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Crises Without Retail: A Street Level Approach to a Global System

In Copenhagen & Dublin

UNICA Euromaster in Urban Studies 4Cities

**With thanks to my 4Cities brothers and sisters and my POLIS
cousins**

Dedicated to oppression: the great radicaliser.

Abstract

“Buildings that remain vacant, or partially vacant, for long periods represent a form of unemployment – a potential resource for reuse and redevelopment.”

(Myers and Wyatt 2004 pp. 286)

The above quote expresses the problem that this thesis will try to address, vacancy. This thesis will aim to look at different policies that City Authorities can utilise in order to reduce retail vacancy. Today's cities exist in a global economic system, they ebb and rise with a global tide. This thesis will adopt a 2 pronged approach to vacancy, it will first examine how economic crises come to be and how they produce vacancy in cities and why a street level approach is useful. Then we will review the nature of vacancy and how the market regulates it as well as how cities can attempt to regulate this market and briefly it will look at how the affects retail vacancy can have on urban life make it imperative that city authorities take action.

The second part will present case studies, looking at the differences and similarities in Dublin and Copenhagen when it comes to causes, prevalence and perceptions of retail vacancy. The third part will explore the policies in place in each case city as well as exploring possible policies, which a City can implement in order to reduce the level and opportunity for retail vacancy. The fourth part will pose ideal policies against vacancy based on the literature and primary research undertaken, it will end exploring wider trends in retail.

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Introduction

*“Capital is the lifeblood that flows through the body politic of all those societies we call capitalist, spreading out, sometimes as a trickle and other times as a flood, into every nook and cranny of the inhabited world. **It is thanks to this flow that we, who live under capitalism, acquire our daily bread as well as our houses, cars, cell phones, shirts, shoes and all the other goods we need to support our daily life. By way of these flows the wealth is created from which the many services that support, entertain, educate, resuscitate or cleanse us are provided.** By taxing this flow states augment their power, their military might and their capacity to ensure an adequate standard of life for their citizens. Interrupt, slow down or, even worse, suspend the flow and we encounter a crisis of capitalism in which daily life can no longer go on in the style in which we have become accustomed.”* (Harvey 2011 pp. vi. Emphasis added)

The need for our daily bread and the other things that support our life, that entertain, educate, resuscitate and cleanse us are provided to us all via the capitalist system. We are all heavily reliant on it, especially in urban settings, whether we agree with the system or not. Whether we seek to revolt, or expand this system or just to exist in our own way; we face some degree of integration with it, in order to gain access to food and health care and in order to gain employment or exercise innovation.

David Harvey's work illustrates the vulnerabilities and innate contradictions of capitalism, the system is built around speculation, those with the most gamble our collective fortunes; for high personal gains they risk vast collective losses. Liberal arguments espouse the invisible hand of the market as the great corrector, if only it was not hindered by the state. The prospect that those who gamble should be allowed fall from grace and that markets need to rise and fall are of little use to those who are often reliant on the system to provide employment so they can provide for themselves.

Equally, those on the Right that argue that the great masses of unemployed and impoverished need to pave their own way forward ignore the nature of capitalism and how it benefits from unemployment and gains from poverty. Furthermore, the Left has moved little after the fall of

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the USSR, with the most successful movements, on an electoral level, prospering only with movements towards the centre. But there may be hope in growing urban movements, as capitalism accelerates towards the great integral accident; concentrations of people and disenchantment may reach a critical level.

This thesis does not remedy or plot a new system, it will however explore policies that can be enacted at city level that may help to buffer local retail from the economic crises capitalism exposes us to. It does not defend consumerism, though it does cater to many interests. It seeks to insulate the jobs and our access to the daily bread we require whatever our outlook, to plot and plan our own futures. It feels out possible and practical ways cities can retake a stake of their own economies by implementing policies that reduce the susceptibility of street level retail to financialisation, that pushes investors and landowners to treat retail space as more than a financial investment and for them to act with respect to the street life they benefit from. The policies aim to create a retail environment based on wilful exchange instead of consumption, and values and rewards innovation rather than exploitation.

Definitions

“City” or “City Authority” = refers to city governing body, in the case studies: The Copenhagen Municipality and Dublin City Council.

“Retail” = broadly refers to the provision of goods and services to the end-user, inclusive of shops, restaurants, bars, supermarkets, clothes shops etc.

“Vacant” = refers to a space that is designed for a use that is not being fulfilled.

Part 1: Theory

1. Capital, Crisis and Space

1.1 A Condensed Account of Capitalism

“The material side of commodities is captured in its relation to human wants and needs by the concept of its use value. This use value may be looked at 'from the two points of view of quality and quantity'. As an 'assemblage of many properties' which can 'be of use in various ways', the commodity possesses certain qualities that relate to different kinds of human wants and needs.”
(Harvey 2006 pp. 5)

It is the *use value* of a commodity that is valued in a wilful exchange however it is the *exchange value* that comes to term when we consider an exchange that takes place in the capitalist system. Through one's need and another's ability to supply or not to supply their own surplus comes the possibility of exploitation. This exploitation is carried out in order to increase the suppliers own stock of surplus value that will facilitate further exploitation. Capital can be seen as money which is used in this process in lieu of a commodity. Capital is money which is circulated and exchanged with the aim of providing the owner with further capital in the form of money; when this circulation is based on money rather than just commodities the supplier becomes the capitalist.

The further capital that is returned is a portion of surplus value produced by others. These others must forfeit some of their surplus as the capitalist system limits their access to their own capital, which they need to produce commodities. The exploitation is facilitated by limited access to capital and the threat to withhold access to the commodities that people need to survive and to employment which people need in order to earn a wage in exchange for these commodities. The ability of the capitalist to make this threat is possible due to private property laws.

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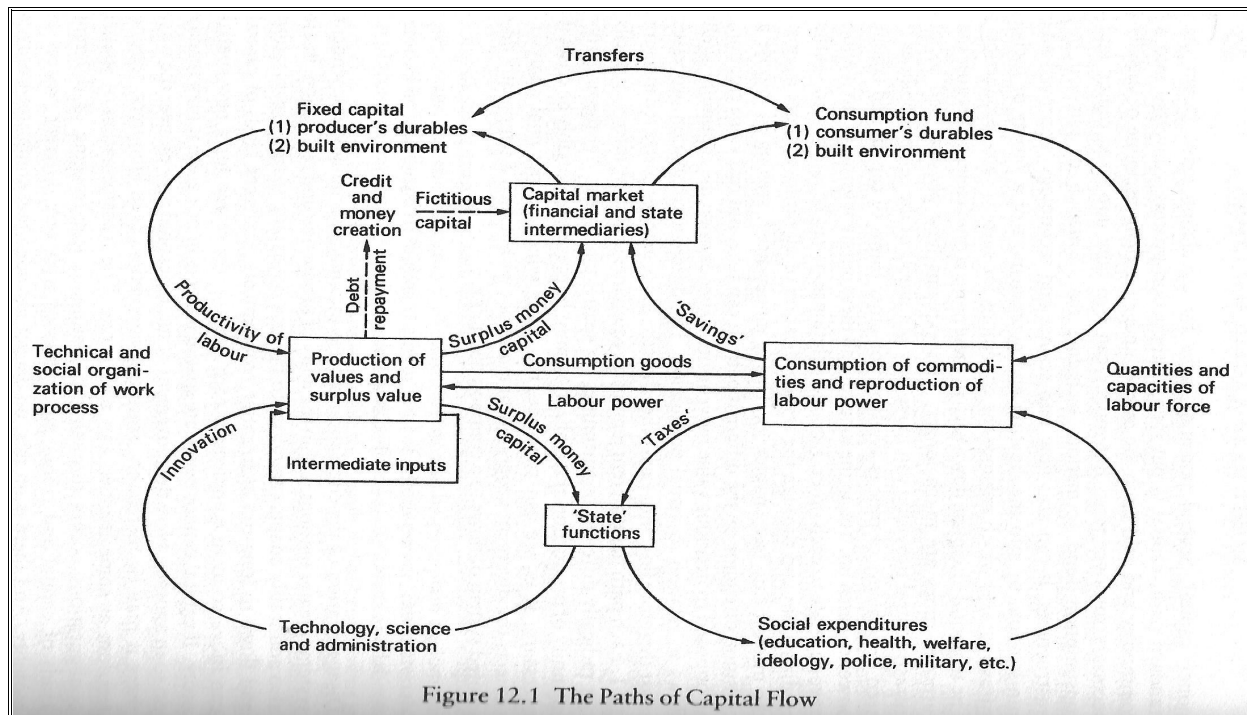


Figure 12.1 The Paths of Capital Flow

Figure 1: The Paths of Capital Flow (Harvey 2006)

Harvey's diagram charts the flows of capital. We will use a reduced version to examine flows in retail (See "Why a Street Level Approach").

One contradiction in capitalism arises when we consider that capitalists need those they exploit to work for them for as little as possible in order to increase the surplus value they gain. Yet, capitalists also need a market to sell to. This market often comprises of the very same workers they employ at a minimum rate. So in the words of Harvey:

"On the other hand , consumption provides production in the two-fold sense that production is rendered entirely redundant without consumption, while consumption also produces the motive for production through the representation of idealized human desires as specific human wants and needs." (Harvey 2006 pp. 80)

These desires and wants are said to be created by and in order to further the need for production and with that the possibility of profit. As capitalism developed its ability to create further needs, it sometimes saw the purchasing power of workers increase, but with that the workers became more reliant on capitalism. In the day of the industrial revolution, workers had little, as the bourgeois market satisfied the capitalists. When this market began providing diminishing returns we see the move towards Fordism, where the 5 dollar day allowed workers to become a new field of exploitation- the suburban dream meant workers needed to buy cars

to live.

This system of exchange marred with exploitation can be seen in a model described by Marx where:

“Capital pays wages e.g., weekly; the worker takes his wages to the grocer etc.; the latter directly or indirectly deposits them with the banker; and the following week the manufacturer takes them from the banker again, in order to distribute them among the same workers again.” (Karl Marx, Grundrisse, Cited by Harvey 2006 pp. 677)

As production steps up a gear, so do wages as this creates a market for the extra production. In efforts to maintain growth; prices rise to contain increased purchasing power and to increase profit margins. In time consumers no longer wish to purchase more goods or cannot afford to. This model comes to a halt and the economy enters into a crisis when capital runs out of profitable circuits to run through. It is a matter of speed and growth: without a certain amount of growth in a certain amount of time- capital will withdraw, leaving the worker without wages, the grocer without custom and the banks without money circulating are in other words stuck for profit. This results in what was identified by Maynard Keynes as the 'liquidity trap'- where the economy stagnates due to the hoarding of money and capital in order to secure oneself against uncertainty and in the hope of better investment opportunities in the future. This model will be loosely used later to illustrate the role regulating space can play in removing the exchange of retail from the throws of capitalism.

When we consider the implications of capitalism on a larger scale than the above model, the system becomes more complex and far reaching. As globalisation increased so did the possibility of moving capital to new markets, geographically speaking. This reduced the need for crisis, temporarily, by moving the potential for crisis further away spatially and chronologically, but with this it also increased the pool of risk.

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1.2 Contemporary Capitalism: Urbanisation and Financialisation

Land has been noted as traditionally attractive to capital due to its security and the associated prestige with landownership. The return a parcel of land can yield is increased by its exclusivity. In cities landowners can demand so called 'monopoly rents'. They are able to set rents high and demand for the land or retail unit must meet that. This is because in the urban environment, certain locations are awarded extremely high values due to their proximity to certain urban functions (political power, transport hubs, tourist sites) and the scarcity of land available in a given city.

Just as the urban environment can offer unique benefits for capital investment it can also dampen such investment. An area can develop a bad reputation or become over saturated with investment and from that a spiral of disinvestment and neglect can come into place. The exchange value of the buildings in that area become worthless, but unlike commodities the building cannot be shipped off to emerging markets. The long time an urban development can take to bear fruit (which creates further contradictions when you consider capitalism's need for speed) and their reliance on credit makes them particularly vulnerable to crises. If a development is unfinished when a crisis hits it may lose its financing as it becomes devalued and the scarcity of money reduces investors. The half-finished remains may last the rest of the crisis or longer, but those who live and work among them must continue to do so in depreciated homes- which will serve as cheap development opportunities once confidence in the market returns.

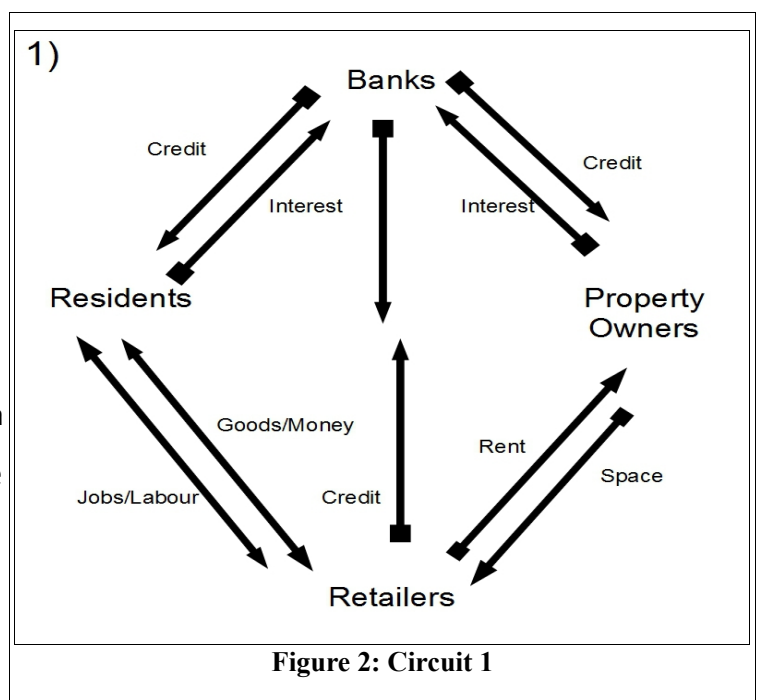
Another destructive aspect of capital flowing through the urban environment is speculation, which Harvey defines as: *“a situation where an excess of capital is applied to activities where the underlying returns are negative but the ferment in the market allows this condition to be disguised”* (Harvey 2011 pp. 52). This disguise can result in a development changing hands for continually increasing amounts of money with diminishing rates of profit- this exchange ends when a crisis begins resulting in the last investor paying an inflated amount for a stake in an overvalued project.

The role of credit in today's capitalism must also be noted. Credit serves to open further circuits for capital to move through. It allows workers to consume more without wage increases or during a crisis, and also charges them interest for the privilege. It also serves to accelerate urbanisation as loans allow workers to enter into a lifetime of debt and facilitate market activity. While credit opens up more markets, it also opens up more risk as the credit distributed by banks creates a bigger and bigger gap between their own holdings and that which they must honour.

In order to defend ourselves from the destructiveness of capitalism Harvey notes how public authorities are “*theoretically, at least*” (Harvey 2011 pp. 203) subject to the will of the people, and they can be used to keep capitalism in check. However, this can only result in a more 'controlled crisis'. He also warns how “*even a socialist government (as many have found to their cost) can do no more than strive for a more effective management of the contradiction-laden flow of interest-bearing capital*” (Harvey 2006 pp. 323). As it may be beyond the remit of this thesis to provide a path to eliminating capitalism, we must console ourselves with seeking a more controlled crisis. In the next section we will look at how we can attempt to insulate retail and its associated jobs and functions from capitalism and how a key part of this is the spatial element.

1.3 Why a street level approach?

In the face of a global system it is difficult to see what a city authority can do; it may also seem obvious that dismantling the system itself is the solution to the damage it causes. Though this may be true, it is a global system that requires a global response and while we wait for that, the control a city authority has over its streets can make it possible for its streets and the urban life, employment and



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services that they provide to be insulated from the cycles of crisis. We will illustrate the opportunity space provides us with a simple economic model featuring Banks, Property Owners, Retailers and Residents of the city.

Circuit 1) Residents gain goods with money they get in exchange for their labour or on credit from the Banks in exchange for interest. Retailers rent space from Property Owners in exchange for money they receive from Residents. Property Owners finance their property with the Banks; they repay the Banks with the rent paid by the Retailers. The Banks make money by lending the money that is deposited in them.

Circuits 2+3) In the event of a decline, the Residents stop or slow consumption because they are satisfied or because they cannot afford to continue to consume. They change their behaviour quickest in reaction to a decline. The next to react is the Retailers who experiences less sales, next the Property Owners who will find it hard to keep a tenant if they do not lower their rent. Then a decline in rent paid means the Property Owners cannot repay the Banks at the same level.

