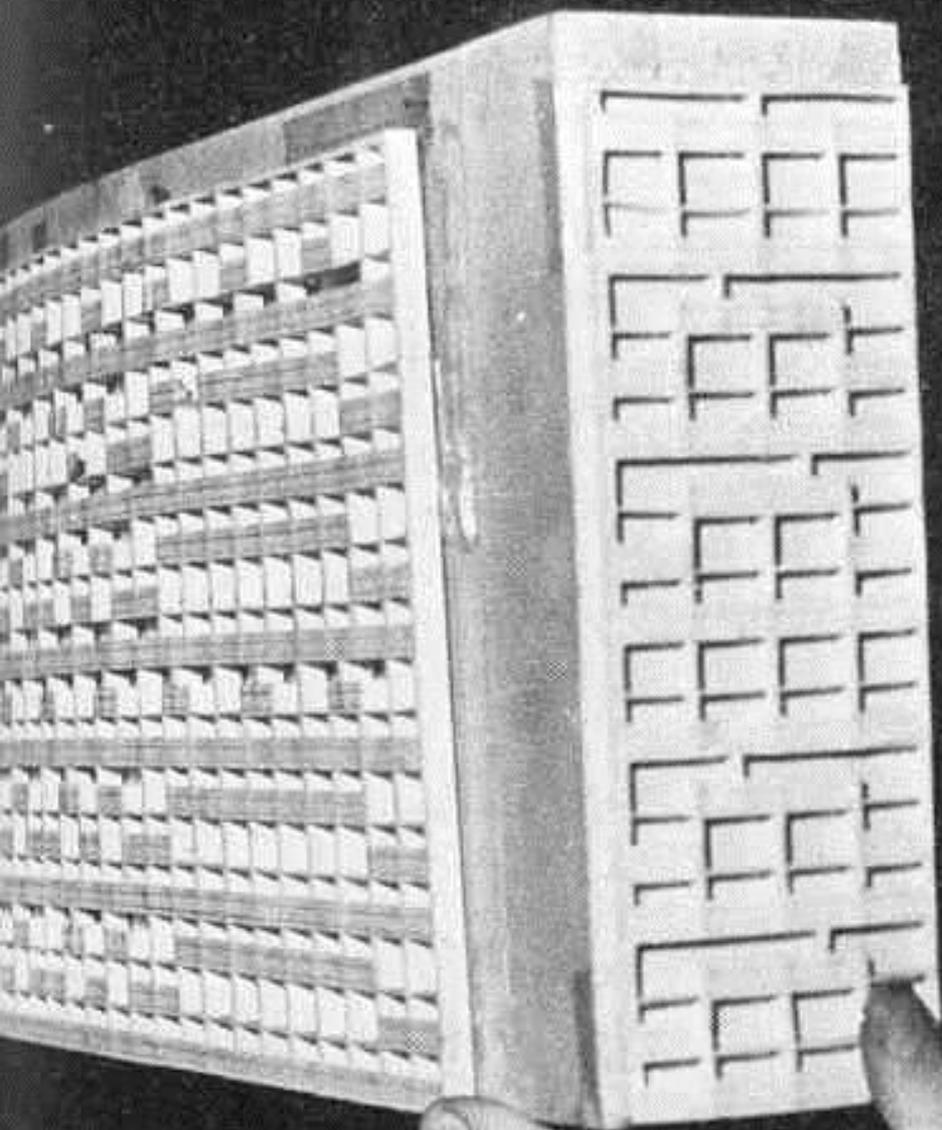
Outline of the presentation

1. An attempt/utopia to democratize housing: the large housing estates
2. Urban poverty and social housing
3. Polarized/divided cities: socio-spatial segregation
4. New eco-housing for more sustainability?
5. Towards a new understanding of society and social problems
6. Summary: the crucial role of housing

1. An attempt/utopia to democratize housing: the large housing estates

“We really believed, in a quasi-religious sense, in the perfectibility of human nature, in the role of architecture as a weapon of social reform ... the coming Utopia when everyone would live in cheap prefabricated flat-roofed multiple dwellings – heaven on earth.”