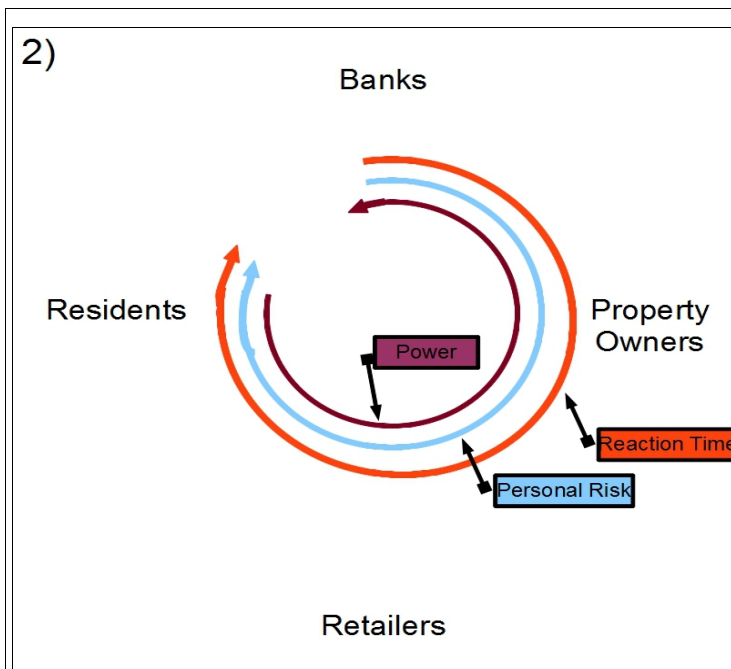


Figure 3: Circuit 2

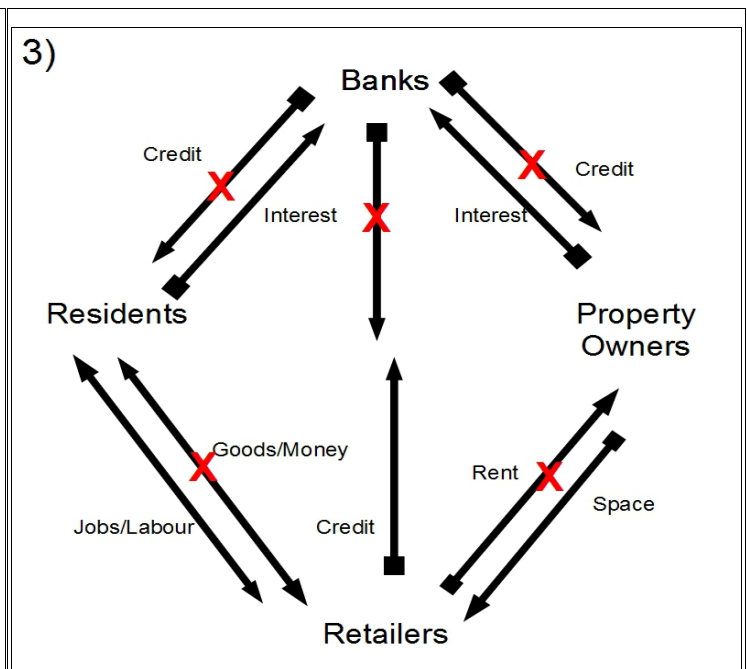


Figure 4: Circuit 3

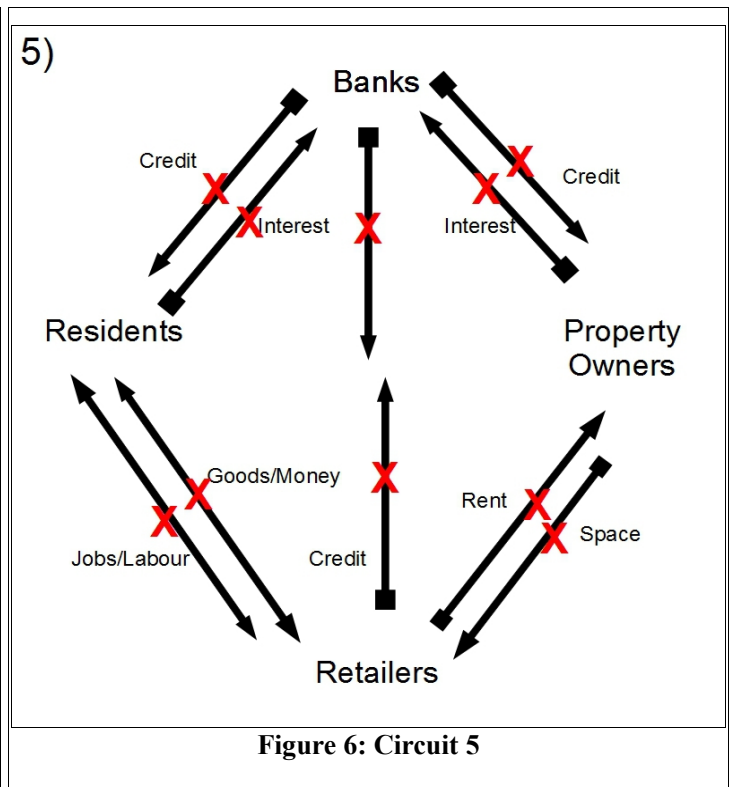
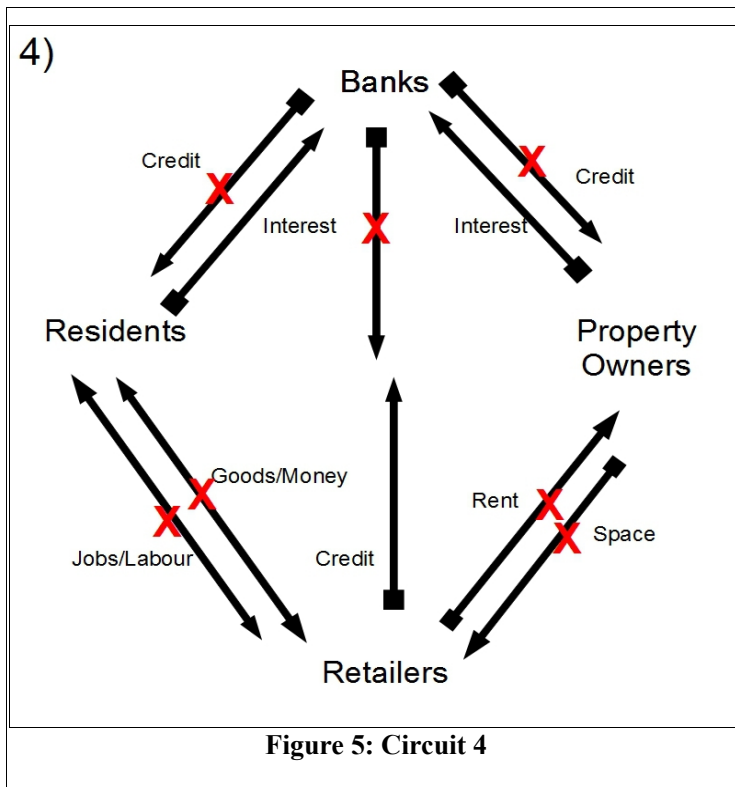
The Banks are the slowest to react to the change in the market, but they have the most power to correct the market. The Residents, Retailers and Property Owners will experience Increasing

Part 1: Theory

levels of financial insecurity in the time it takes the Banks to react. The Residents face the most risk as their access to goods, and the security of their dwellings and jobs is threatened. The Retailers can lose their livelihoods, the Property Owners risk their assets and the Banks risk profit. Once Banks find that their loans are insecure they reduce the credit available to all.

Circuit 4) The lack of credit reduces the Property Owners' ability to finance their property, the Retailers' ability to pay rent and wages and the Residents' ability to access goods.

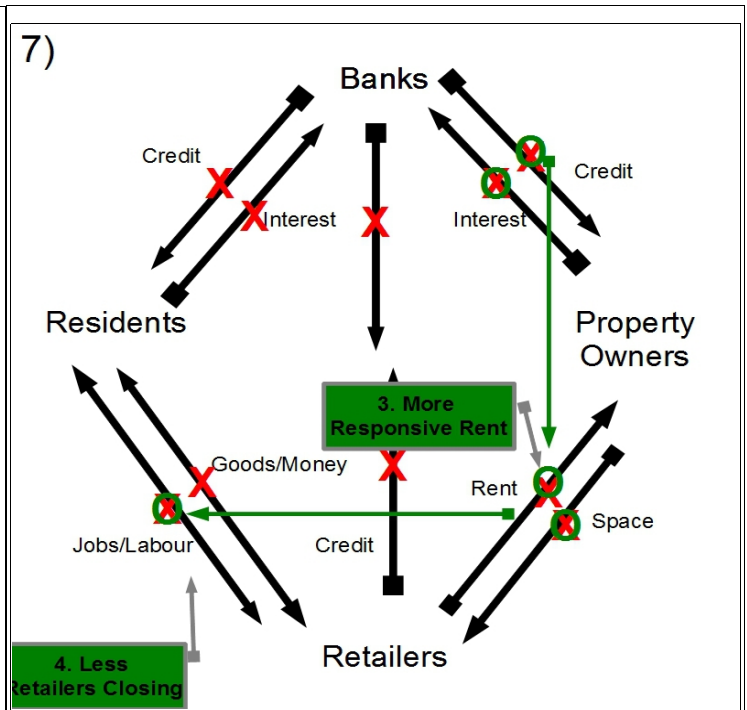
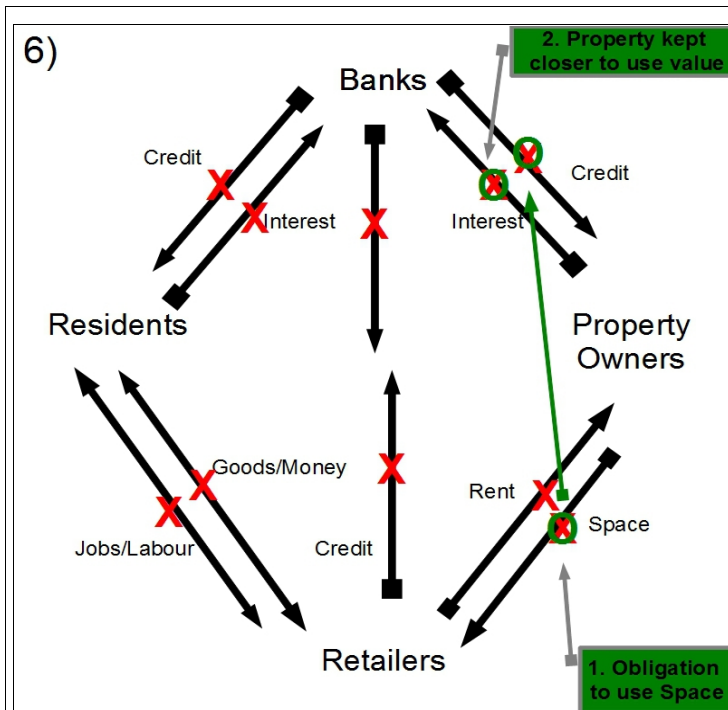
This results in job losses and vacant properties.



Circuit 5) With the lack of credit, jobs and retailers to occupy the vacant buildings, all parties find it difficult to continue bank payments, leading to a spiral of decline.

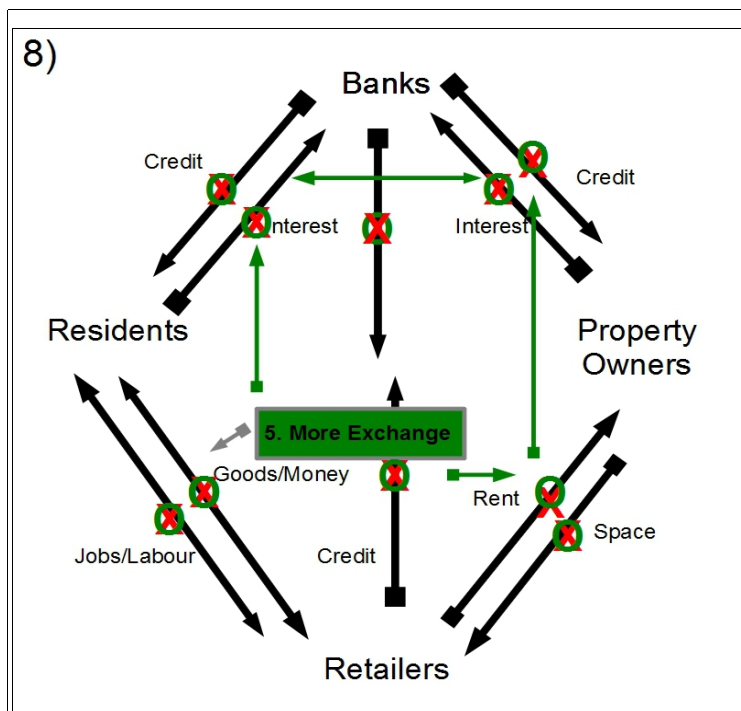
Circuit 6) If we regulate or put pressure on Property Owners and retail developments to stop space becoming vacant, it will become less attractive for speculative investors and require a greater amount of research into the viability of the development before a loan is given to finance it, this will help rationalise lending practices. Bringing the value of a retail development closer to its Use Value rather than its Exchange Value.

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Circuit 7) The more rational lending will result in a rent that is more responsive to economic changes. This helps keep buildings in use by making rent more stable for Retailers and helps secure the Retailers' ability to employ Residents.

Circuit 8) This helps keep the circuit flowing and property in use, providing jobs and goods for Residents, space at an appropriate rent for Retailers, with less volatile loans between Banks and Property Owners.



2. Retail Vacancy

2.1 The Nature of the Market

The property market, that builds and de-constructs the space we must inhabit if we are to live in cities accounts for 1-3% of energy use, 10-15% of GDP and about half of all gross capital investment in the UK (Bruhns pp. 2 2004). These numbers illustrate the significance of the property market to a country's economy and the scale of investment that enters this circuit of capital.

With such investment comes risk, and retail property in particular poses a greater risk, than other types of property, to financial institutions and a risk of increased cyclicity in the market . This is due to a number of reasons such as the longer construction lags associated with retail property or the greater likelihood of the loans being defaulted on (Luci, and Naughtin 2010). These are both risks that would be less common in the housing market as it is more likely to pick up after a downturn as the necessity for housing makes borrowers less likely to default on their loans compared to those borrowing for retail ventures. The longer lag associated with retail property makes it more likely that a development will still be under construction when the market ebbs with little recovery value for the lenders and a longer wait until the market picks up again resulting in a higher rate of vacancy for a longer period until the excess is utilised. During this period the value of the property may fall below that of the loan resulting in defaults which unchecked can dampen the greater economy further.

The structure of the retail market and its hierarchy is worth considering. This has been modelled in 1963 by Berry and Garrison (See figure 10), it depicts the traditional layout and contents of gradually more retail dense spaces from neighbourhood to city centre.

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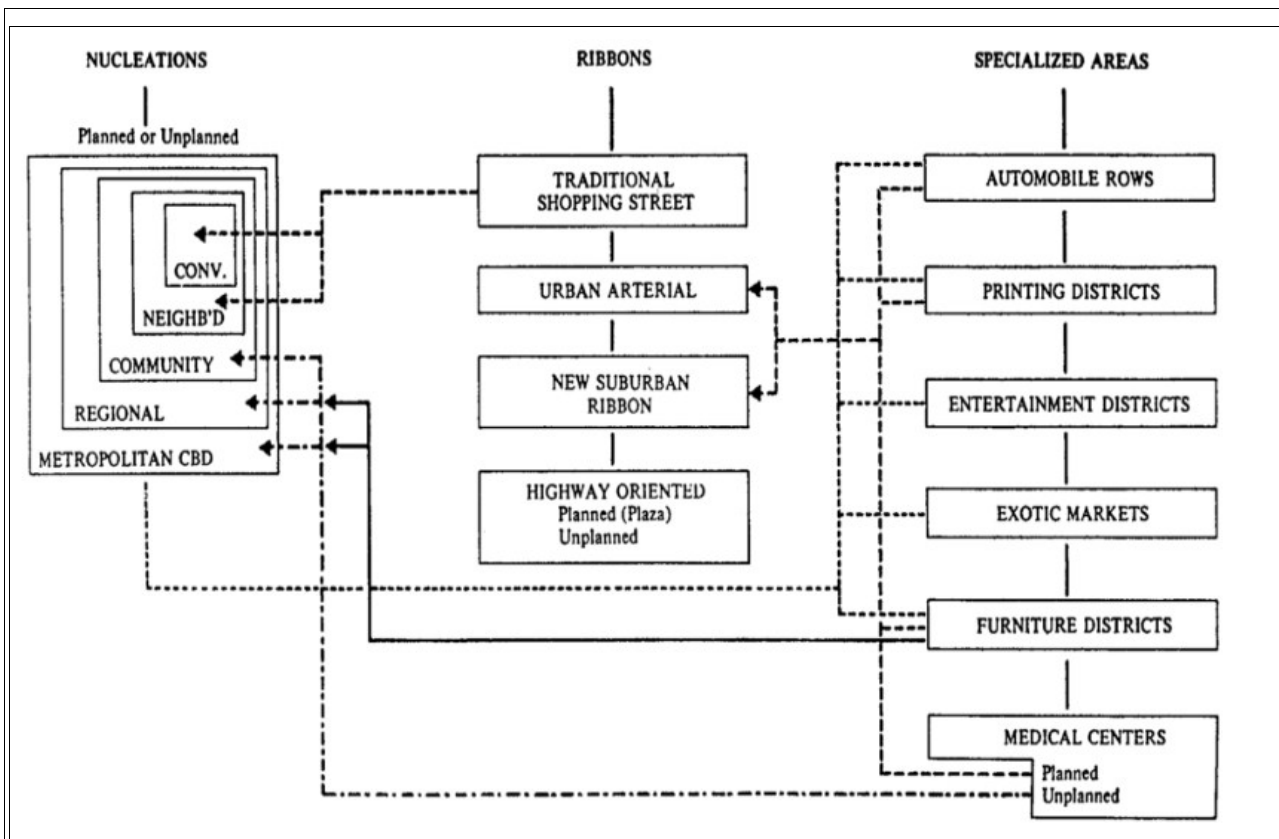


Figure 10: Berry's Model (Berry B.J 1963)

It is helpful in visualising the complex spatial structure of retail and the variety of districts that can develop themselves in spite of the larger structure. Re-examining this Model Borchet (1998) notes some changes, that it has in effect become less graduated with stronger centres becoming stronger, whether they be shopping centres or city centres and more peripheral and secondary areas becoming weaker. This is explained by competition creating a high demand for space and larger premises in central locations, pushing out smaller and less profitable retailers. This combined with more fragmented consumer demands makes central locations the most economic choice for retailers and consumers.

Demand for retail property is of course linked to demand for retail goods as well as rental rates. The greater the demand for retail goods, the more demand there is for retail premises and with that there is an increase in investment in retail property as well as the returns these investments can provide (Jackson and Watkins 2005). If the rising demand for retail premises is

not met by an increase in supply then rental rates will rise. However, assuming the supply of retail premises increases, demand for retail is likely to be the first to falter during an economic downturn, and investment in retail is likely to respond to this downturn sluggishly leading to excess supply and financial vulnerabilities. It is the sluggishness and lag present in this market that means it is often not in equilibrium (Benjamin et al). This warrants controls to make the market more responsive, less vulnerable and more responsible when it creates an over supply.

According to Benjamin et al, demand for retail premises is heavily determined by demand for retail, and the supply of retail premises is negatively linked to land-use regulation and the availability of land and less so by capital costs. Both demand and supply for retail property can be seen as price inelastic (Benjamin et al 1998 pp10) which means that the market responds to changes in the economic climate, land availability, capital market cycles, interest rates and tax law rather than the price of the premises. And Jackson and Watkins are in slight agreement saying a certain retail premises may have an elasticity close to zero if they are in a popular street or area where representation or access to footfall is prized over cost or the availability of other premises (Jackson and Watkins pp1456 2005).

As well as posing risks to the economy a strong retail market and the retail premises to contain it can be a an important economic asset and part of the social infrastructure providing employment and services to a city (Yeates and Montgomery 1999 and Whysall 2011). Yet these benefits are often subject to national and increasingly international influences through the globalisation of markets and finance when it comes to the demand for retail and retail premises and the ability to supply retail premises respectively (John et al 2000). These external influences can be buffered against by local initiatives such as city management, supportive local institutional structures, promoting the town centre/high street (the street-scape and reputation), encouraging diverse mixes of services, anchoring commercial centres and by ensuring that premises are designed to be easily physically reconfigured (Wrigley and Dolega 2011). These initiatives may also be useful in securing the retail market of a city not only against the forces of globalisation but also the viable threat posed by other local and regional retail centres such as out of town shopping centres (Benjamin et al 1998).

2.2 The Nature of Vacancy

Vacant retail and property in general have numerous adverse affects such as reducing surrounding property values as well as increasing crime and fire risks (Kraut 1999). Vacancy can also cause greater damage to existing communities hollowing out local and city centres of both activity and social significance (Baker and Wood 2010).

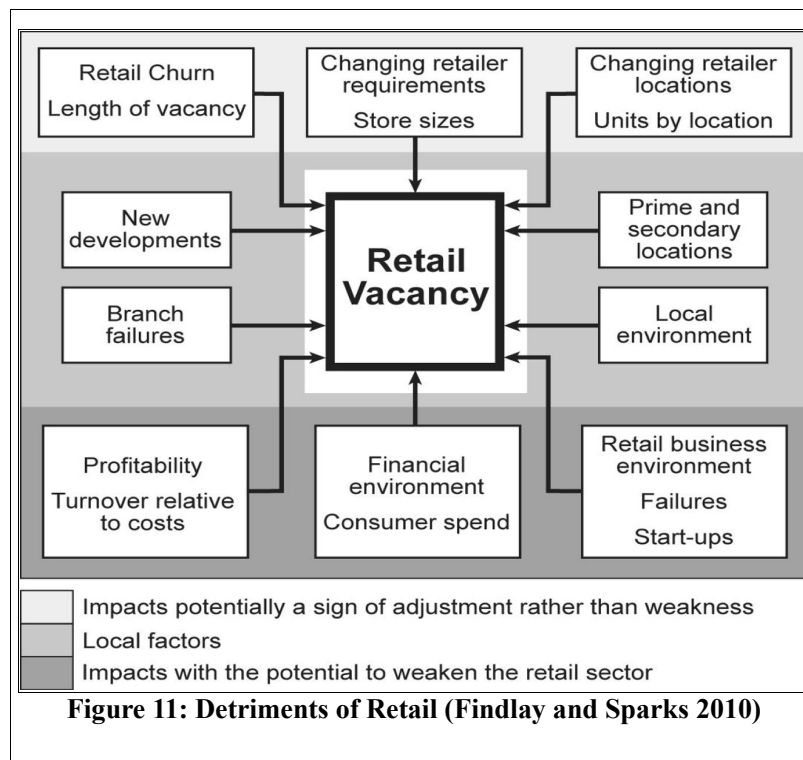
Vacant buildings are defined as *'unoccupied for one year or more, that are structurally sound and in a reasonable state of repair'* by the UK's National Land Use Database (Myers and Wyatt 2004 pp. 288). This definition can be further elaborated if we consider that these empty 'hard units' also exist among so called 'soft units' which are available but still trading (Wrigley and Dolega 2011 pp2350). Furthermore we can consider 'commercial blight' which can be seen as clusters of retail vacancy doubled with declining population and or disposable income as well as physically deteriorating buildings (Whysall 2011).

In addition to the problems of commercial blight it is possible for a retail market in decline to experience decreasing vacancy as stock is redeveloped. Conversely a market that is growing may experience increased vacancy as development of new and larger retail spaces races ahead of demand (Yeates and Montgomery 2008).

With most markets there is often a natural rate of adjustment or 'churn'. Churn can cause short-term vacancy as a premises changes hands (between owners or tenants) or if the premises is being refurbished. This churn is normally higher in retail property markets than it is in housing due to the fewer numbers of owner occupiers involved with retail (Katyoka and Wyatt 2008). This churn is seen as natural and is often of such a short duration that it does not lead to the problems outlined above. This churn does increase with the cyclicity of the market, so during times of economic downturn we can expect a higher rate of churn (Wrigley and Dolega 2011), which can be seen as necessary for the re-gearing of the market, but the ability of the retail property market to adapt seamlessly to its new conditions is not guaranteed, and social and economic costs ought to be expected without some form of management.

In times of economic downturn a recent study on UK high streets by Wrigley and Dolega noted

that so called 'comparison retail' or non-food retailing (such as department stores, audio and visual retailers, bookshops and toy-shops) have been the worst affected by the current crisis, with the number of these stores in decline. Yet, they also found increases in discount stores, telephone retailers, charity shops and to a lesser degree 'chemists and beauty' retailers. Convenience retail, financial and business services as well as other services were also found to have contributed little to the increase in vacancy. They also found continued growth in ethnic retail. (Wrigley and Dolega 2011 pp. 2343-2346). Some of the detriments of retail covered so far have been categorised by Findlay and Sparks (see figure 11).



Further to these more direct detriments the presence of 'marginal' or 'non-retail' uses of premises can be considered disguised vacancy (Baker and Wood 2010 pp. 67). Also different clusters of vacant retail property or commercial blight can also be categorised as has been done by Whysall 2011 (pp. 26):

- (1) Economic blight: A surplus of premises compared to demand.
- (2) Fictional blight: Due to incompatible land use- factors such as congestion, safety and security risks, pollution damaging the viability of retail in the area.
- (3) Functional blight: Technological change resulting in some premises and buildings becoming unsuitable to the modern needs of retail, or a decline in retail in the area due

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to increased mobility or greater access to online retail.

- (4) Physical blight: Structural and maintenance issues reducing the attractiveness of retail in an area.

Correlations have also been found between local rates of vacancy and surrounding metropolitan areas, indicating wider macroeconomic causes as well as the more local causes (John et al 2000). Accepting a link between international finance and local retail, speculation can be seen as the most destructive cause of vacancy, with speculators being able to purchase large tracts of land and holding them vacant for the right opportunity or else developments falling through leaving unfinished developments in an areas retail core (Kraut 1999). These issues can be inflamed by city authorities imposing low burdens on land holding, but relatively high taxes on land use. This accommodates the trade of buildings based on exchange value rather than use value, as it becomes profitable to keep a building use and tenant free for easy trading, rather than allowing it to be used to provide goods and services. With an increase of retail vacancy an area becomes less liveable as services and employment diminishes, resulting in residents residents living in the area, spreading the vacancy issue to residential as well as retail uses (Kraut 1999).

The need to utilise vacant property is also linked to our environmental need to make markets and land development more sustainable (Myers and Wyatt 2004) as well as the economic need for a place to be viable for investment and the social need of vitality so that people can live and work and service their commercial needs in unison (Baker and wood 2010). A more consumption-centred approach is Town Centre Management which sees retailers take some control over the streets they serve. This approach is noted as being favoured to stronger control or equal control over the streets by city authorities (Jackson Watkins 2007). This unison can not be guaranteed by the market which is why there is a need for local authorities to plan retail development in line with future needs, while attempting to maintain a healthy hierarchy of retail, which is at risk due to property markets working on exchange values. Baker and Wood have developed a number of tests to ensure retail development is needed (Baker and Wood 2010 pp70), they are as follows:

1. The Hierarchical Test: This would limit satellite developments keeping retail in central areas with necessary access and infrastructure, their test proposes ratios to limit the amount of out of town to centre development.
2. The Sequential Test: This requires developers to prioritise development in or close to recognised retail centres. The developers would be required to prove the benefits of them setting up outside of available areas in the centre, in an attempt to keep retail consolidated and social costs down.
3. The Sense of Place Test: This test focuses on the affects a development would have on pedestrian movements in main streets and retail centres and their vitality, ensuring new developments are integrated into the centre.
4. The Competition and Significant Economic Effects Test: This takes into account the effects a development might have on competition within the area as a whole rather than on individual businesses.
5. The Net Community Benefit Test: This test brings together many of the above tests testing if a development is in the public interest, a hard to measure but important concern.

2.3 Retail and Urban Life

“The city, particularly the great city, in which more than elsewhere human relations are likely to be impersonal and rational, defined in terms of interest and in terms of cash, is in a very real sense a laboratory for the investigation of collective behaviour. Strikes and minor revolutionary movements are endemic in the urban environment. Cities, and particularly the great cities, are in unstable equilibrium. The result is that the vast causal and mobile aggregations which constitute our urban populations are in a state of perpetual agitation, swept by every new wind of doctrine, subject to constant alarms, and in consequence the community is in a chronic condition of crisis”
(Park 1967 pp. 22)

Crises without Retail

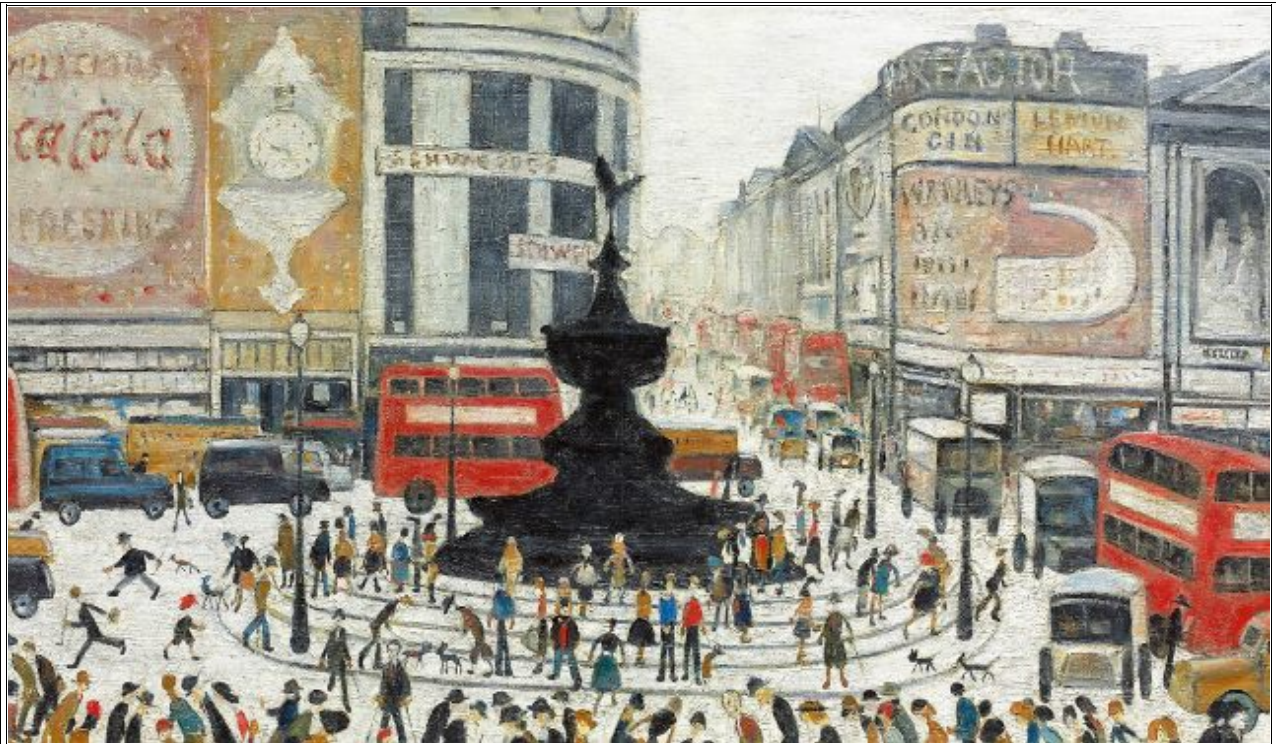


Illustration 1: Piccadilly Circus by LS Lowry (1960)
An Expression of Urban Living

The city Park sees, draws not only on the economic instability of the city and the spatial fallouts associated with it in this thesis, but also on the culture of urban populations and the great possibilities and dangers associated with them. Retail plays an important role in sustaining and the creating urban life and culture. Distanced from its modern association with consumerism and capitalism. Retail involves the exchange and provision of daily goods to city dwellers. In a classical city this took place in market squares as well as built spaces. As well as providing daily goods through trade, retail spaces facilitate a great mix of people with the possibility of interacting. Though Park notes the Anarchist and the Club Man may still live in totally different worlds, they touch elbows on the street and the universal need for daily goods leads to a kind of social mixing that only a city can provide so routinely.

This mixing and the melting pot dynamic of the city provides “the newer breeds and newer social types” (Park 1967 pp. 40) and the urban environment has been seen as the “most favourable breeding-ground of new biological and cultural hybrids” (Wirth 1938 pp. 10) by Louis Wirth decades before Park who also noted how the “Urban milieu tends to break down the

Part 1: Theory

rigidity of caste lines and the complicated the class structure, and thus induces a more and differentiated framework of social stratification than is found in more integrated societies” which all leads to an urban community that is so “unpredictable and hence so problematical” (Wirth 1938 pp. 17).

The unpredictability of streets can be seen as a quality of urban life, part of the urban carnival- yet it has been curbed by efforts to quell the 'problematical' aspects of it and develop safer yet duller public and retail spaces- epitomised by the shopping mall.

In Neil Wrigley's 'Reading Retail', he charts the development of retail from street to mall and to the internet. He looks at the use of urban streets as the stage of the ubiquitous Flâneur as well the workspaces and playgrounds of working class women and children, to the evolution of some streets as hosts of clusters of high fashion and design with growing disposable income among the public. With these clusters the importance of particular streets and locations became almost as important as the product. Though the offerings of the shops were certainly not in everyone's reach they served all as spaces of sociality, with the diversity of people on the street being matched by the diversity of interests whether goods and services, observation or socialising.

The unpredictability of the streets and indeed the weather over the streets lead to the development of the Shopping Mall by Victor Gruen and his architecture practice. He sought to encapsulate the civic, cultural and social aspects of the street in roofed developments to facilitate the needs of dispersed suburbanites. As the concept developed Gruen et al became disillusioned with how the concept began to limit the civic, cultural and social tenants in favour of consumerism. The control the shopping mall offered to enhance and provide urban life to suburbanites was used to optimise consumption and behaviour conducive to the consumption of others. Malls have since then been built within cities, often absorbing and sanitizing the urban life from neighbouring streets.

This illustrates the role retail has in urban life, and the threat retail vacancy poses to it. It is not

Crises without Retail

the capitalist-coloured exchange that retail facilitates, which needs to survive, but the mixity and the mixity is provided by the need of people to travel for their daily goods. Other uses of vacant retail can and do compliment the mixity and existing retail and this thesis does advocate a change of use if other initiatives to return a property to retail use fail.

The need for other uses and non-commercial uses of space in retail areas is one that is growing, not just due to the affects of crisis but due to the changing nature of retail. With the advent of online shopping it will not be too long before all generations living will have grown up with online shopping. This threatens retailers directly and street-life indirectly, there will be less retail space necessary and the need to plan for other uses or less commercial uses will be difficult when faced with property owners reluctant to give up on their investments as the street and other the remaining retailers suffer due to the vacancy.

Part 2: The Case Studies

1. Methodology

A mix of qualitative and quantitative research was used, as were a number of different approaches within these distinctions, based on data and time available and with regard to the balance of the comparison.

Copenhagen and Dublin are compared due to their similar populations, size and status as capitals of small states. Though they are statistically similar, they both have different histories and they have experienced the crisis differently. Copenhagen, as the seat of a strong monarchy for much of its history and its perception as a social-democratic city make for an interesting comparison to Dublin, a city ruled by Britain for much of its history and more recently known for the 'Celtic Tiger'. The crisis has affected both negatively, and with that they have both faced increases in retail vacancy. The structures leading to this vacancy and the structures that allow or limit filling this vacancy are explored.

Desktop research was utilised to reveal relevant actors for interviewing and issues to explore. Though the roles of the interviewees could not always be mirrored across the two cases, a balance was attempted among the different broad categories of interviewees using purposive sampling (see appendices for a list of completed and attempted interviews).

In addition to this a member from each party sitting on the most relevant committees (The Technical and Environmental Committee in Copenhagen and the Economic Development Planning, in the Copenhagen Municipality & International Relations Strategic Planning Committee in Dublin City Council) in each city authority were contacted for interview. This was due to their likely familiarity with the issue of retail vacancy and their awareness of action taking place in the public realm; through their constituents, the private realm; through their liaising with the business community and their institutional relationship with the civil servants working for the city.

Crises without Retail

Further interviews were then arranged due to snowballing from those interviewed on the Committees and from those uncovered in the earlier desktop research. Lastly the relevant civil servants in the cities planning and business development departments were contacted for interview.

The interviews were semi-structured (see prompts used in appendices) and explored the perception of retail vacancy in the case city in question, followed by perception of other actors' positions and then the interviewees evaluation of the efficacy and viability of policy initiatives. They followed the same structure, with some changes in language or terms used to avoid confusion. The selection of policies discussed in the second part of the interviews was based on the literature review and was developed as more information was gained between interviews and between case studies- a grounded theory approach.

Different levels of aggregate data were also found through desktop research or provided by interviewees, the levels and consistency of this data was not always ideal, but still illustrative. Where an area or street frequently arose, more detailed mapping and photographic documentation of vacancy was undertaken.

2. The State of the Market: Europe, Copenhagen and Dublin

The following is an analysis of the retail market first in Europe and then in the 2 case studies: Copenhagen and Dublin. Reports by a number of international real estate companies were used to illustrate the condition of the retail market.

With the European economy still struggling in the face of national debt crisis and austerity regimes- resulting in low wages and high unemployment- the retail market has a lot against it. People do not have money to spend and this puts pressure on retailers who are struggling to keep ahead with rent at a time of very limited liquidity. However demand for primary high street and primary shopping centres still exists from new retailers and existing ones looking to expand. This is possible due to a mix of older tenants closing down, landlords offering better

Part 2: The Case Studies

rental terms and the strong attraction retailers have for prime locations. In secondary locations they face the same problems, which are troubled further by the more successful retailers moving to better locations and a larger number of retailers having to close down, creating a more powerful downwards spiral. This is leading to very polarised markets depending on location and reputation (Colliers International A and DTZ 2012). The desire for 'flagship space' is still strong so that in some cases there is still upward pressure on rents for some locations (Jones Lang LaSalle 2013).

The rationale of the expansion of some retailers in the face of crisis is that by establishing in multiple markets across Europe retailers can reduce their risk (Jones Lang LaSalle 2013)- by having stores in multiple centres they can avail of the changing flows of capital, making a loss in one market while another brings in profit:

“Once established in multiple markets, retailers can benefit from reduced risk associated with being reliant on one or fewer geographies. In some instances, expansion is about reducing the risk of over-reliance on a dominant domestic market, for others it is about growth”(Jones Lang LaSalle 2013 pp. 14).

As the market for prime locations is still competitive so is the market for luxury goods and separately online retail sales are up. Despite a slow-down in sales in 2009, the market for luxury goods has grown up to 2012 when some retailers made record sales (Jones Lang LaSalle 2013). Visa Europe reported a 16% increase in online spending in Europe, adding further pressure to traditional retail (Colliers International A).

We will now view a time line of the situations in Copenhagen and Dublin since the crisis.