Philip Johnson, American architect











Naples, Scampia













Vienna, Alt-Erlaa



The large housing estates in Western Europe

Structural explanations

- In the UK in the postwar decades municipality led large investments (as reaction on housing shortage) Dunleavy
- Large public investments also in other western countries as part of the welfare economy, in the hope of increasing and equalizing housing conditions for people

Problems with large housing estates

- From the 1970s there are growing problems with large housing estates
- Prefab buildings were demolished first in the US, followed by many western countries by today
- What can be the reasons behind that:
 - The physical conditions of the buildings,
 - The monotony of the estates,
 - Their position in the city structure,
 - The run-down public spaces,
 - The mounting social problems?

Pruitt Igoe (St Louis) 1955 – 1972 - 1976



An empirical analysis of the problem

Alice Coleman: Utopia on Trial (1985)

- Large empirical survey in the UK in 4.100 buildings with 106 thousand residents
- Looking for signs of physical deterioration: garbage, graffiti, vandalism, share of kids under public control
- Taking stock of 15 physical design-elements of the estates (number of floors, flats per buildings, flats per corridors, ...)
- Showing strong correlation: the larger the estates and the buildings, the more problems
- Arriving the physical determinism conclusion: problems are caused by physical factors; thus problems can be solved by physical interventions



London

**Broadwater Farm
housing estate**









Lesson learnt from Broadwater Farm

- The problems of B-F were not caused by physical factors but housing allocation.
- The problems of B-F could not have been solved by demolishing deck-accesses alone. Mixed tenant association has been formed and consulted, employment opportunities were also created.
- Coleman's conclusion criticised by Williams: the correlation between signs of problems and physical design-elements is false correlation, caused by third elements, the systematic housing allocation policy.

Integrated area-based interventions with public participation

- More strategic approach
- Setting up separate institutional structure for the housing estate
- Involving the representatives of residents into decision-making
- Example: Castle Vale estate, Birmingham

Birmingham

Castle Vale housing estate

- Built Between 1964 & 1969
- Largest post war housing estate in Midlands
- Mixture of 34 tower blocks, maisonettes & houses
- Home to almost 20,000 people in 5,000 homes when completed
- Approximately one third of Castle Vale was built for sale



Problems arising

- During 70's & 80's social conditions deteriorated
- Problems of crime, vandalism, arson, drunkenness & street fighting
- Educational attainment way below City average
- Unemployment stood at 26%
- Life expectancy 68.3 against City average of 75.9





Castle Vale in 1993









CITY OF BIRMINGHAM
HOUSING MANAGEMENT DEPT.
Parking on this Private Road
is FORBIDDEN except on
Authorized Car Spaces
EMERGENCY SERVICES
must have access at all times
at the time of the



Castle Vale Housing Action Trust

- HAT established in 1993 following a 92% vote from tenants
- 12 Year Programme of Regeneration with the right to return to the Council at the End
- Refurbish 1500 Homes and build 1200 new homes
- Holistic Regeneration:
 - Health
 - Employment
 - Education
 - Environment
 - (Community Safety)



Resident Involvement

- Key to long term sustainability
- Investment needs to reflect the priorities of the community
- Several neighbourhood associations set up in different areas of the estate

- Conflict between tenants and freeholders
- Process identified to democratically elect estate wide representative group
- Estate Forum established 1996 – later became Tenants & Residents Alliance





13/5/2000



13/5/2000

Castle Vale Community Housing Association

- Established 1997
- Tenant Consultation Panel Set Up
- Officers provided advice on Legal Framework and Good Practice
- Residents worked numerous Saturday mornings & Wednesday evenings agreeing the 12 key Housing Policies