	Copenhagen	Dublin
2010	Historic negative growth in 2009 of 4.9% (GVA Nybolig Erhverv Epp E pp. 1), late 2010 had growth after 5 Quarters without- mainly due to a drop in private consumption and investment. In 2010	Nationally Unemployment at 13.4% in the middle of 2010 (Colliers International J pp. 1), growth expected by the end of the year and the economy is said to be troubled by a lack of private sector credit. There is a rise in

Crises without Retail

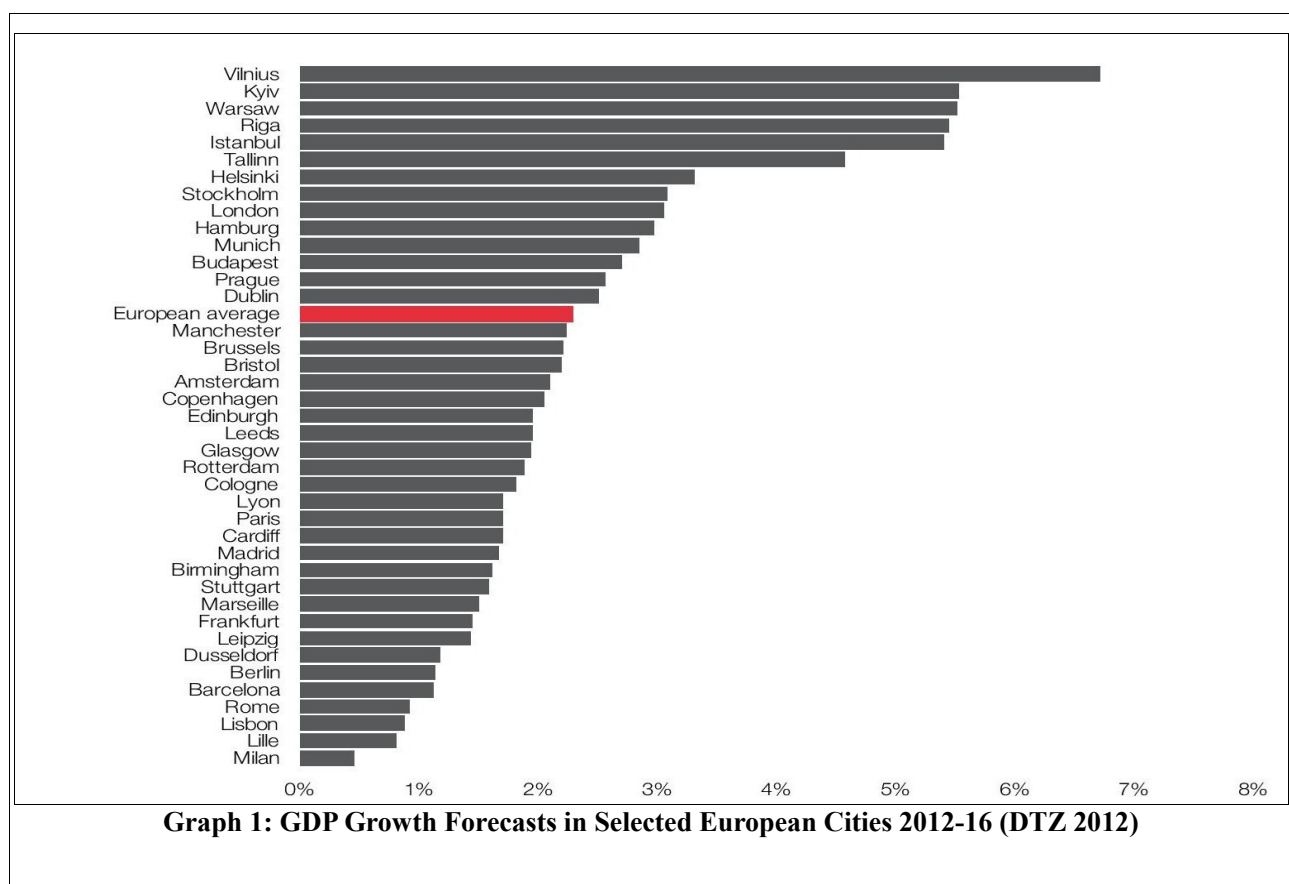
	<p>unemployment levelling off at around 4.1% and the last half of 2008 is now seen as rock the bottom regarding consumer spending.</p> <p>Strøget (Copenhagens main shopping street) is noted as having a drop in prime rent but keeping a low rate of vacancy- with vacant spaces being taken up by national, international retail chains as well as high end designer labels. In less prime retail areas some existing stores are taking the opportunity to expand. The Use of spaces for “art exhibitions, or the like” is said to depict a drastic level of vacancy (GVA Nybolig Erhverv Epp. E pp. 13)</p>	<p>short-term rents with competitive rates. Retail rents are at 1993 levels with very flexible conditions. (Colliers International J).</p> <p>However vacancy on the prime high streets is put at 5% and 9.9% (Savills E) on Grafton Street, Dublin's main Shopping street and a citywide fall in rent level by 47.5% is also reported (CBRE D pp. 1). An increase in pop-up shops is noted, and landlords are warned that the rents should be welcome but landlords should be careful of expensive start up costs and legal complications.</p>
2011	<p>The Danish economy is recovering and tax relief's are leading to increased disposable incomes. However this extra income is being diverted to household savings rather than spending. Shorter leases are on the rise and are the result of new lessee's refusing to pay prices paid by previous tenants, though rents in prime locations are still rising (GVA Nybolig Erhverv D).</p>	<p>Rents and sales are said to be stabilising by Savills and down by Colliers and vacancy on the main streets is reducing- yet consumer confidence remains low. Continuing flexibility on the part of landlords is again noted due to the imbalance between supply and demand (Colliers International I and Savills D). International chains as well as discount stores are seen to be taking advantage of this imbalance by expanding (Colliers International H).</p>
2012	<p>Slow growth is predicted for the coming</p>	<p>Sales are slowly rising and new and</p>

Part 2: The Case Studies

	<p>years, so is limited private consumption due to an “International crisis mentality” though the population growth of Copenhagen is seen as boosting retail. The vacancy level for retail in Copenhagen is reported as 4.6% (Colliers International C pp. 5) and 3.3% (GVA Nybolig Erhverv B pp. 3)- which is said to be linked to changing tenants. Rents for prime spots are increasing and secondary ones are decreasing. Polarisation of retail areas is also reflected in shopping centres where some are expanding as others struggle to find tenants (GVA Nybolig Erhverv C).</p> <p>Amagerbrogade is noted as an exception to the relatively low vacancies; due to competition from nearby shopping centres. The municipalities initiatives on Nørrebrogade were noted as improving the situation for cyclists and cafés but noted that it was still too early to say how it has affected retail (GVA Nybolig Erhverv B pp. 6-7)</p>	<p>expanding shops are moving into vacant spaces (CBRE C)- though the economy as a whole remains weak with unemployment up at 14.3% amidst increasing taxes (Savills B pp. 2-3). Retail spending has declined 20% since 2009 and profit margins are very thin (Colliers International D pp.1-2). This is being helped by landlords offering rents based on retail turnover however many of leases are short term or available but still trading.</p>
2013	<p>Higher returns are reported on the main high streets, but so is increasing vacancy in secondary and also on some main shopping streets. Amagerbrogade and</p>	<p>Retail occupancy is seen as strong, though still challenging the decline is slowing (Savills A), vacancy is at 8.3% and closures are still accruing- characterised as significant churn.</p>

Crises without Retail

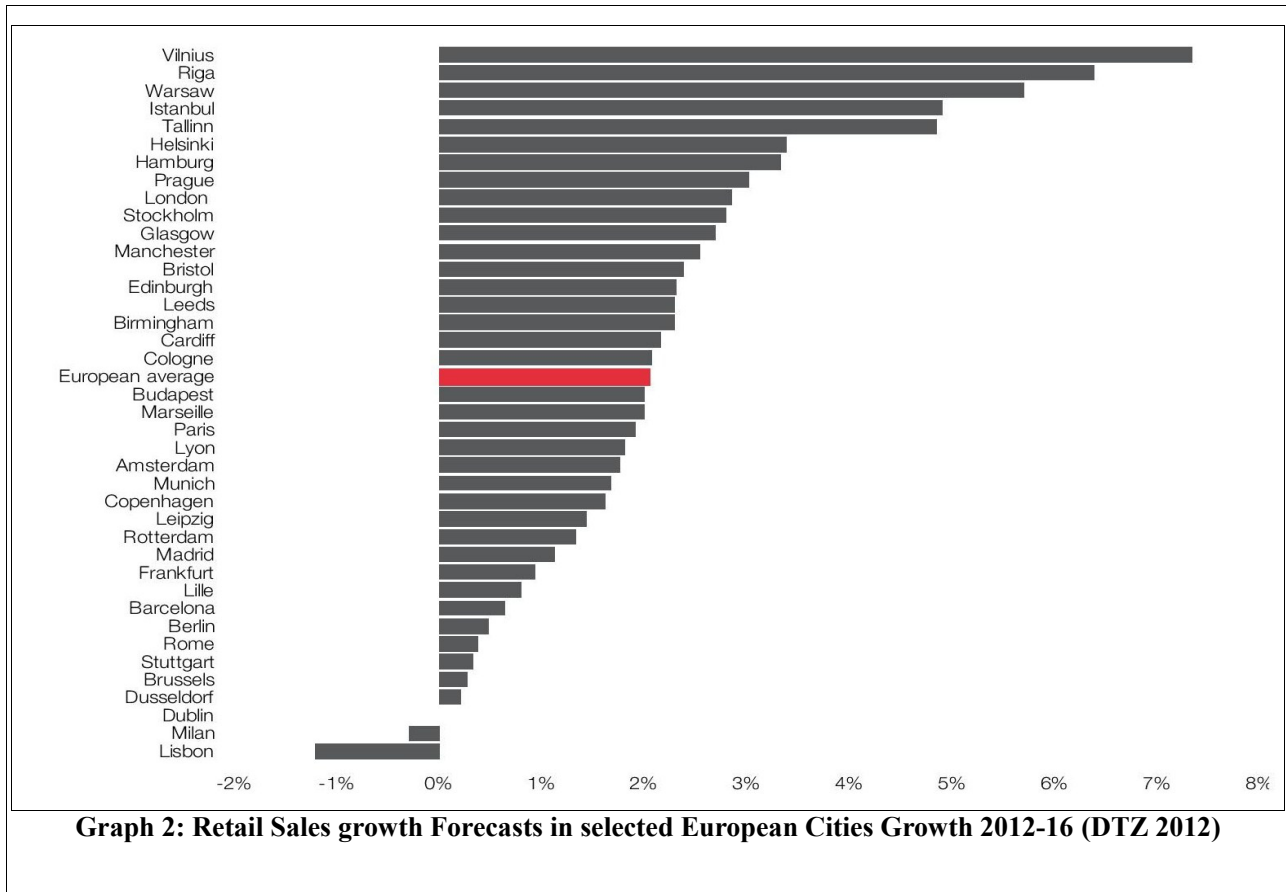
<p>Nørrebrogade are noted as at risk regarding their vacancy levels. The development of café milieus is noted as being successful in the right locations. Vacancy at 3.6% attributed to secondary locations. Again, increasingly polarised level of rents are mentioned (GVA Nybolig Erhverv A).</p>	<p>(CBRE B pp. 3). Many retailers are also seen to be entering administration, a costly but strategic move that can pressurise landlords to lower rents or risk losing a tenant (CBRE A).</p>
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From the above time-line we can see that, though they both face similar issues in the form of slow consumer sentiment and polarisation of the markets, the extent of the problem of vacancy and unemployment is much larger in Dublin than in Copenhagen with rates twice as large and three times as large respectively. Also, Dublin is shown to have slightly above the European average growth in GDP forecasted while Copenhagen is predicted for a little below average (Graph 1). Conversely Dublin is forecasted to have no growth in retail sales by the same source while Copenhagen is again slightly below the average (Graph 2). This oddity can

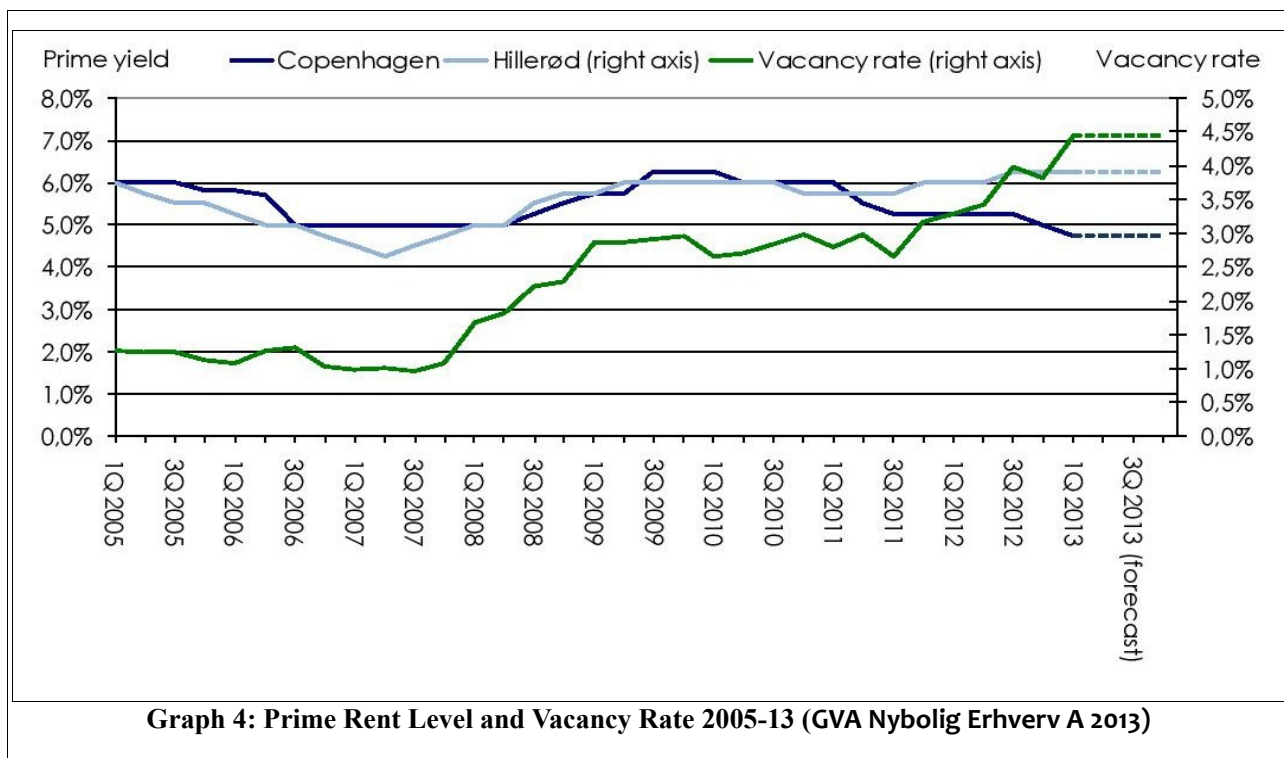
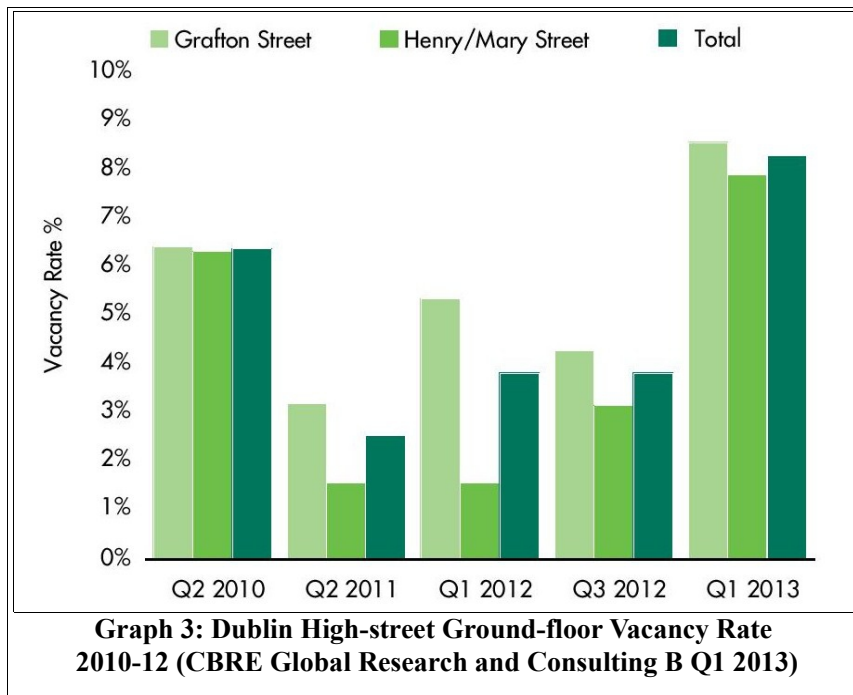
Part 2: The Case Studies

be explained by the amount of businesses which base themselves in Ireland as a gateway to Europe, though they move capital through the country (often digitally rather than physically) for a number of reasons it has little bearing on the actual economy (Lane 2013).



In addition to these graphs the reports read provide representations of retail vacancy in the case cities, though they are from two different sources. The Graph for Copenhagen (Graph 4) which looks at retail vacancy generally, we can see back as far as 2005 and the vacancy rate rises onwards from 2007, though never rising above 5%. In the Dublin graph (Graph 3) which charts high-street ground floor vacancy, we can see from 2010, when the vacancy was at 6%, it declines and then rises again up to 8% in 2013. The decline in-between could be explained by the churn noted in the time-line, as rents are reduced more retailers start up, however the drop in rents may not be met by a rise in consumption that would be necessary to sustain the new retailers.

Crises without Retail



3. Vacancy in Copenhagen

3.1 The Crisis in Copenhagen

Investment and retail in Copenhagen can be seen to be in decline since the crisis, with institutional investors such as pension funds maintaining an interest in less riskier investments and the “guys who are looking for fast and big profits” (Andersen 2013) moving out of the property market or into housing, which is perceived as less riskier but with greater returns.

The slow down in the market is also due to banks continued unwillingness to lend money in a time of crisis with renting being a preferred option to buying a property (Lindhardt 2013 and Nyborg 2013). It was also noted as necessary to implement restrictions on lending in order to lessen the risk of crises. Risk was also noted as being an innate attribute of the banking and investment sector (Andersen 2013 and Lindhardt 2013).

This choked market results in property owners who are struggling to rent their properties for retail use, with pressure from the banks to keep up with the repayment of loans at pre-crisis rates and from the retailers who rent from them, seeking reduced rents more in-line with the crisis market. All while facing the danger of falling into Finanstilsynet- “Financial Stability” a body set up by the Danish Parliament in the wake of the crisis to deal with the financial fall out of the crisis (Finanstilsynet 2012). This approach from the banks towards struggling property holders has been described as indiscriminate in how it deals with those who reduce rents and make other attempts to get their property into use and others who have “not behaved very fair” (Lindhardt 2013).

Time has often been seen as the great healer by some of the interviewees, indicating an appreciation for traditional economic boom and bust cycles (Lindhardt 2013 and Næsager 2013)- where the market picks up along with the value of the properties in question allowing debtors to service their loans and eventually find profitable uses that allow for a return on their investment. A lack of consumer confidence was also suggested as part of the problem (Andersen 2013, Bendix 2013, Nyborg 2013 and Shams Ili 2013), explained here by Per Nyborg of the Institut for Center-Planlægning:

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“But it's very much a psychological base, because the money between people has never been more than they are now, so instead of spending on shopping goods we see that they have a large amount in the bank and that his problems and that is because they are afraid, they have heard a neighbour that has lost a job and that is shy they holding back spending, if they just calm down and take it easy, they have money, the have a lot of money, they just need to spend it” (Nyborg 2013)

The general health of retail in Copenhagen is regarded as healthy, despite a small increase in vacancy with the crisis peaking at around 5% (Andersen 2013, Laursen and Hansen 2013, Normander 2013, Nyborg 2013 and Schrøder 2013). In addition to this a rise in online shopping was seen as a general threat to retail (Laursen and Hansen 2013 and Normander 2013). The centre of Copenhagen is seen as healthy and spaces where retail was of concern that came up were Norrebrogade and Amagerbrogade as well as suburbs further out (Bendix 2013, Laursen and Hansen 2013, Næsager 2013, Normander 2013, Shams Ili 2013 and Wiess 2013). Areas that were seen as of interest or important to retail in Copenhagen were the currently under development Nordhavnen and the currently expanding Fields (Normander 2013).

The continuing growth of Copenhagen allays many fears that the current vacancies will remain a problem for long (Koefoed-Melson 2012, Næsager 2013 and Wiess 2013). The return of middle class people to the city from the suburbs and the tendency for students and young people to remain in Copenhagen is also seen as a positive (Andersen 2013 and Justesen 2013). Mallisation is seen as a threat by some, to smaller retailers and to the urban life and the attractiveness of areas (Normander 2013). Though for some retailers it may be more rational due to the need for larger spaces and the difficulty with transporting bulky goods in an increasingly less car orientated city (Dueholm 2013). Where some shops are going under and others are moving to malls some of the vacancies are being filled by bar, cafés and restaurants (Næsager 2013). The retail in the centre has not been uniform through the boom and bust with it being noted that more independent shops often found themselves being pushed out of the centre and being replaced by brand stores due to high-rents (Dueholm 2013).