Castle Vale 2005

- 2275 homes demolished including 32 tower blocks (out of 34!)
- Almost 1500 new homes built
- 1333 homes improved
- 1461 Jobs created
- 3415 training places
- New Shopping centre, community facilities
- Unemployment reduced 26% - 6%
- Educational attainment improved
- Life expectancy now just below city average









TRIDENT BOULEVARD





Large housing estates explained on the basis of structural factors

Not physical, but structural factors create differences between LHEs: housing policy, legal-institutional, financial regulations, public services, transport

- LHEs were products of public policies (housing shortage, socialism) which subordinated market considerations to political power issues
- these policies (building policy, housing allocation policy) determined the starting position of the LHEs in the housing hierarchy
- LHEs can be ‚saved‘ with public interventions into the structural conditions
- LHEs face new troubles when public control decreases (decentralization, privatization, decrease in state subsidies)

2. Urban poverty and social housing

The Great Financial Crisis eliminated all earlier improvements regarding urban poverty.

- Severely materially **deprived population** in the EU-27: in 2005 11%, in 2009 down to 8%, in 2012 back to 11%
- Between 2008 and 2012 deprivation rates **increased** by 7-8 % in Greece, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia and Italy
- Close link between poverty and economic development of countries: **highest poverty rates** in Bulgaria (44%), Romania (30%), Latvia and Hungary (26%).

What is poverty: poor areas or poor people...?





http://www.google.hu/imgres?imgurl=http://www.ruhrnachrichten.de/storage/scl/mdhl/fotostrecken/lokales/rn/dortmund/lokales/mitte/2011/02-2011/plovdiv1/2297054_m0w756h504q75v3295_zzdo-Plovdiv_und_Stolipinovo_Roma_Dortmund_Delegation_Foto_Bandermann_113.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.ruhrnachrichten.de/bilder/fotostrecken/detail/cme103626.2297068&h=501&w=756&sz=91&tbnid=V5DM4OXQ8AePpM:&tbnh=90&tbnw=136&prev=/search%3Fq%3Dstolipinovo%26tm%3Disch%26to%3Du&zoom=1&q=stolipinovo&docid=