Infrastructure and transport were also seen as issues, the efforts to increase the bike

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friendliness of Copenhagen being a point of contention among the right and left wing councillors (Dueholm 2013, Næsager 2013 and Normander 2013). Another issue which raised a left-right divide was taxes and their effects on vacancy (Næsager 2013) both issues which we will discuss in greater depth later.

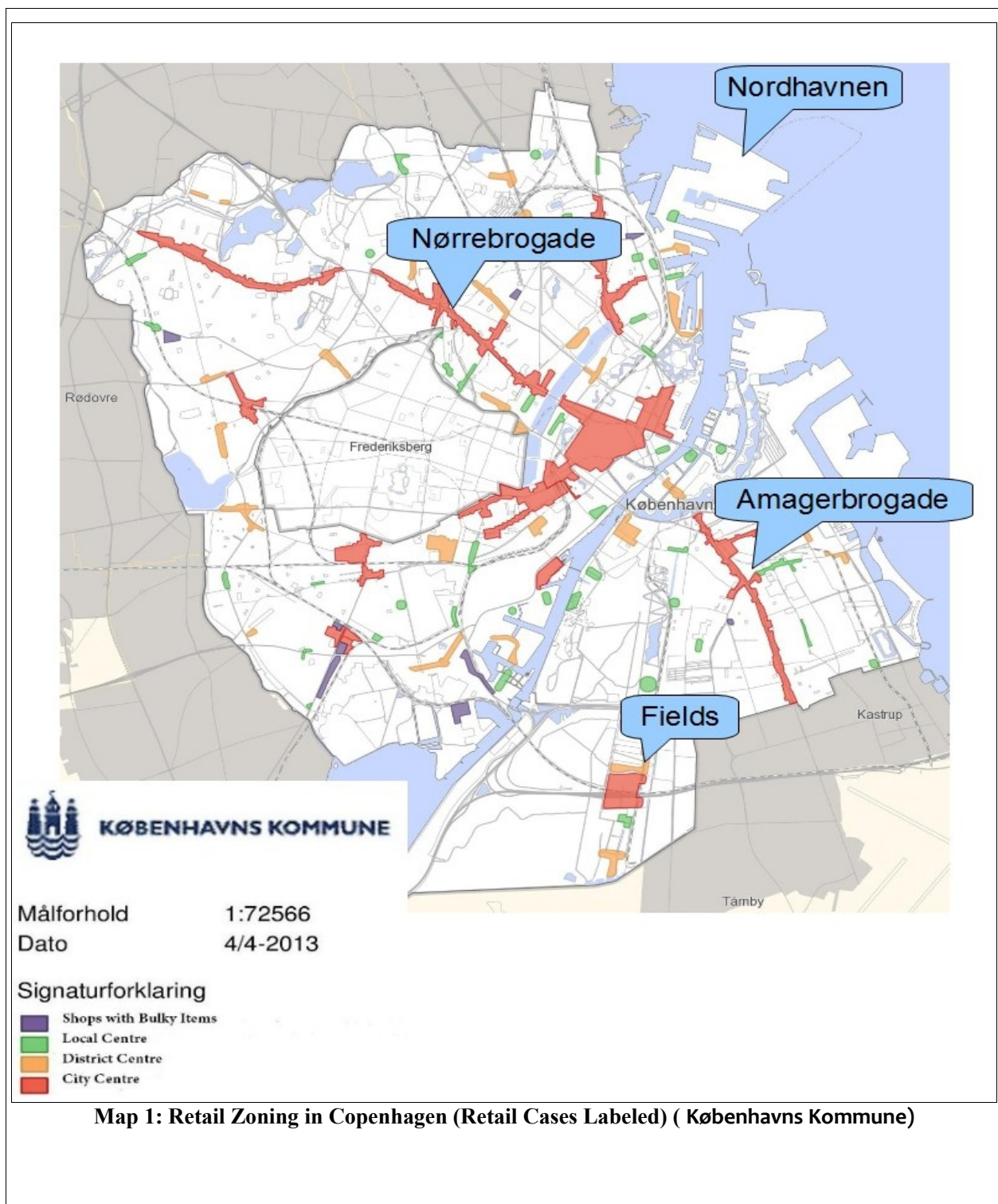
All of these issues threatening retail has lead to the city establishing the Copenhagen Business Services- Københavns Erhvervsservice, in 2008, which as well as providing supports for businesses; it is more holistically concerned with the street life and its implications for retail and sees the city as having a greater role in retail. As Shahriar Shams Ili from the Copenhagen Business services puts it:

“The retailers themselves are liberal businesses they have to take care of themselves some how. But they are coming to affect the life of the business in the street so it is also becoming a matter for the business of the city. And you say what have we done, we are on the way to finding out what we can do.” (Shams Ili 2013)

3.2 Retail Cases

From the interviews a number of retail developments and areas came up, which offered interesting insights into retail in Copenhagen. The ones which came up in discussion most often and provided the more interesting cases are explored here and are also located on the retail planning map of Copenhagen below.

Crises without Retail



3.2.1 Nørrebrogade

One of the main roads to the city, traditionally strong retail, declining with the crisis. The road was recently reorganised to reduce car traffic in favour of public transport and bike traffic. The changes in traffic, the income of those living in Nørrebro and gentrification are reasons often given for the vacancy. Nørrebro also has reputation as being a rough or violent part of the city which can also be seen as damaging its retail and character more generally (Laursen and Hansen 2013 and Schrøder 2013).

The pedestrianisation, which was proposed by the Danish Social-Liberal Party - Det Radikale Venstre, is perceived in a variety of ways. There has been a reduction in car traffic and with that a reduction in the type of retail selling bulky or heavy goods that require a car to transport. There has been an increase in people traffic by 15% (Normander 2013), but this has not been enough to stop the increase in vacancy. There is even a view that the large amount of bike traffic has made the

area more aesthetically pleasing but still just as challenging for pedestrians to traverse (Shams Ili 2013). The process of redevelopment itself may help explain the street's vacancy. The redevelopment took 3 years of construction which can affect retail, and the neighbourhood is again under construction due to the extension of the metro line (Shams



Photograph 1: Nørrebrogade



Photograph 2: Nørrebrogade Side-walk

Crises without Retail

Ili 2013). This construction work puts a strain on retail, yet, the retailers currently struggling to survive now, may not last long enough to see the benefits.

The inhabitants of Nørrebro are characterised as having relatively less income and a greater proportion of immigrants. With that ethnic retail has a large presence but the difficulty in widening its appeal to those outside of the neighbourhood is expressed by Erik Schrøder a social entrepreneur working in the area:

“But the point is I think there is quite a lot of people around here and I think you have to attract shops that fit the people who live here, so there are a lot of people who don't have that much money, a lot of foreigners, so you have to have shops with a lot of products at a pretty low price but also attractive and you have to have a mix of everything because a lot of people, well mostly because you can get cheap stuff basically” (Schrøder 2013)

The agglomeration of ethnic shops and can be seen to have 'crowded out' other retail, which, given there are only so many ethnic shops needed in the neighbourhood, can help to explain the vacancy. As reasoned by Shahriar of the Copenhagen Business Service:

“They (ethnic shops) have kept up here, even though nobody can see the reason why this should be this area...because in Copenhagen we have so many people that always want to start a shop and most of these ethnic part, that are very much focused on special branches: kebab places, some kind of other restaurant, pizza places, shoes and so on. And they really want to have jobs, because there is this push and pull factor that they don't have any other opportunities so they are happy with a lower salary” (Shams Ili 2013)

This isolation and properties which may be seen as undervalued given their centrality may lead to the area becoming primed for gentrification based displacement which can also be seen in the change of the services being offered on the street, with a switch from goods to cafés, restaurants and bars (Kabell 2013 and Wiess 2013).



Map 2: Vacancy on Nørrebrogade (Red dots indicate retail vacancy) (Københavns Kommune)

3.2.2 Amagerbrogade

Another main road into the city, also traditionally strong. Suffering due to crisis and similar issues as Nørrebrogade as well as a loss of footfall due to its proximity to Fields Shopping Centre. It has been characterised as the worse off of the the six arterial routes of Copenhagen with 10% of retail units vacant (Shams Ili 2013) described in rather strong



Photograph 3: Amagerbrogade

Crises without Retail

terms by Bo Normander a Councillor with the Social Liberal Party: *“further out Amagerbrogade it looks like Eastern Germany, the former, it's really bad, so something needs to be done”* (Normander 2013).

A redevelopment of the street and its traffic flow similar to Nørrebrogade is planned. The looming redevelopment has many retailers on the street worried as the dust has not truly settled in Nørrebrogade where the benefits are unclear. To deal with the anxiety surrounding Amagerbrogade's redevelopment a 40 million Kroner (approximately 5 million Euro) research project has been initiated in order investigate what kind of future the residents and retailers would like to see for their street (Normander 2013).

The attention to inclusiveness and to reassure those on Amagerbrogade that the mistakes of Nørrebrogade will not be repeated can be seen in two ways. Those who support the less car orientated model in Nørrebrogade feel the model can genuinely be better adapted to the needs of those in Amagerbrogade. Or that they wish to avoid any further negative press and the research project is an attempt to appease those on Amagerbrogade in order to implement much the same model. The reality is likely a mix, the staunch positions taken by council members and other actors on the bike vs car debate may make the finer needs of the street less significant. In this we can see the planners caught in the cross fire as Mads Laursen and Kenneth Horst Hansen; planners with Copenhagen's Economic Development Department portray in discussion:

Kenneth: *“Our main concern is not make a new Nørrebro district which, it's election time here in the city so we can't really afford this bad history again, because everybody out there will be sad and be a bit angry with municipality for making another Nørrebro district”*. (Laursen and Hansen 2013)

Mads: *“And to do it in a way that will strengthen the retail, making the streets new and upgrade the inventory and the streets and also make it, that people...still can get to it, by car, but in Denmark we are very much different, because we are a bike city and, 80% of all trading here is by bike or by walk”*. (Laursen and Hansen 2013)

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Here we see the struggle between the approach the planners prefer, and the Social-democratic Party's need to appease the electorate.



**Map 3: Vacancy on Amagerbrogade Upper (Red dots indicate retail vacancy)
(Københavns Kommune)**

Crises without Retail



**Map 4: Vacancy on Amagerbrogade Lower (Red dots indicate retail vacancy)
(Københavns Kommune)**

3.2.3 Nordhavnen

Nordhavnen is a harbour area to the north of Copenhagen that has been used for port and industrial activities since the 1970's, the Århusgade district in the south of the port is currently being developed as a new neighbourhood with an aim of 3,000 residents and 7,000 workplaces (By og Havn A).

It is being developed by City and port- By og Havn and is jointly owned by the City of Copenhagen (55%) and the Danish state (45%). It acts as a private developer working for the City and State. Due to the development company being publicly owned, though working in a private capacity, some interviewees were hopeful that they might accommodate some temporary uses to exercise user-driven urban development (Koefoed-Melson 2012) though the general agreement was that they are working in a for profit capacity (Justesen 2013, Laursen and Hansen 2013 and Lindhardt 2013)

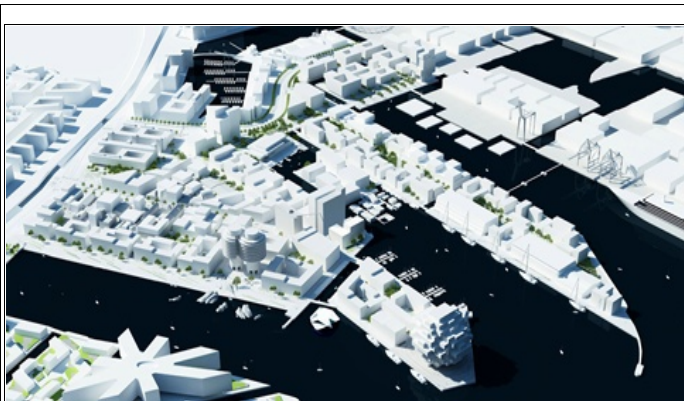


Illustration 2: Nordhavnen (By og Havn)



Illustration 3: Silo's at Nordhavnen (By og Havn)

In order to create urban life in the new Århusgade district they have offered low but slowly increasing rents to retailers to make the area more attractive, they also make use of retail consultants to decide on the right retail mix for the area and aim to attract the appropriate retailers. The planning approach outlined Below by Rita Justesen, Director of Planning and Architecture at By og Havn, illustrates the detailed and experimental process which treats the need for an “urban” environment as significant:

“Nobody wants to build a shop or rent a shop before you have people enough living in the area, but here all the same we try as we want it to be an urban district as the other districts of Copenhagen with all the different kinds of use...then we begin to sell the plots to other

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developers, because normally we do not build anything ourselves, but in this case we have decided to make agreements with those developers that we buy the ground floor back so that we own the shops or whatever, both to get it all started and to get the developers interested in building these, buildings, where you have the ground floor with shops and what ever and also in the end we have, can secure that we have the variety of shops that we want, and we haven't tried that before so it is something new for us, but we think...that it will help us to get a city quarter a city section that is working form the start.” (Justesen 2013)

The development is paced to grow from the already developed Nordhavnen station towards the lesser developed areas to avoid isolation and sustain urban life. This is an approach that interested and was appreciated by those working for the city, as a private development utilising such controlling methods, could create a space for the city to adopt such an approach, assuming it is successful (Laursen and Hansen 2013 and Shams Ili 2013). The rationale of By og Havn's approach is the long-term nature of the development and the ongoing responsibility for it (Justesen 2013), a rationale that the City would likely borrow to argue for more power to utilise and experiment with the Nordhavnen approach.

Though the area is seen as one of the most lauded developments in Copenhagen there is a perception that it is costly to get involved from the development side or as a resident (Lindhardt 2013).

3.2.4 Fields

Fields is the biggest shopping mall in Denmark opened in 2004 as part of the redevelopment of Ørestad being lead by the Ørestad Development Corporation- Ørestadselskabet I/S which went on to be absorbed by By og Havn (By og Havn B and Fields).

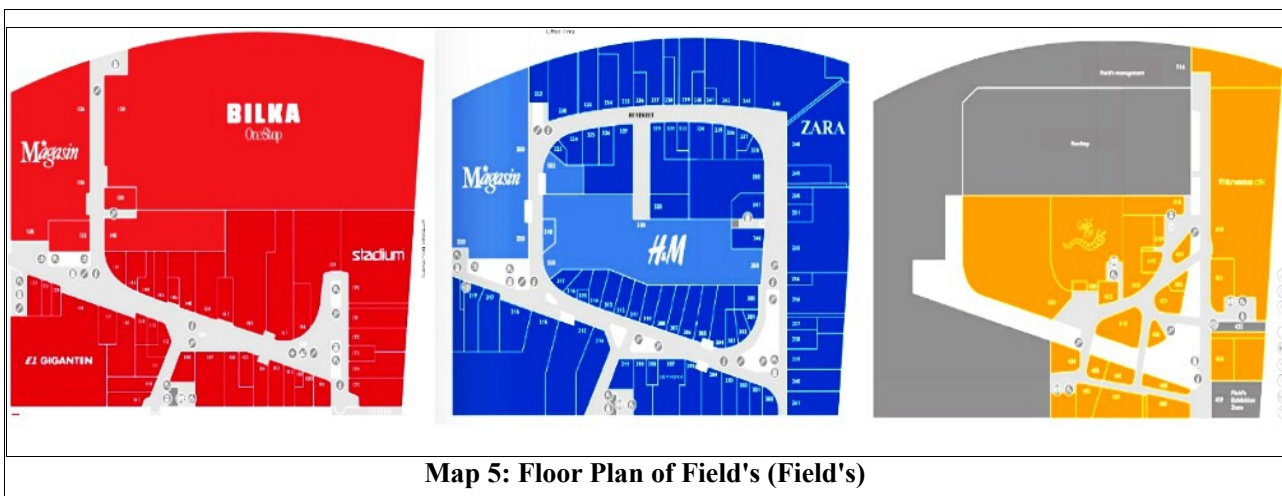
Shopping malls, which are seen as generally



Photograph 4: Field's (Field's)

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quite regulated in Denmark (Justesen 2013 and Kabell 2013), can often be seen as a threat due to their size and ability to capture customers from smaller stores and degrade the quality of the more traditional shopping streets and the urban life which ought to inhabit them (Kabell 2013, Næsager 2013 and Normander 2013). The development of a new mall is not just a worry for the retail in close proximity, though the affect Fields has had on the demise of Amagerbrogade's retail is noted, but new malls also threaten retail in neighbouring municipalities. In the case of Fields, its allure stretches to neighbouring municipalities and even across the Oresund Line to Sweden (Andersen 2012).



The threat Fields supposedly posed to urban life is often distorted by the apparent popularity of Fields and its importance to making Ørestad a more liveable area. As both Rita Justesen, Kenneth Horst Hansen and Mads Laursen reflect on Fields:

“We have had a huge discussion on Ørestad, because we have 60,000 Sq/m floor area in this shopping centre and that means that you will not have normal shops in the street and it's also true that a shopping centre is closing on itself kind of, they want people to get inside and not go out again, so, but on the other hand the day that that opened in 2003 that was the day that there began to be many people in Ørestad” (Justesen 2013)

Kenneth: *“So what you will find is in many ways a part of the city that has been marked as unsuccessful, there is no cafés, no urban life nothing at all and that's because it is all in here (Fields)”*

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Mads (in response to Kenneth): *“But the people up there (Ørestad) they like it, they love it, so many people say the people there must be unhappy. And also when it went down there (economically) in the 90's it was the driver who got up to begin it, so you can see it very negatively you can also see that putting it down there was the start driver in all of that new part of the city”* (Laursen and Hansen 2013)

The attraction for customers can be seen as the transport links and parking as well as entertainment available (Shams Ili 2013) and for the retailers they often offer better equipped retail units with more appropriate sizes than the more traditional shopping streets (Næsager 2013). And despite many misgivings about the affect Fields has on the wider retail environment and urban life, particularly in Amagerbrogade, Fields is set to expand by 5000 Sq/M's (Kabell 2013 and Normander 2013)

4. Vacancy in Dublin

4.1 The Crisis in Dublin

Retail vacancy in Dublin is seen as an issue for many of the interviewees (O'Callaghan 2013, Ni Dhalaigh 2013, Doyle 2013, McGinley 2013, Montague 2013 and Russell 2013), though the situation has been noted as improving or becoming less of an issue with it falling from a peak of 15% down to around 10% (Farrell 2013, McGinley 2013, Montague 2013 and Rose 2013).

The presence of vacancy is noted as being quite dispersed (O'Callaghan 2013, Doyle 2013, Montague 2013 and Russell 2013), though certainly more of a problem the further from the city (Doyle 2013 and Russell 2013) it is still present in the main shopping streets (McGinley 2013 and Russell 2013).

The ease in the level of vacancy since the crisis can be explained by a number of things such as pop-up shops (Farrell 2013) and a fall in rents (McGinley 2013), though the cost of rent is still seen as a barrier (O'Callaghan 2013 and Doyle 2013). The current situation is summed below by

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Paula Russell a lecturer of Planning and Environment Policy at University College Dublin (UCD):
“I suppose like anywhere else there is retail vacancy, almost everywhere now, and obviously it is worse in more marginal areas or areas that are outside the core, but even in the core there are vacancies so you will see places, like even Grafton street it will tend to be replaced by something else but there are times when there are vacant units...or any of the more secondary streets...but some of them have been able to get lower order uses into them..So people trying to get the big rents that exist in certain places are going to find it difficult to get tenants in this climate” (Russell 2013)

A notable trend in changes in commercial use from shop to entertainment has been seen in the form of pubs, restaurants and café's opening in empty units. This has been explained by the lower entry costs to these types of business, less reliant on hard to get credit and less of a loss in the event of closure and the sustained income from tourists during the crisis (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013, Farrell 2013 and McGinley 2013). Lower order uses are filling vacant spaces (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013 and Russell 2013), though how desirable their contribution to street life and the local economy is can be questioned.