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BREAKING NEWS

ENGLAND RIOTS

Met CPO president Sir Hugh Orde defends police tactics

BBC NEWS

09:09

RIOTS STARTED ON SATURDAY

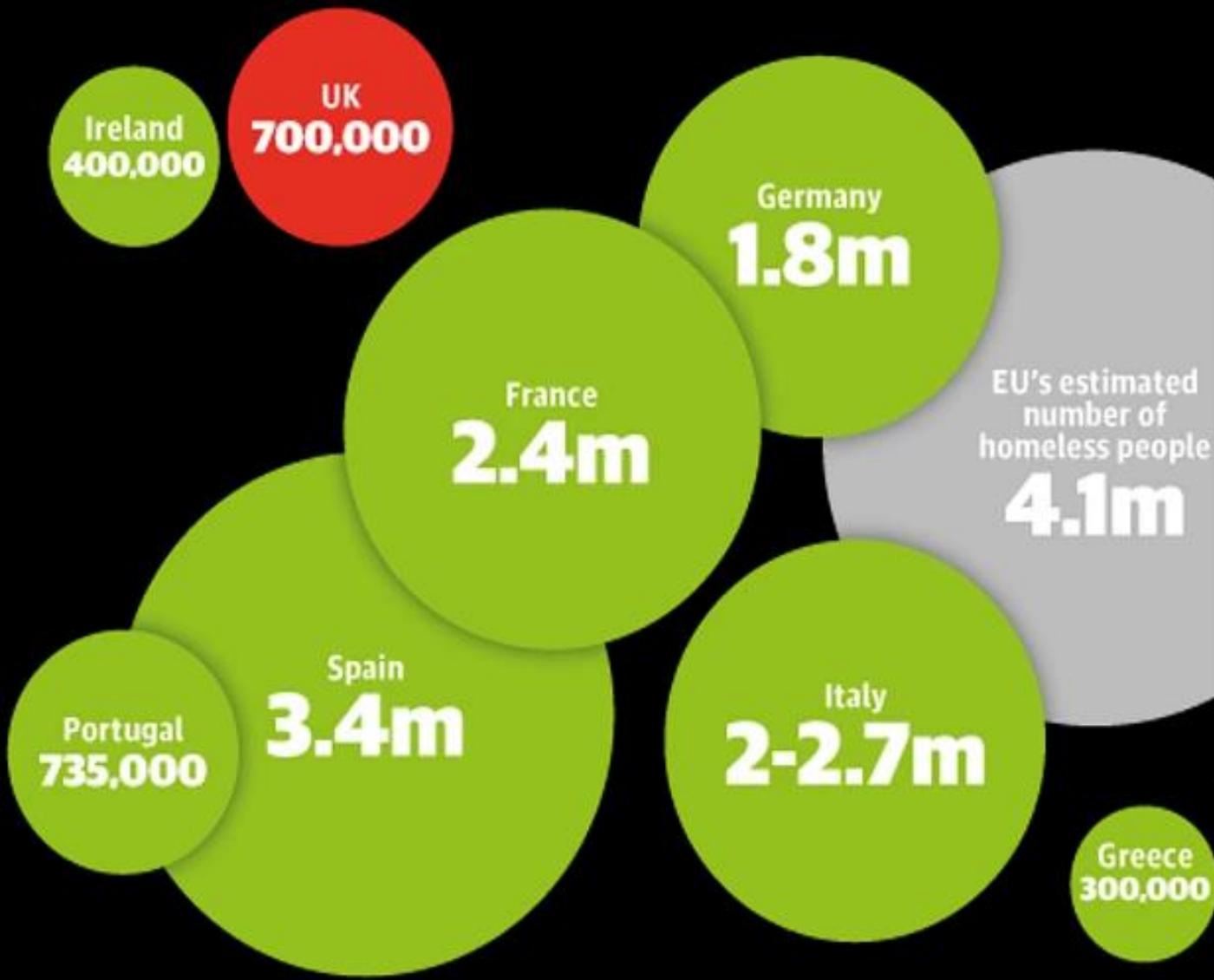
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Different levels of housing poverty

- The European Typology of Homelessness and Housing exclusion (ETHOS), developed by FEANTSA (2011) takes into account physical, social and legal aspects of a 'home'. It classifies homeless people according to four main living situations: rooflessness, houselessness, living in insecure housing, and living in inadequate housing.
- The current situation in Europe shows an increase of homeless in all countries. The European Commission estimates that there could be up to 410,000 people sleeping rough or in emergency or temporary accommodation on any given night in the European Union. This implies that almost 4.1 million people every year face homelessness for periods of varying length

Number of empty properties across Europe



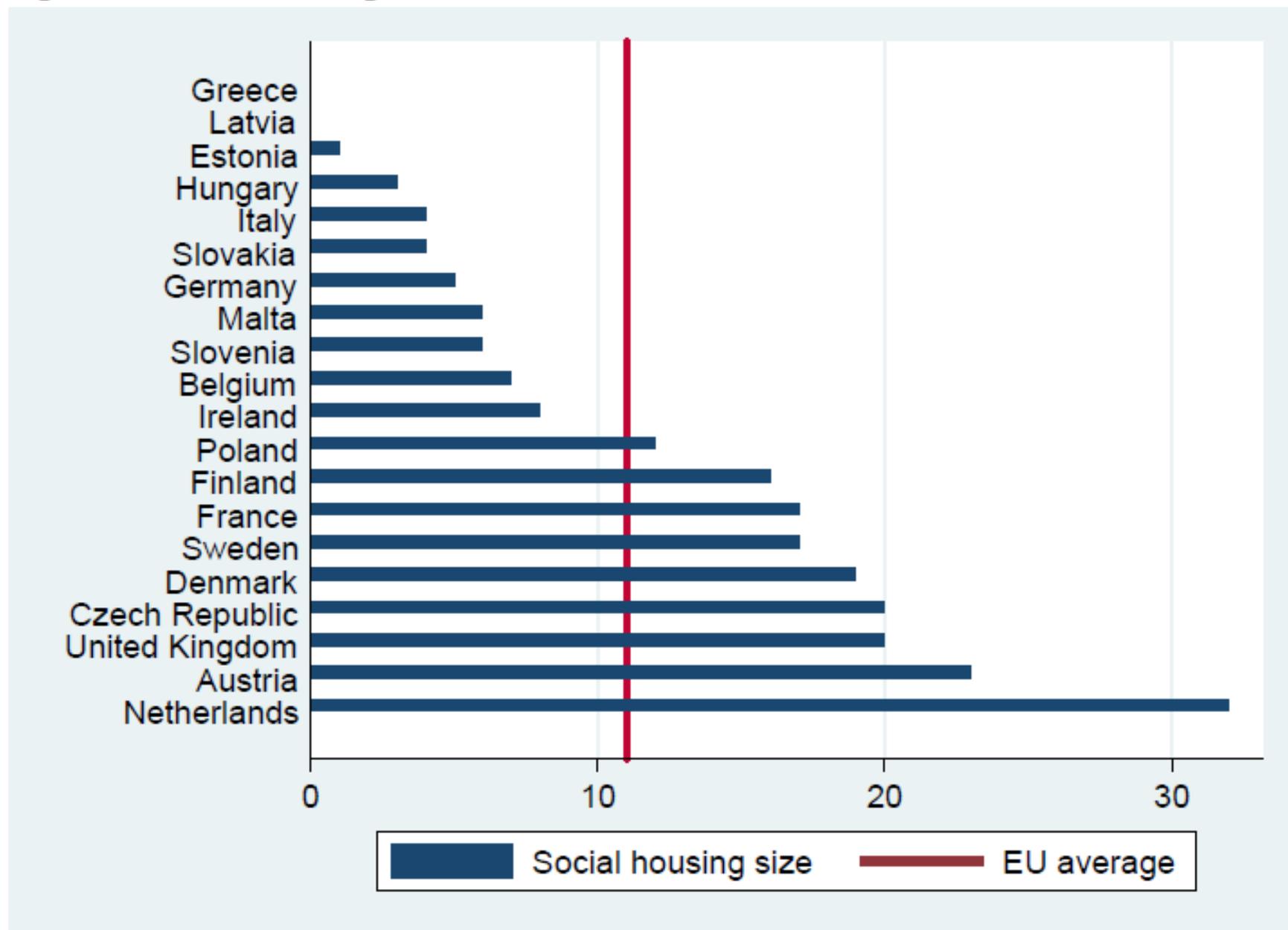
Consequence of the crisis: increasing vacancies (11 m vacant residential properties in the EU) while increasing homelessness

<http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/feb/23/europe-11m-empty-properties-enough-house-homeless-continent-twice>

The EP about Social Housing

- There is **no common definition** of social housing at the EU level.
- In general, four dimensions characterise (and differentiate) social housing models and policies: the **tenure**, **provider** of the service, **beneficiaries** and **funding** arrangements.
- The European social housing model can be classified as **universalistic** (affordable price housing for the whole population), **targeted generalist** (allocated according to the income level) or **targeted residual** (vulnerability indicators).

Figure 1: Social housing share



Source: CECODHAS 2012

Table 1: Social housing models

		SIZE			
		<i>Large (>19%)</i>	<i>Medium (11-19%)</i>	<i>Small (5-10%)</i>	<i>Very small (0-5%)</i>
ALLOCATION CRITERIA	<u><i>Universalistic</i></u>	The Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden			
	<i>Generalist</i>	Austria	Czech Republic, France, Finland, Poland	Belgium, Germany, Italy	Slovenia, Luxemburg, Greece
	<u><i>Targeted</i></u>	<i>Residual</i>	UK	France	Belgium, Estonia, Germany, Ireland, Malta

Source: CECODHAS (2007), CECODHAS (2012).