In trying to explain the level of vacancy, the 'international' crisis and associated austerity were an important part, as was e-trade(Farrell 2013 and McGinley 2013) but more so the approach to development in the city (Byrne and Murphy 2012, O'Callaghan 2013, Doyle 2013, McGinley 2013 and Perry 2012) as explained by Cian O'Callaghan a PhD student and the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis (NIRSA):

“the last 15 years I guess pretty much developer and speculator lead approach- often the kinds of space they produced didn't get the kinds of investment they were hoping for so you have kind of a gap then, particularly with the crash, a slowdown in the economy because of that” (O'Callaghan 2013)

In addition to the crisis, the ongoing economic fallout of the crisis in the form of businesses and properties going into receivership and the affect of shopping centres on Dublin will be explored in the following sections. Due to the dispersed nature of the vacancy in Dublin only

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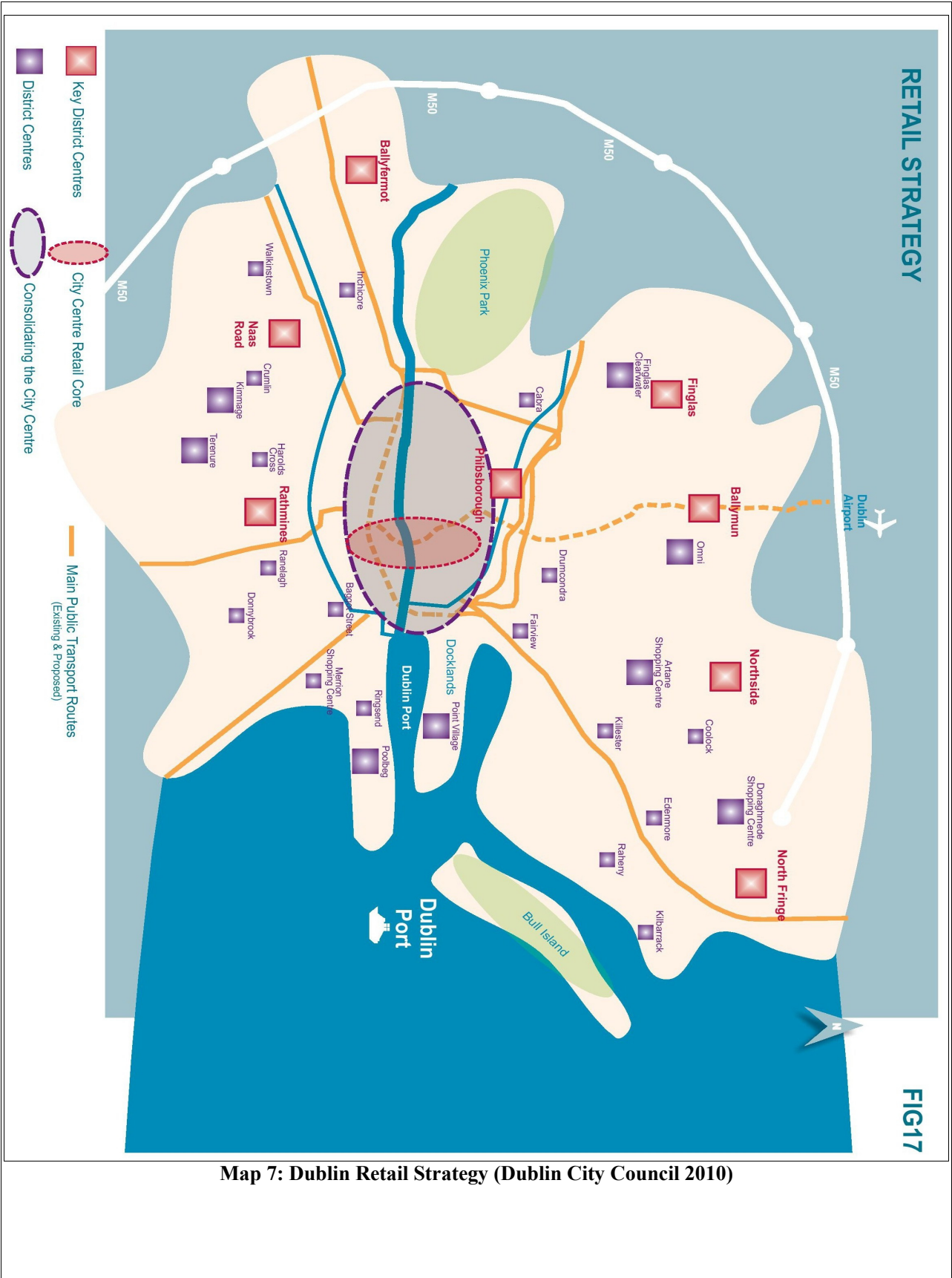
one street, Thomas Street featured enough to receive special attention for its levels of vacancy, its traditional role in Dublin and the efforts to revive it although some of the centre was mapped with existing data.

When it comes to how the city can reduce vacancy, its traditional role in making the environment more accessible, inviting and interesting was noted (Rose 2013 and Russel 2013) in the words of Kieran Rose, senior planner with Dublin City Council:

“Well I suppose it's everything, every aspect of the city making it a successful city, economically, dynamic, safe, clean and, green all of those element go into making it an attractive city, more attractive to visitors and shoppers and all of that” (Rose 2013)

However the need for more radical action from the council to take an active role regulating vacant spaces was argued, with this mostly being possible through appropriating city properties that are indirectly publicly owned through NAMA (see below) (Byrne and Murphy 2012, O'Callaghan 2013, Perry 2012 and Russell 2013). Radical thinking in how to plan and manage Dublin going forward is also needed, in a situation where people are spending less and the function and the attraction of the streets is in question, in the words of Stephen Coyne of the 'Save Thomas Street' campaign :*“People are trying to think around the problem of how do we reinvent streets and that's really what's happening, and how is city life in a post retail age and people are thinking in I've got enough stuff, do I need any more?”* (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013)





4.2 Retail Cases

As with the Copenhagen case study here we will examine some of the issues and developments which recurrently came up in the interviews and offer us an insight into the retail environment in Dublin.

4.2.1 NAMA and Receivership

The impact of NAMA- the National Assets Management Agency, a body set up in the wake of the financial crisis to manage the bad loans of banks and their associated properties, was strongly felt by interviewees as negative in terms of vacancy and the utilisation of property (Byrne and Murphy 2012 , O'Callaghan 2013, Ni Dhalaigh 2013, Doyle 2013, McAuliffe 2013, McGinley 2013 and Perry 2012). It received criticism for impeding the free market by delaying defaults (McGinley 2013) and for not putting properties under its management, effectively under public management, to public or social use (Byrne and Murphy 2012 , O'Callaghan 2013 and Ni Dhalaigh 2013). NAMA's hands off and spreadsheet approach was also heavily criticised by Mick Byrne a participant in the Unlock NAMA campaign:

“As NAMA is basically run by property hacks and civil servants, most of the people are, for example the chief executive of NAMA is an accountant, you know, that's the nature of the person you have in there. What they're trying to do is look at numbers on pages, but they don't, they have no background or interest in alternative uses for properties, most of the time NAMA doesn't even visit the properties, it's very hands-off in that regard” (Byrne and Murphy 2012)

The accountability of NAMA to citizens and elected representatives is also seen as negligible (Byrne and Murphy 2012 and Perry 2012). Killian O'Higgins and Stephen Coyne of the 'Save Thomas Street' campaign talked about their difficulty in trying to get derelict buildings held in NAMA's books maintained:



Photograph 5: NAMA Headquarters (Horan 2011)

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Stephen Coyne: *“I suppose the problem with NAMA is you can't deal with them directly...so you're always dealing with receivers and then with them you're dealing with asset managers...you get into this haze of the corporate world and there all trying to make money from it, you know it happens as we speak, people make money from the bad times”* (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013)

Killian O'Higgins: *“I had a big battle with NAMA to get them to deal with their property, we did try to get the city council to go after them with the derelict sites act, ok, they don't have the resources and that, but it took us and our energy to chase down NAMA, then you have people in the city council taking credit in a report that there's something happening with NAMA”* (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013)

The disconnect between those trying to improve an area on a street level and those trying to make profits from distressed property is telling of the almost helpless position of some organisations in relation to what they are up against. The unwillingness of the city council to engage with NAMA, or it's agents can be seen as placing a difficult trial ahead of third party organisations, who may face more difficulty than the council in getting responses due to their lower level of legitimacy and power. Another caustic issue, the perceived employment by NAMA of the developers responsible for many of the distressed properties, in question is argued against as it involves a public body paying previously reckless developers to deal with properties that the state has had to take into ownership. The need to involve outsiders to limit cronyism was strongly expressed by Independent Councillor Cieran Perry:

“Unbelievable like and if you think about the expertise world wide that you could bring in just so that there is no golden circle or contacts like that. You know, bring in a load of yanks bring in a load of fucking Aussies of whoever, bring them in, set them up and tell them just to go and do their business because you've no ties to anybody. You're only answerable to the government the legislature. As the people who've got us into this mess are now making millions attempting to get us out, including developers” (Perry 2012)

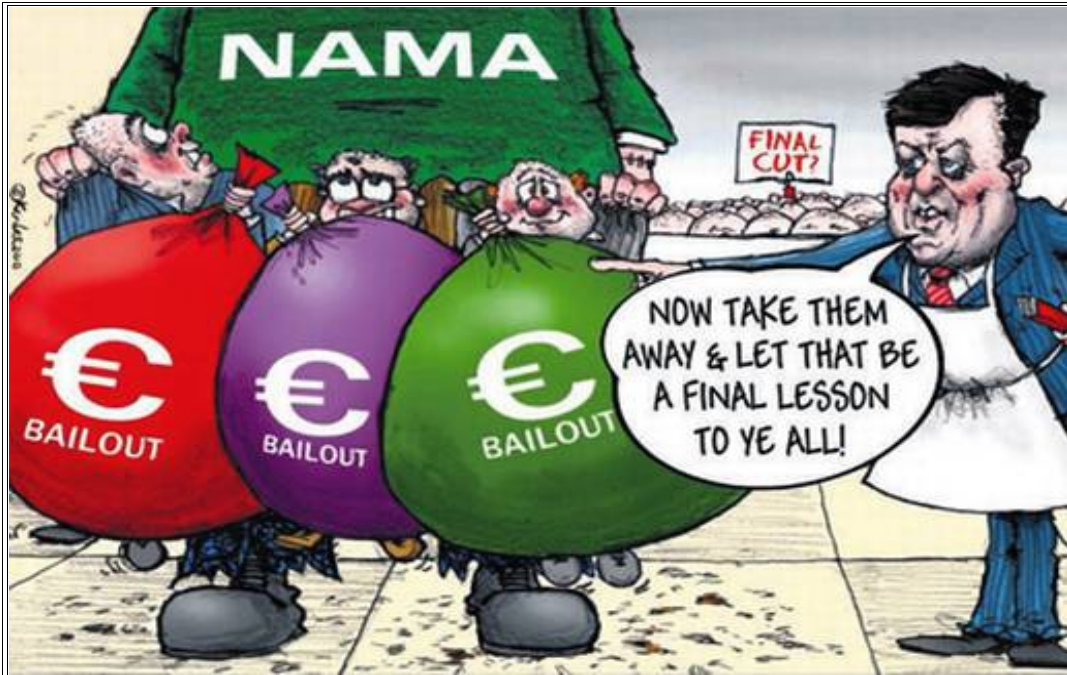


Illustration 4: NAMA Caricature
Depicts former Minister of Finance scolding bailed out Banks (Irish Independent 2010)

Problems with properties in receivership via NAMA or through normal recourse were seen as an issue as well, particularly when the receivers choose to keep properties empty rather than lower the rent which would lead to them having to reduce their value (O'Callaghan 2013, McAuliffe 2013 and Rose 2013). The dire situation in an area of Fianna Fáil Councillor Paul McAuliffe, with regard to receivership and the nature of the buyers is quoted below:

“I think bankruptcy and receivership are an artificial, they create an artificial boundary to the market finding that level...I know a lot of people in Drumcondra, who wanted to rent shops, but they couldn't because 80%, roughly 80% of the village was in receivership, and it was all bought up by a conglomerate and it was in receivership so nobody could get a good shop in the village because the receiver didn't want to reduce the rent because he wanted to advertise it as a certain rent...so he could sell it for a certain price” (McAuliffe 2013)

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4.2.2 Dublin City Centre Business Improvement District

The Dublin City Business Improvement District (BID) encompasses 2,500 businesses based in the City Centre and was the first BID to be established in Ireland in 2007. The BID concept began in North America in the 1970's a response from city centre businesses to recession and the threat of suburban shopping centres.

Each member of the BID pays a membership fee which is calculated based on the commercial rate the businesses pays, so it is relatively proportional. At first the scheme was seen as unpopular as it brought further costs to businesses as the crisis was setting in, but seemed to have proved itself with 75% of businesses voting to continue in the scheme in 2012, as part of its 5 year review (Montague 2013).

The tasks the BID undertakes can be seen as tasks the council can no longer complete such as flower-pots and graffiti removal. They do go further than providing curtailed services, in the words of Gerard Farrell the BID operations manager:

“Set up in the tiger times, Dubin was still loosing business...in Dundrum you pay a very significant management fee, but for that you get not only maintenance and cleaning of the centre, but also very coherent marketing and promotion, all that sort of stuff...you wouldn't go into a shopping centre if you were told it was not managed, so in a way we are trying to manage the commercial, economic, social activity of the centre, to make Dublin the premier retail, leisure and social destination in the country” (Farrell 2013)

He mentions how the BID facilitates multi-level cooperation for events and campaigns as well as area branding among the shops in the area and with other private and public bodies from local to national levels. This allows the use of pooled “economic muscle” for promoting events and in seeking to mediate events that may disrupt normal footfall. In addition to these big events and campaigns they also directly interact with visitors to the centre via their information kiosks and street ambassadors.

As well as promoting the centre and creating attractions for the centre, the BID also works to remove the less attractive aspect of the centre, again in Farrell's words:

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“We have a much more hands on, down and dirty approach as well, we have a day and night crew, which function on a rapid response basis: so someone finds vomit, human waste god forbid- drug syringes, a used needle at their door way and we have a crew responding rapidly to that to get rid of it and that is in addition to everything the city council do so we have an agreement with the city council called a baseline agreement, say city council sign up an say we will clean Talbot street x amount of times a day and empty the bins this amount” (Farrell 2013)

The BID goes beyond just dealing with the material hygiene of the streets- taking on the social hygiene of the streets as well. They have been active in helping secure anti-social behaviour orders or ASBO's against people in order to legally exclude them from the city centre. As well as targeting individuals, they work to remove social and addiction services that are seen as attracting undesirables to the centre. Though these moves are qualified beyond selfish businesses interests with arguments that the ASBO's can be beneficial to the individual as it removes them from social situations where they are likely to get into trouble, and that the social and addiction services of much of the country are based in Dublin so it would be more helpful to those availing of these services to receive them in their own community (Farrell 2013).

Though the BID was generally referred to positively, if mentioned by other interviewees its approach in managing public space as if it was a shopping centre was criticised by Cian O'Callaghan of the NIRSA:

“So for example that business improvement district in Grafton street want to create the street for a particular kind of person, and at the same time they are trying to close homeless shelters near the Grafton street areas and they are, and they are seeing this as one of their great successes in the last year...they are actively trying to produce that street for a particular type of person, so it is not then an open public space where say the homeless are welcome...they really want to create it as a space where people go to consume, so it is not really actively encouraged for you to hang out on the street or whatever and I think they are now trying to designate which kind of busking on the street and which kind of performance is allowed”. (O'Callaghan 2013)

He goes on to state how modelling an area to the needs of retail can lead to the exclusion of

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those without the income or wish to consume and how it can also lead to displacement of those that live in and “create” the city.

4.2.3 Thomas Street

The 'Save Thomas Street' campaign was co-founded by town planner's Stephen Coyne and Richard Hamilton as well as chartered surveyor Killian O'Higgins as a result of Stephen writing a policy document on Thomas street for the City Council. The street suffers from around 30% of its units being vacant and in conditions of dereliction or demolition, much of it long term. After writing the report Stephen describes his feelings and how he came to see the need to take immediate action:

“There was a real sense of stasis and inertia here, and people were like who is going to take the next step, businesses didn't know what to do, a lot of the big players here didn't know what to do, Dublin City Council certainly didn't know what to do, we just felt that the only thing you could do was knock on doors, get out on the street...bring people together, first of all identify what all the problems are and try to give a certain importance to problems...prioritise” (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013)

Their attempts to knock on the doors of small businesses in order to set up a businesses association for the street took time as they introduced themselves and let people know how they wanted to help. The concept of getting involved in a business association was not always met with enthusiasm and they came to the conclusion that it would be more helpful if they took on the work of setting up the business association so that the businesses can focus on developing their businesses.

They wanted to see the street returned to its former glory as one of Dublin's prime-commercial market streets. In the



Photograph 6: Thomas Street

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past the street was an industrial suburb of Dublin featuring many brewers and distillers, it benefited from access to water and to raw materials as it was outside of the city walls. It is seen as having lost its position as a main street around the 1970's

Since then it resigned itself to a neighbourhood role, below Stephen talks about how the street struggled to find a strong role for itself in the city:

“If you look at the shops here there is a bizarre collection really, it is not your classic retail street, that would appeal, it just appeals to the neighbourhood area and local shopping needs, so what happens with that is you fail to attract the footfall in, to attract higher end shops, clothing shops you know...where it is now, at a low point it's gone through the Celtic Tiger period, where it was targeted really for site assembly, for demolition of quite large extents of it, for complete reinvention in some peoples minds” (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013)



Photograph 7: Save Thomas Street Cleaners (Save Thomas Street Dublin 2013)



Illustration 5: 90 Day's of Action on Thomas Street (Save Thomas Street Dublin 2013)

A particularly effective tactic in mustering those working or living on the street was community clean ups, they noticed how the public act of picking up litter would garner attention and interest. After building relations with the smaller businesses, they began to get in touch with the bigger stake holders on the street and eventually held a meeting with the big and small and public and private stakeholders and developed a plan of '90 Days to Save Thomas Street'. The plan encompasses events, community clean ups, renewing of shop fronts and the start of street ambassadors for Thomas Street.

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Map 8: Vacancy on Thomas Street (Red dots indicate vacancy) (Dublin City Council)

They stressed the need for networks between the businesses to be established in order to learn how they could help each other or work together. They highlight how bringing such a diverse amount of stakeholders together, that sometimes this can allow you to lose focus of a

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consistent vision of the streets future that accounts for the variety of needs and idea coming from the street. Finding ways of sustaining the project is part of the challenge now, due to the voluntary and time intensive nature of the campaigns work.