Countries	Social (public) rental housing	Poverty rate
Old EU countries		
NL, S, A	25 – 35 %	10 – 13 %
D, F, UK	15 – 25 %	14 – 18 %
ES, P, EL	1 – 5 %	19 – 23 %
Transition countries		
CZ, POL	10 – 12 %	15 – 25 %
H, EST	3 – 4 %	20 – 30 %
ALB, BUL, ROM	1 – 3 %	30 – 40 %

EU debates about social housing

- In the EU there is a **debate concerning social housing** as a Service of General Economic Interest: it is crucial to satisfy housing needs from social perspective while it is necessary to allow a satisfactory level of competition within the sector.
- To provide a single definition of Social Housing at the EU level would be rather problematic. Each country could contribute **with its own welfare experience and tradition** towards a framework definition of social housing
- This definition should be much broader than currently adopted within the legislation on competition, allowing to **preserve the universalist models of social housing and minimising the risk of social exclusion.**

Emerging responses to housing needs

- Finland accepted **Housing First**, giving normal flats instead of homeless shelters. Unconditional provision of housing to homeless. In 8 years over 8 th long term homeless people got housing, shelters are turned into supported housing units.
- Barcelona, Spain: the city would now make **revolution in social housing** but the Constitutional Court turns down all the ideas... New social rental construction is increasing. New, more inclusive way of renewal. The city is determined to do things differently.
- The Danish SKANDIA model: calculates on a lifelong basis all incomes/expenditures to have **people in housing, education and employment** instead of not.
- Germany: there is no federal law but large cities (Hamburg, Berlin, Munich) accepted the idea that they **only give land to developer** if at least 25-30% of new housing to be built is social housing.

3. Polarized/divided cities: socio-spatial segregation

- Decreasing employment, wealth polarisation and migration in European cities have been drivers in spatial polarisation
- The result is booming inner cities while left-behind peripheral areas, in some cities even ghettos of poor and minority groups





104 m

© 2009 InaV Geosistemas SRL
© 2009 MapLink Tele Atlas

2009 Google

Fecha de las imágenes: 15 de Dic. de 2008

23°36'52.45" S 46°43'48.73" O elev. 807 m

Alt. ojo 1.20 km





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About segregation

- Similar segregation patterns may have different reasons and factors
- Similar manifestations of segregation in EU cities may be very different in their dynamism and impacts
- Segregation has different dimensions: economic, social, cultural, residential , mobility, religious, ethnic, visual ...
- There are different ways to measure segregation (e.g. multiple index of deprivation UK, social monitoring systems Berlin)

When is spatial segregation problematic?

The spatial concentration of certain groups of people in a specific area is not *per sé* problematic.

- To what extent is spatial concentration the result of choice or constrain?
- Do segregated areas for the poor have lower level services?
- Does this lead to vicious circles (lower chances for the kids)?

Potential intervention logics

Horizontal policies:

- Not linked to any specific spatial level
- Focus on improving situation of PEOPLE (low income, special needs)

Area-based policies:

- Focus on a specific geographical unit (e.g. neighbourhood)
- Aim to improve situation of people living in specific PLACES

Horizontal policies

Operate by domain / sector: education, public health, housing (social housing) policies...

Do not focus on segregation per se but might have positive effect on it

- France: Solidarity and Urban Renewal (SRU) law (tenure mix)
- Berlin: Local Pacts for the Economy and Employment ('intelligent networking')

Area-based policies

Assumption: by focusing on PLACES with specific problems, the situation of the PEOPLE in these areas will improve.

- **‘Hard’ measures:** Physical restructuring or upgrading programmes in specific areas (e.g. demolition, new infrastructure, housing, etc.)
- **‘Soft’ measures:** Fostering skills, social capital and building capacity of people in specific areas (e.g. work integration and training programmes in specific areas, local festivals, etc.)





Social Mix

- Aims at changing social composition of areas with high levels of socio-spatial segregation
- Different definitions across countries
- Two types: introduce better-off residents in deprived areas (gentrification) or disadvantaged people into well-off areas (statutory quotas, etc.)
- Mainstream policy but controversial; evidence on effects are not conclusive

Area-based social mix policies with different aims

- The original version of this idea aimed to create a better mix of housing categories in poor neighbourhoods, with the hope that a supply of new good quality housing would **attract new affluent households**, leading to a 'better' social mix of local residents.
- In a later version of this policy the aim has been modified „... social mix can at least offer the opportunity for **successful households to stay in the neighbourhood**. This means that they will not have to run up the downward escalator and leave the neighbourhood.” (Vranken, De Decker and Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2003 p61)

Evaluation of social mix policies

- Evaluation of such policies (e.g. the Dutch Big City Policy), however, have shown problems: “... the idea of attracting the better-off to settle in disadvantaged neighbourhoods appeared not to work.” (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008 p83).
- The success of area based projects depends also on the ability “...to provide decent jobs within the neighbourhood (or within distance that is easy to bridge).” (Vranken and De Decker-Van Nieuwenhuyze, 2003 p62)









Kemanglestraat
Nieuw Kempering

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French cities: mis-use of the concept?

- Social mix policies can easily become too `fashionable', applied without careful analysis of local circumstances and/or leaving important aspects out of consideration.
- In many cases **large-scale demolition programmes are launched in lower status peripheral areas** with reference to social mix policies but with little or no regard to the external effects and on other social consequences.
 - Paris: large scale demolition in the *banlieus* have been heavily criticized by social analysts referring to the fact that there is a huge shortage of social housing.
 - Lyon: demolition of physically sound housing in large housing estates: La Duchere







Centre Hospital

PHARMACY

BAR

3966 XH 63



ATAC

Super Marché Entrée

Video interview with

Ronald van Kempen (NL)

Georg Galster (USA)

Possible policy interventions: what cities can do?

- Demolition is not a solution in itself: if you do nothing else, it's quite likely that you'll get a replication of that dead end neighbourhood someplace else. If you haven't fundamentally changed the reasons of why a particular space became a dead end space, than structural forces will create another dead-end space someplace else. The notion that you can eliminate the problem by bulldozing a place is naïve.
- Social mix alone is not a magic bullet either ... it's an essential piece of a fair and efficient metropolitan area, but it alone, without a variety of social supports and institutional structural changes, isn't going to make a difference.
- Participation: it is essential to work together with the inhabitants

Summary: What can cities do against polarization

- The answer should start from « What should be done »
- Although we discuss housing options, **housing should never be considered as separated from other policies.** Housing is part of integrated policy making.
- Although we discuss concrete segregated (deprived) neighbourhoods, **interventions should never be limited to deprived neighbourhoods,** but should be part of policies for the whole urban area.
- Although we discuss local policy options, **local policies should never be considered as separated from the higher (regional, national) levels of policies.**

Content elements of regeneration

- **avoid demolition** until other options are possible
- integrate **area based policies with horizontal interventions** (land use and housing, education, job-creation, transport, public services)
- deal with the **whole functional urban area**, including also **rich areas** (persuade them accept the role they have to play in city-wide diversity)
- integrate **local interventions with national and regional level welfare policies**

The process of regeneration

- **detailed analysis** must be carried out in transparent and participative way, based on evidence
- **understand the types and problems of given areas** – for example are they dead-end or transitory areas?
- **understand the dynamism of the processes** – in which direction are they heading?
- **analyse the reasons behind the dynamic mobility processes** of population groups
- design the interventions in the form of **cyclical process**: analysis, understanding, deciding on actions, implementation and evaluation

Long term integrated vision

- A new mindset has to be built in the city, resulting in **long-term policy-making** which is independent of electoral cycles
- Long-term visions can only be built up **in dialogue with citizens**, allowing them influence over local policy-making across electoral cycles

4. New eco-housing for more sustainability

Urban development is in many cases harmful on the environment, 'eating up' the remaining green areas. How can growing cities handle well growth?