Another challenge facing the street is the difficulty in filling the upper-floors on the street which are designated for retail uses. Conversion to residential use, which may or may not lead to finding a tenant is limited by strict regulations regarding fire safety and living standards. Though they are not against safety standards there is a need for a more flexible approach, explains Stephen:

“The new regulations in the city are a lot more stringent than nationally and that's fair enough. People were building shoe-box apartments and we need more apartments where families can live, the problem is to try and fit those standards into these kind of buildings is next to impossible, because they don't have that room to begin with” (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013)

Without flexibility, the upper floors may continue to be empty and bring down the perception of the street due to the visible vacancy. The traffic on the street is also considered a disadvantage, as its noise and danger creates a less enjoyable environment to browse or spend time in. They also feel the Council is not doing enough for the street and others like it, though they acknowledge their limited resources. They were critical of the fact that they had to put pressure on the council to get the street power cleaned and of the council being *“Very much driven by regulation”* and being unable to *“open the door to the community”* (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013).

Despite these criticisms Kieran Rose, a senior planner with the council sees the council as working very closely with the business association on Thomas Street. He commended their work as high impact but low cost and suggested everyone should adopt their approach (Rose 2013).

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4.24 Out of Town Shopping

The suburbs of Dublin, which experienced a surge in growth as housing prices during the boom pushed people further and further from the inner city, often into neighbouring counties, this surge has lead to many parts of the suburbs experiencing a higher rate of vacancy than the city (Doyle 2013, McAuliffe



Photograph 8: Dundrum Shopping Centre, the Largest in Ireland (John Sisk and Son)

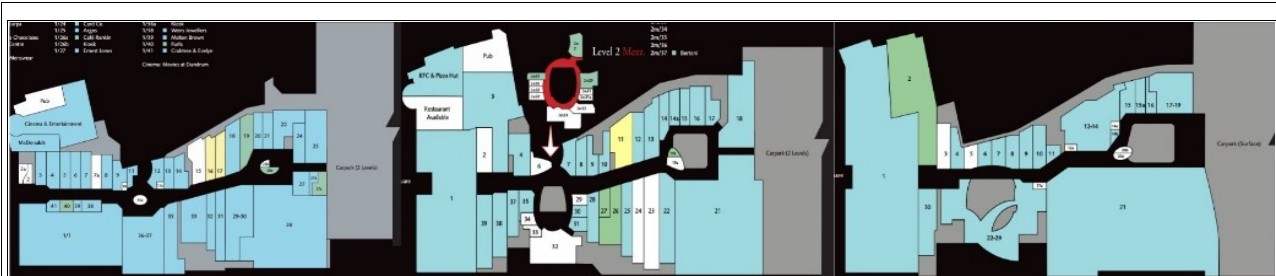
2013, McGinley 2013, Montague 2013 and Russell 2013). Tourism was seen as a reason for the relatively better situation in the city (McGinley 2013) and a lack of 'sentiment' was seen as a possible reason why people do not shop in some of these new developments (McAuliffe 2013).

On the other hand, some out of town shopping centres posed serious threats to the city (McGinley 2013, Montague 2013 and Russell 2013). The out of town shopping centres, often falling into a different jurisdiction than the City Council has resulted into a more fragmented planning approach to border areas in the region (McAuliffe 2013 and Montague 2013). To consider the glut of shopping centres and how fragmented they are; there are 39 in operation in Dublin, 23 in Copenhagen and Dublin boasts over 700,00 Sq/M of shopping centre while Copenhagen only over 500,000 (DTZ 2012). Labour Councillor Andrew Montague noted the need for development in those areas, the need to balance it with the city centre and possible ways of helping with that:

“Can we keep building massive out of town shopping centres and what is the future of Dublin if we do that? Now that's not just a Dublin City thing, most of those shopping centres are in the counties outside of Dublin. That happens all over the world there needs to be better regional planning guidelines that's something we have been aware of, but it is something our cousins in the regional councils need to look at and they don't like to be restricted. I think rate sharing might be a forward for that, we all realise the best place to have things is Dublin, there needs to be something out there not monster size, not kill the city centre size, but there needs to be something out there for them, but it has to make sure the city centres survives. At the moment

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we get all the benefits and they get none. At the moment the people who live out there come into the city centres so they don't want to see it die” (Montague 2013)



Map 9: Floor Plan of Dundrum Shopping Centre (Dundrum Town Centre)

Talking about the threat posed by these centres to city centre businesses, Gerard Farrell Dublin's business Improvement district mentions some of the changes in retail dynamics:

“30 or 40 years ago you didn't have shopping centres, you didn't have motor ways and you didn't have cheap air travel to other places and you didn't have the internet and it was ok to basically be in Dublin city centre and say well look I will always be here and I will always have passing trade because there will always be footfall, people don't have to go to the city anyone they have to choose” (Farrell 2013)

Part 3: Policy Flow chart

The flow chart (see Figure 12) aims to provide a diagnostic overview of different policies the Case Cities have or could have in place to tackle vacant property. The policy points have been developed through the literature review, the interview analysis and the case study sections. The headings are broad and the issues often cross categories, in addition the content of some headings may be imbalanced or take a different focus, due to the diversity of actors interviewed and the different policy landscapes of the Cities. From this an ideal approach will be formulated in the Conclusions.

The chart can be read from top to bottom, the pre-hoc section indicating policy areas, that reduce the possibility for retail vacancy, the ad-hoc section in the event of a vacancy and the post-hoc section for when a vacancy persists.

From here we will examine the policy landscapes of each city in these policy areas.

Part 3: The Policy Flow Chart


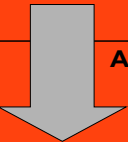

Copenhagen		Dublin	
Urban Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Lack of interdepartmental Communication •Good Relationship between Councillor and Civil Servants •Divisive bike vs. car conflict •Some difficulty with electoral accountability •Sees value in attracting high-earners and tourists 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Lack of interdepartmental Communication, may be improving •Localised electoral base can limit councillors work on macro issues •Conflicting opinions on Councillor/Civil Servant relationship •Perception that power is concentrated in Civil Servants •Some doubts about Civil Servants abilities and dynamism •Council has limited economic and financial competencies •Insufficient local supports
	<p>Planning</p> <p>Pre-Hoc</p> 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Planning becoming more joint-up and more plan lead •Perception that planning is still developer lead •Reliance of private sector for development •Suburbs and city are suffering from badly planned out of town shopping centres •A need for more detailed street level planning •Planning for cultural and artistic sectors seen as insufficient •Expectation that the market will resolve vacancy issues
Street-Scape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •An issue very much clouded in the car vs bike conflict, serves as a proxy for left vs right conflict •Aesthetics, size public space and foot paths as well as use of space outside retail units seen as important 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Sees a well developed street-scape as an asset •Secondary streets may be neglected •Safety can be an issue •Need for better linked spaces •Car important to city
Business Supports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Competitive retail environment •Supports available for networking and housekeeping aspects •Quarter Manager Pilot 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Limited role of the council in supporting businesses •Will to work with other initiatives •Some will to provide supports via waivers •Need for council to be more responsive
Vacancy Clause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Possibly useful, but legal difficulties •Reservations due to impeding business cycles and possibility of lower order uses 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Possibly useful, but legal difficulties •May be implemented less directly by depriving property owners of other benefits
Temporary Use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Seen as useful in filling vacancies and allowing people to test enterprises •Municipality has limited means to help but can help with legitimacy and facilitation •Bureaucracy from the municipality an issue 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Seen as useful in filling vacancies and allowing people to test enterprises •Municipality has limited means to help but can help with legitimacy and facilitation •Facilitation of temporary uses by the Arts Office indicates a value on such uses
Ad-Hoc Tax	 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •System seen as too rigid to use against vacancy, due to structure and legislative distance •Taxes have been lowered as a gesture to businesses 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Council has little control of rate system, yet is heavily reliant on it as a source of income •Possibility exists of using rate system to lower vacancy •Taxes have been lowered as a gesture to businesses
Renovation and Refurbishment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Municipalities role limited to regulating façades •Material quality and aesthetics of some retail units seen as a barrier to occupancy •Reluctance for the municipality to become more involved 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Sees a need to regulate material quality, but no resources •Dereliction an issue which the council can act on
Rental Review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Retailers had difficulty paying rising rents before the crisis, now less of an issue •Proprietors being more flexible on rent •Larger institutional or financial investors reluctant to reduce rents as it would reduce asset values •Rents in some areas are polarised 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Pre-crisis rent levels have not always fallen •Proprietors being more flexible on rent •Larger institutional or financial investors reluctant to reduce rents as it would reduce asset values
Change of Use	<p>Post-Hoc</p>  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Municipality open to changes of use •Seen as a tool for consolidating retail centres •E-trade is reducing the volume of retail space necessary, so adapting spaces seen as necessary 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Seen as sometimes necessary though overly complicated and costly •Regulations on some uses can be too heavy

Figure 12: Policy Flow Chart

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1. Urban Management

Urban management covers administrative, structural, strategic and policy issues that relate to the interviewees opinions or knowledge of pathways or obstacles to reducing vacancy in their city's.

Urban Management in Copenhagen

Within the Copenhagen Municipality issues that came up were a lack of communication between different departments, creating difficulty for those working within the municipality as either councillors or civil servants and those from outside of the Municipality who wish to implement new ideas (Koefoed-Melson 2012, Schrøder 2013 Weiss 2013). The frustrations this problem can lead to are explained by Eric Schrøder based on his attempts to field support for his Liv I Ruden project which sought to place arts in the windows of empty shop fronts:

“Yeah, we have this way of thinking likes silos instead of thinking- I mean if we say that this is Liv I Ruden, we have a lot of interactions like this with the Technical and Environmental Department we have this with the Employment Department, we have this with the cooperative living companies and we have talks with the local advisory boards and we have talk with the politicians, but the problem is the interaction is just this way (From the other actors too Eric), there is no interaction like that (Between the other actors about Eric), that's a big issue to make the connections.” (Schrøder 2013)



Photograph 9: Copenhagen City Hall (Stange 2010)

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Despite the difficulties in cross communication councillors generally reported good communication and working relationships between themselves and the civil servants (Bendix 2013, Kabell 2013, Næsager 2013 and Wiess 2013). The council is organised into 7 different departments, each with an administration made up of civil servants and a committee of councillors, with each elected party entitled to automatic mayorship of one department. The interviewee who spoke on this issue in detail Lars Wiess of the governing Social-democratic party explained the problems this system can lead to when it comes to electoral accountability: *“Today you have 7 councillors automatically given a mayorship so you have the red-green alliance to the Tories and even further out to the right they all have mayors and that makes administration very hard and it is very difficult to see where the democratic responsibility is lying.”* (Wiess 2013).

Retail seems to be an issue that is intertwined with the struggle between right and left via the car vs bike debate (Normander 2013). In this debate both sides are arguing that their approach is better for retail but when viewed against the backdrop of Copenhagen's heavily ingrained biking culture, it would appear that the right have attached themselves to an uphill struggle.

The more general economic health of the city must also be considered when discussing vacancies and the need to attract well paid households by building more attractive housing with good transport links and natural environment (Andersen 2012). The importance of culture and festivals was also strongly emphasised as an attraction for workers and tourists. A rather unfortunate comparison, in sustainability terms, was drawn with Dubai by Lars Berg Dueholm a Councillor with the Liberal Alliance to illustrate the potential of retail for a city: *“a wild comparison would be Dubai there is nothing much to come to in Dubai they don't have a rich culture as such they don't have a large history in Dubai a hundred years ago there was fisherman and that was basically it but people go there to shop and do business, but turning Copenhagen in that direction with our own culture and our own history, that could be nice”* (Dueholm 2013)

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Urban Management in Dublin

The defined electoral bases of Dublin city councillors may be an impediment to some councillors dealing with city centre vacancy as they face pressure to appease their electoral base where the vacancy may be more prevalent- though it may be less vital to the city as a whole (Montague 2013, McGinley 2013 and Russell 2013). A challenge expressed by Fine Gael councillor Ruari McGinley:

“Some people are more conscious of it than others, so one would be at a city centre level and the other at a local level so I am a representative of the Crumlin/Kimmage ward...so when you see shops closing there that can be harder to turn around... but they are more vulnerable to downturn, the secondary locations” (McGinley 2013)



Photograph 10: Dublin City Hall (Archiseek)

When it comes to the relationships between the councillors and the civil servants working in the council it was seen as mostly positive (Ni Dhalaigh 2013, Doyle 2013, McAuligge 2013 and Montague 2013) . In the words of councillor Andrew Montague:

“It varies from Councillor to councillor, but I would have a very good relationship with the executive. In my opinion we are working as best we can as a team, so they have some responsibilities we have others, it works best when we are working as a team, so they have different pressures we have different pressures, we have an electorate we have to respond to that they don't have- otherwise we won't be councillors for very much longer. So people try to keep an

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eye on the bigger picture so generally we do work well together” (Montague 2013)

Yet, the working relationship was still doubted by some, seeing the relationship as being 'fake' with the Council being able to ignore Councillors (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013). The role of the councillors as a source of ideas is also seen as important due to the Council being seen as not very “dynamic” (McGinley 2013) or lacking real thought on how to manage a city (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013). A harsher and more cynical view is held by councillor Cieran Perry:

“I'd say there's a small number of dynamic people in the council, I'd say it's a small percentage of genuinely dynamic people I know some of them within the council. What would I classify people as being, just plodders a huge amount of plodders, people who actually have no ability, just should not be there you know...on top of that the people who are actually dynamic, now the dynamic are very few. Now, I don't believe the environment of the council encourages dynamism and I assume it's similar in a lot of other public organisations” (Perry 2012)

A lack of cooperation between the departments was noted as making it difficult for third parties to bring ideas or seek information (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013 and Marlborough 2012). However new approaches have lead to more connections and working relationships between departments (Doyle 2013) despite increasingly limited resources which are making the upkeep of standard practices difficult (Rose 2013).

The Council's ability to deal with emerging issues in Dublin is noted as limited due to many powers and economic competencies being held by central government and its departments leaving the City Councillors with little influence (Ni Dhalaigh 2013, McAuliffe 2013 and Perry 2012). What power exists in the Council was seen as being held by the City Manager rather than elected councillors. A situation spoken about with great frustration by Unlock NAMA campaigner Mick Byrne:

“Dublin City Council seems to be extremely undemocratic....Dublin City Council doesn't really have the equivalent of what you would call a legislative authority, you know, they can't actually make decisions and implement them, the City Manager seems to have a lot more power than the Councillors do. So I don't know exactly how it works but as a citizen when I went to my

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representative he told me he had no power to do anything and that tells you that there is something wrong with the city...I mean from our point of view, we may as well not live in a democracy” (Byrne and Murphy 2012)

The Council is limited by financial resources and their limited sources of income, which they have only partial control over- such as commercial rates (Ni Dhalaigh 2013 , McGinley 2013, Montague 2013 and Russell 2013) and the incoming property tax, which is set by central government and intended to replace much of the funding central government provides to councils (Russell 2013). The local area managers seen as a go-to person for those with street level issues (Rose 2013). Despite their benefits their catchment area was seen as too large to be of real benefit (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013).

2. Planning

This heading covers issues related to planning interviewees saw as relevant to retail vacancy. It looks at direct issues such as how retail is planned as well as less direct issues and planning policies more generally.

Planning in Copenhagen

When it comes to planning and retail in Copenhagen, it can be seen as being contained; in relation to its size and where it clusters. Limits on size (no more than 3000 Sq/M nationally, with city wide limits on the amount of Sq/M allowed to be developed each year for different purposes) are enforced in order to ensure large malls do not absorb too much footfall from city streets and limits on location ensure that designated retail centres are kept populated and lively and to keep traffic planning coherent (Andersen 2013, Justesen 2013, Kabell 2013 and Laursen and Hansen 2013).

Changing use is regulated by the city, but assuming the change requested is not vastly different (retail to industrial) it is allowed within reason with respect to the other functions in the area (Andersen 2012). The need to trim down and consolidate retail areas was also mentioned, in order to secure the health of the more central retail area's (Nyborg 2013 and Shams Ili 2013).

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Trimming and converting uses is seen as part of the solution to retail in areas facing difficulties on numerous fronts, such as the previously mentioned Amagerbrogade with city planner Kenneth Horst Hansen noting: *“they are struggling with major competitiveness, they are suffering really with outdated shops, with the crises and e-trade. So there is a lot of vacancy, some parts have been converted into cafés restaurants, that part is doing quite well and some parts are just vacant* (Laursen and Hansen 2013)

The City Planners also strongly stated how their main concern was not purely with the health of retail, but with the city life that retail can foster and how it can be used to reinforce an areas identity.

The City has received some criticism for not developing infrastructure quick enough for developing areas, hampering their attractiveness and growth (Lindhardt 2013). As well as this the uncharacteristically liberal nature of retail planning in Copenhagen was discussed (Kabell 2013 and Shams Ili 2013). With criticism also came some compliments from Rita Justesen of By og Havn:

“I think we have a tradition in Denmark where we, one thing that we try to think very holistic when we are developing areas, think in a very complex or at least we try to put many elements to it. We have a design tradition where we have some kind of finish both in the urban spaces and in the villages that you do not see in other countries” (Justesen 2013)

Planning in Dublin

Planning activity in Dublin, since the crisis has slowed making it difficult to detect any major changes in the Council's approach as expressed by councillor Paul McAuliffe:

“There hasn't been any large scale planning activity so therefore I can't say if it has changed or not, and also we have very little role in the practical aspects of planning the planning applications, we are so removed from that, so what we do, we set the macro stuff and most of the councillors, the nature of local government being part-timers, councillors come in being brand new, the officials have a lot of power in setting the development plan and we have very little” (McAuliffe 2013)

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Though there is a limited role of councillors in the planning process, there is some opinion that the council has adopted a more joined up approach to planning matters (O'Callaghan 2013, McGinley 2013 and Montague 2013) with a more proactive, inclusive and plan lead approach (McAuliffe 2013, Montague 2013 and Russel 2013). Looking back at the planning process 20 years ago Paula Russell of UCD of states:

“What's great now compared to 20 years ago is that it is much more plan lead, if you had been talking to me in the late 80's you'd see there isn't any plans we're just letting developers do whatever they like, but now there is vision and foresight, we have an idea of what we want we just have to bring pieces together” (Russell 2013)

However, the power of developers still plays too much of a role according to Cian O'Callaghan, of the NIRSA:

“Planning is supposed to be a discipline that manages diverse uses of space but I think that the last 15 years in Ireland, I think that has shown that planning does not operate in a neutral space there are power interests and the interests of the private sector in a lot of cases tend to win out over more socially oriented uses” (O'Callaghan 2013)

He sees the Council's limited budgets as leading to a reliance on the Private Sector to develop the City and so adapt their planning regulations to suit their needs in exchange for some spatial contribution to the Public Good. Councillor Andrew Montague, sees a need for the City to be developed with a strong centre that is attractive to transnational companies in order to bring employment to the City. The difficulty for the Council is finding a balance between jobs which bring vibrancy and economic health and unsustainable development in order to attract them.

On the other hand, it is seen as necessary for planners to take a proactive approach with developers, investors and businesses in order to encourage them to be active in the City, as explained by Kieran Rose of Dublin City Council:

“In the boom time it was the case, it was difficult to keep up. Where as now it should be the opposite way, we should be going out to the developers and investors and businesses and that and being more proactive about it...time is a problem for businesses that want to open up in that

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way, so we should be able to be much more proactive, and we should look at what are the barriers and if we can remove them” (Rose 2013)

The issue of out of town shopping centres (dealt with more comprehensively earlier) is one that can be seen as very much down to fragmented and developer led planning. The result is a number of shopping and retail centres competing for the same inadequate catchments (O'Callaghan 2013, McAuliffe 2013). However stronger regional planning strategies and plans are intended to coincide more with their national and city level counterparts (Russel 2013) as well as greater demographic considerations (O'Callaghan 2013) should prevent further developments of this kind.