There is a trade-off between the different principles of sustainability: it is not easy to achieve balance between carbon-smart-inclusive.



Stockholm, Hammarby Sjöstad

- A pioneer eco-village development: it is the showcase of eco-friendly development in Stockholm.
- Once completed it will be home to 25 000 residents and offer office and work facilities for 10 000.
- The area's central location, apartments with balconies offering stunning views, proximity to the water and green areas all contribute to creating an attractive new living environment.















Hammarby Sjöstad: critical evaluation

- originally 50% share was aimed for social rental but this was not achieved as building costs increased and social subsidies were constrained: a push towards privately owned properties.
- political changes led to increase the parking norm from 0,4 to 0,7 per flat
- the Hammarby project constitutes a clear case of (at least partial) gentrification with the selling off of public land to developers and then to relatively wealthy households. The City imposed strict environmental measures on developers who pushed their prices up so that only wealthier households can now afford to buy an apartment in the district ... a form of **'bourgeois environmentalism'**.

5. Towards a new understanding of society and social problems

- The market economy creates differences between people. The welfare systems are modifying the economic differences.
- The remaining inequalities are expressed in poverty, their territorial manifestation is social segregation.
- To handle poverty and segregation a shift is needed from pure economic framework towards societal outcomes, including all aspects.

Bristol: urban gardening with social inclusion





<http://www.avonwildlifetrust.org.uk/>

Kavala (GR): community pharmacy



<http://urbact.eu/together-territories-coresponsibility>

Naples: allowing the socially oriented re-use of empty buildings







WALLS ARE
THE BEST





SCUGNIZZO
LIBERATO

SCACCA
MATTO

(Re)emergence of collaborative housing initiatives in the early XXI c.

Earlier waves: **1900's, 1960/70s**
(cooperatives, communal living, co-housing...)



Re-emergence since **2000's**
(France, Germany, Belgium, UK...)
Community Land Trusts (CLTs), Co-housing, new residents' cooperatives, eco-housing...



Large new developments with hundreds of units – Berlin, Möckernkiez, organized by housing cooperative



Co-housing, organized by the association of the new owners – Berlin, Ritter str. 50



Regeneration of existing buildings, organized by associations of the incoming tenants/owners, supported by housing cooperatives – Berlin

6. Summary: the crucial role of housing

Housing affects all the important aspects of urban development:

- attractiveness, quality of life
- sustainability of development
- affordability (the access of weaker social groups to development opportunities)
- spatial balance of the social structure

Public sector tools to steer housing markets

There are different interventions, regulatory tools available for the public sector to influence the housing market

- construction of public (social) housing
- public control over new private housing
- public support to the renovation of the existing housing stock
- public support on the demand side for housing
- public control over the spatial allocation of social groups
- public control over the land market
- public influence over economic and infrastructure development
- public influence/regulation of transport development

The first four are direct tools for housing oriented public interventions, while the others are more indirect tools.

Housing as crucial element of integrated urban development

- Housing, as a multi-faceted issue, might contribute to all aspects of integrated urban development.
- There are, however, trade-offs between the different aspects and it is easy to arrive to one-sided outcomes.
- Good understanding of the processes, wide-angled analysis of experiences and participative approaches are all needed to achieve the full potential that housing can play to make urban development more sustainable and inclusive.

THANKS FOR YOUR ATTENTION!

Iván Tosics

tosics@mri.hu