When it comes to street level planning for some there is a need for a more detailed approach to retail planning in order to create more unique, balanced and attractive areas (McAuliffe 2013, McGinley 2013 and Montague 2013). However others are more weary of approaches which control the uses of spaces too, citing existing 'out of place' uses as successful and interesting, but still accepting the need for some kind of control to ensure balance (Rose 2013).

Jim Doyle, an Arts Officer with Dublin City Council, was strong proponent of the cultural offer needing to be at the heart of planning in order to foster a unique and attractive centre:

“If we are looking at cultural offer in cities, if that is a significant value to us then we need to make sure that it is at the fore of any strategy and planning it needs to be a forceful part of planning we have to choose how we're doing that, not just saying we support it, so that could be a cultural tariff, an incentive a discount...this should not be knee jerk reaction to a massive failure of the retail economy as a consequence of a global turn, we should be thinking about these things all the time, what's your cultural offer, there's a little bit of McDonaldisation of culture there, I would suggest that the cultural offer is already there, so what are the successful things there already, how can you capitalise on it, what are the things people come to see” (Doyle 2013)

He is critical of past development which placed cultural and community infrastructure “below sewerage” in the order of priorities. He sites the current focus on cultural and artistic industries

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as well as city districts as an indicator of their consistent value and interest for residents of a city and investors over more transient opportunities such as IT, retail or manufacturing. But with the consistent benefits of arts and culture he argues the need for consistent investment and promotion from the Council, not just when there is a lack of more profitable but more short-term opportunities. But with this approach comes the danger of developing a overly middle class city which can lead to exclusion and increases in inequality through gentrification (O'Callaghan 2013).

Despite the above there is a suspicion that the main approach to dealing with the spatial fallout of the crisis will be to hope that the market picks up and fixes itself (O'Callaghan 2013 and Russel 2013). This hope may be false according to O'Callaghan who believes there is a need for a planning approach which does not assume or require growth, explained below:

“They are also still in this approach that is growth lead, Ireland inst really growing at this stage...so I think there needs to be a shift in terms of trying to plan for a period of stagnation because all the targets that you have on planning documents are about you grow the economy by this much, population by this much, they're all planning for growth” (O'Callaghan 2013)

3. Street-scape

Street-scape looks at the functions and uses of the street and its material quality with regard to their influence on retail vacancy.

Street-scape in Copenhagen

The street-scape is seen as one of the prime responsibilities of the City in creating an environment that is conducive to retail as the retail units, the occupiers and the supply of capital that sustains them are out of bounds politically and economically (Schrøder 2013 and Nyborg 2013), at least in the current political environment. The debate over cars or bikes comes up again when it comes to access to retail, with the decreasingly car orientated nature of Copenhagen being cited as a reason for some to skip city centre retail and utilise out of town offers which are more car centred (Næsager 2013). The anti-car sentiment of Copenhagen was challenged strongly by Councillor Lars Berg Dueholm in defence of retail and the need to

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accommodate cars:

“Well first of all we should stop making the city less accessible as we're doing right now for car traffic, one might dislike car traffic but people, especially people living outside the city want to go by car, they don't want to go by commuter train or bicycle, they want to go by train or excuse me by car...if they can't go by car they will go some where else...we just have to face that we in Copenhagen are not the centre of the world where people will come no matter what we do and we have to face whether we like or dislike that the car as a tendency is here to stay” (Dueholm 2013)



Photograph 11: Nørrebrogade's New Traffic Measures (Beezodog 2013)

And the left right divide on the issue becomes clearer when we look at what Morten Kabell a Councillor with the Unity Party- Enhedslisten has to say, citing support from research in the Netherlands:

“I would say traffic planning could make a difference and that is where we differ a lot among the political parties, you will hear from the right wing that taking the cars out of the city will decrease the retail, where on the left we actually stick to Dutch studies that show bikes; cyclists have a greater tendency to get off their bikes, do the local shopping and get on again. So our thesis would be that decreasing traffic would increase retail rather than decrease it.” (Kabell 2013)

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An increase in public spaces and wider footpaths were seen as good ways to attract customers as well as relaxing restrictions on how retailers can make use of the areas outside their premises to sell goods or provide services (Schrøder 2013) and attention to aesthetics was also seen as important (Laursen and Hansen 2013), particularly in attracting wealthier people (Andersen 2012).

Street-scape in Dublin

Investment and attention to the street-scape was seen as a constructive and visible way of helping business in the city- the re-paving of Grafton street, Dublin's pedestrianised high street being an active example (Farrell 2013, Russell 2013, McGinley 2013 and Montague 2013). However the council may also be seen as neglecting the less prosperous streets which they needed to be pressurised into cleaning and where a return to less aesthetically pleasing shop fronts in efforts to gain attention is going unchecked, reducing the quality of the street-scape (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013). In addition difficulty in finding parking in the centre was mentioned as a barrier to people shopping in the city (Farrell 2013 and McGinley 2013).



Photograph 12: Grafton Street before Refurbishment (Dublin City Council)



Photograph 13: Grafton Street as it will look after Refurbishment (Dublin City Council)

More comprehensive and better planned approaches were also noted as being in action (Russell 2013) however the need to make people feel safer and the City more child friendly as well as the lack of public toilets were seen as disadvantages especially when facing competition from shopping centres (Montague 2013).

4. Business Supports

Here we will look at the role of the City Authorities in providing support to businesses directly through targeted initiatives and indirectly through how the council can reduce burdens on businesses.

Business Support in Copenhagen

Business support from the city is seen as a practical way of increasing the likelihood of new enterprises existing for longer and hence reducing vacancy. Copenhagen's retail environment is seen as competitive: *“If you don't have enough money, if you don't have the right product in the right place, if people don;t like your concept then you're closed”* (Schröder 2013).

Supports from the city to facilitate networking between businesses who share a locality or help with day to day practices such as accounting and rent management are also suggested as ways to help businesses (Bendix 2013). The Copenhagen Business service seems to provide some of these practical supports as well as working to develop the greater business environment with respect to urban life as well as enterprise. The service helps with bureaucracy and finds ways that the city can adapt to make it easier to get into business and stay in business (Shams Ili 2013).

A Quarter Manager project is also being piloted in Copenhagen after apparent success in Germany. This will see an individual appointed to a certain area, in this case Valby, in order to help support the businesses in the area as well as developing the area's image and brand, in addition to building networks between the businesses (Laursen and Hansen 2013 and Shams Ili 2013). The Quarter manger is to be financed by the Municipality for the duration of the pilot and it is hoped that it will become self-financing, through fees paid by the businesses involved. This project is a lighter version of a business improvement district, however if it becomes financed by businesses it is hard to see what differences there are beyond the Quarter Manager being an individual. In-fact, a business improvement district was seen as desirable, though the legislation required to create it does not exist yet (Shams Ili 2013).

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Business Support in Dublin

There was a support for the Council to work with those taking a proactive approach to vacancy and decline (Rose 2013). Offering waivers to existing costs was pointed out as preferential to direct subsidies- though these would be conditional on variables like unemployment and targeted at shops or services missing in an area. In addition to this it was stated that the automatic association with 'artistic' uses of empty spaces, may lead to lost opportunities in using those spaces as incubators for small businesses which may have a longer lasting presence (Ni Dhalaigh 2013 and McAuliffe 2013). The council's limited powers also made it difficult for it to influence business matters with central government or government agencies outside of the council's control given these responsibilities rather than the council itself (McAuliffe 2013). However, less financially demanding support in the form of facilitating networks and a stronger presence from the city and local area managers in order to show that they are responsive to the needs of retailers would be beneficial (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013).

5. Vacancy Clause

The idea of the vacancy clause provides an opportunity to step around the protections the owner of a retail property has by virtue of it being their private property. By including a vacancy clause as part of the initial planning permission the proprietor finds themselves obliged to do a number of things to protect the urban life and the business of other retailers on the street.

A Clause in Copenhagen

Many of those interviewed were intrigued and saw potential in this policy (Kabell 2013, Normander 2013 and Shams Ili 2013). Some saw vacancy as part of the business cycle and were against city intervention in it, despite the consequences for the street (Bendix 2013 and Næsager 2013). Others had reservations about the pressure it would put on smaller property holders but thought it would be more appropriate to include a vacancy clause with larger property owners such as pension funds (Wiess 2013). The possibility that forcing a proprietor to rent too quickly would result in lower order uses moving in could lower the quality of the street (Nyborg 2013).

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The perceived sticks or carrots that could be used in the event of vacancy varied. One example was for the Council to remove the fixed taxation on a premises that is empty, if the owners gave it over for alternative or temporary uses (Koefoed-Melson 2012).

The ability and appetite for this kind of policy from the City was often questioned, though the ability of the City to enact such a policy was seen as being more possible in the past when the City held more power over the market, but the possibility of it in the future was not completely mooted (Laursen and Hansen 2013). The reasoning behind this was explained by Rita Justesen of By og Havn:

“In the 80's, 70's up until the middle of the 90's the city, the Copenhagen Municipality was very poor, but then we had a lot of change and a new interest in investing in Copenhagen and living in Copenhagen and you could see from the middle of the 90's and the next 10 years where a lot of these new things happened, new districts or whatever and the municipality got stronger and stronger, it was easier for them to make requirements and that's because of course you need them to give you planning permission, building permission and as an investors and developers they wanted to be part of that period” (Justesen 2013)

The extent of how liberal some parts Copenhagen's retail planning actually is was noted as being unusual among the city's and the country's Social Democratic disposition (Kabell 2013 and Shams Ili 2013).

A Clause for Dublin

The concept of a vacancy clause was seen as positive (O'Callaghan 2013, Coyne and O'Higgins 2013, Farrell 2013, McAuliffe 2013, Montague 2013 and Rose 2013) though this was often said with reservations with regard to the current legal framework. Though it was seen as possible with some changes (O'Callaghan 2013, Doyle 2013, Perry 2013, Rose 2013 and Russell 2013) and further challenges against such a policy which were mentioned as possibly being unconstitutional may in-fact find support in the constitution which makes references to private property being subject to the common good (Perry 2012 and Rose 2013). Councillor Paul McAuliffe was enthusiastic about the idea of bundling the discount in commercial rates the city

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council can offer a vacant property with an obligation that the premises be open to temporary use while vacant:

“So at the moment to get the 50% discount you just apply for it and you get it, we could make it a condition that in order to get that discount you have to have your unit rented and available for a temporary pop-up shop...we will interview and vet and security clear all the people who are coming through the process and we will advertise the space as available and somebody will be given a 3 month pop-up shop with 24 hours notice to quit..and we'll provide the legal certainty as landlords don't want to let anybody in, in case they get rights...my understanding is that the 50% discount is in our control, it is in the local government acts and that we exercise it...that's something we could introduce” (McAuliffe 2013)

6. Temporary Uses

The temporary or alternative use of retail spaces is looked at here as a tool to reduce vacancy. This section will look at the perceived value of such uses and the City's Authorities roles in aiding such use.

Temporary Use in Copenhagen

The idea of filling retail vacancies with alternative or temporary uses is well regarded at least as a stopgap as well as a way of giving fledgling entrepreneurs a chance of testing the market (Bendix 2013, Kabell 2013, Næsager 2013, Nyborg 2013 and Weiss 2013). However the likelihood that a vacant premises is in a less than ideal location can make it difficult for business to prosper (Shams Ili 2013).

Cultural or creative uses are perceived as possibly adding value to a property or area through a form of superficial gentrification (Koefoed-Melson 2012). Yet, with cultural uses, the possibility of these projects becoming redundant through over saturation or just due to a disconnect with the community they are based in was discussed, though their merits were otherwise accepted (Andersen 2013 and Bendix 2013). More cultural or creative uses of space were noted as being less in need of prime locations; making retail spaces that are somewhat dilapidated or scheduled for renovation viable (Lindhardt 2013).

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Issues with getting property owners to offer their vacant properties are highlighted as the main obstacle in doing so and there appeared to be little the City can offer beyond helping to facilitate and offer more legitimacy to such projects as well as cutting the bureaucracy they face (Kabell 2013 and Normander 2013). The anxieties property owners hold in relation to handing over a vacant property temporarily are expressed by property consultant Helle Lindhardt:

“I would see a value in that but the landlords, probably not, because if you take somebody in which are not able to pay the full rent, you don't know how they treat and they don't have the same obligations as the normal lessee, so it can give some problems in the long run because if they are not taking good care of it you have to make even more renovations when they move out before someone moves in. So I don't think the landlord are some keen on it, but ideally, it looks nice as you can help people with both hands, it's a win win situation, it looks like it. But for security reasons the landlord often chooses not to do it” (Lindhardt 2013)



Illustration 6: Liv I Ruden, seeking to fill empty Shop Fronts (Liv I Ruden 2013)

In addition to this the multi-departmental cooperation that such projects can require was also identified as a problem (Koefoed-Melson 2012 and Schrøder 2013).

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The more dynamic nature of pop-up stores in particular was depicted as being more suited to modern markets which change quicker and need to develop an edge over the convenience of e-trade (Normander 2013). And the greater control over space afforded to shopping malls makes them less apprehensive about allowing temporary use as a way to hide vacancies (Nyborg 2013 and Shams Ili 2013).

Temporary Use in Dublin

Temporary use was seen as a useful stop gap in keeping a street alive (O'Callaghan 2013, Coyne and O'Higgins 2013, McGinley 2013, Montague 2013, Rose 2013 and Russell 2013) and the City is seen as having a role in helping to facilitate temporary uses in the form of administering, promoting and vetting temporary uses (McAuliffe 2013 and Rose 2013).

Louise Marlborough is a director and co-founder of PrettyvacantT Dublin, a group which seeks to take temporary control of vacant spaces for artistic uses. In talking about her experiences of getting proprietors to allow their empty properties to be given over to temporary use, she describes the type of proprietors she deals successfully with below:

“Yeah there's a whole range, I can't really say why they do, but I'd like to think, you know, they see the benefits, there's benefits for them in drawing positive attention to a building, to maintain it to provide security, if nothing else if they can't see the artistic side of it. So it's kind of like it's a win-win, they have to do some paperwork, they have to probably have a meeting or at least meet on the phone, but they don't have to do a huge amount. Obviously there is a level of trust because they don't know me and they're handing over a building and there's lots of responsibility in that and you know I take that quite seriously” (Marlborough 2012)

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Photograph 14: PrettyvacanT Exhibition in Vacant Shop (PrettyvacanT 2010)



Photograph 15: PrettyvacanT Exhibition in Vacant Shop II (PrettyvacanT 2010)

She also notes that it is possible that property owners may not wish to engage in temporary uses as they are waiting for property values to rise and they enjoy a discount in commercial rates if their premises is vacant. Though the discount may play a role it appears to be a grey area in how strictly these property owners declare a property in use when it is under temporary use. This grey area could lead to tension with other rate payers in the area if the temporary uses were in place for longer (Marlborough 2012) a danger shared by others interviewed (Russell 2013). The personalities involved and how they get along were seen as an important element in determining outcomes (Doyle 2013 and Marlborough 2012) which is an aspect that would be difficult to remove with council regulation or involvement.

In 2012 the City's Arts Office took on a direct role in facilitating temporary artistic uses of vacant property. The 'Vacant Spaces' scheme was the outcome of a number of consultation fora and workshops and two initiatives were realised. The first involved the Arts Office creating a data base of artists and groups looking for space and of proprietors willing to offer space followed an open viewing of the spaces. The role of the arts office was limited to facilitator, with them playing little role beyond vetting the applications- taking on no role in negotiations or the legal aspects. Jim Doyle of the Council's Arts Office describes the outcome below:

“The consequences were that in many cases partnerships were made, in some cases the spaces were filled and those spaces were either filled directly by that offer, that introduction or because

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we feel the city played a part in profiling the spaces themselves, so these would be empty space but had a profile within the package and therefore maybe got filled for different reasons and maybe they got filled because they were going to be filled anyway” (Doyle 2013)

He also noted difficulties in the ability of artists or groups to manage their own spaces and that this should be considered when assessing uses or seeking uses, and that high expectations from proprietor regarding the rent they expect as well as issues when the contact persons are letting agents who may not be familiar with the property in question. In order to address some of these issues the Arts Office took control of 2 council owned retail units to be used for temporary uses where the users would face less unknowns in terms of management and be more able to develop the projects they intent to implement in the space (Doyle 2013).

The function of temporary uses and the role of arts and cultural uses generated much discussion among the interviewees. Jim Doyle mentioned that the cultural attraction of a place is essential to attracting sustained interest in a city and that there was an expectation that artists would fill the empty spaces temporarily due to their historical association with rejuvenating decaying areas and the perception that to get artists to fill empty spaces and create an attraction for an area, and most importantly that they would do it cheaply. This was an assertion backed up by Paula Russell of UCD:

“And that sector (architecture and arts) seem to have...always been much more organic and low key and used to not having the profit, that whole profit driven thing just doesn't exist so much in it, that people kind of just have to survive on an artists salary or an actors salary or whatever and we do something with very little money and are prepared to camp it out in a crappy building or whatever, so I think those kinds of people are good, it's always good to get those kind of artistic people for initiative” (Russell 2013)

There does seem to be an element of assumed exploitation, where artists and community groups should be satisfied with temporary spaces to work in, to help tip the street along until the spaces can attract a high enough rent. Further to this, the perception that arts, community and social groups; in using empty spaces avail of hard to come by space, it merely carries them

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along on limited and precarious resources when they are in need of more long-term solutions from the state (O'Callaghan 2013). The focus on artistic uses is also seen as distracting from the realisation that space in a city ought to be open to all people in the city and not just profitable uses, or artistic uses that fill the gap in the market (Byrne and Murphy 2012).

The argument that these spaces should be offered for business incubation was also presented (Ni Dhalaigh 2013 and McAuliffe 2013) as they may lead to longer term and more valuable uses in term of jobs. Apparently priority artistic uses were given (McAuliffe 2013) may also indicate that it is particularly suited to filling the gap in the market.

7. Taxation

The methods that each city authority uses to collect funds from retail uses are not parallel; they both have differing legislative basis and the Authorities both have different powers to change that basis. However the general concept of how both city authorities can use their powers in this area to manipulate some of the factors that lead to vacancy remains.

Taxation in Copenhagen

The use of punitive taxation to reduce vacancy among retail units was not seen as possible by and large, due to a belief taxes were already too high and it would lead to hampering retail or inflating rents rather than prompting proprietors into action (Bendix 2013, Lindhardt 2013 and Næsager 2013). The necessary changes needed requiring national legislation was also seen as a barrier (Kabell 2013).

A retail unit in Copenhagen faces a fixed tax based on its function as retail as well as a tax based on the value of the premises with lower tax rates for protected buildings. The city has lowered, by a small amount, the taxes it controls on business which is seen as a gesture of goodwill towards the business community from the Social Democratic dominated council (Wiess 2013). Yet, some doubted the affects of low taxation had as a pathway to creating jobs and encouraging new retail, citing the possibility of proprietors pocketing the tax break as opposed to passing it on to the retailer in the form of a lower rent (Shams Ili 2013). Others had

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a general unease with lowering tax on businesses (Bendix 2013, Kabell 2013 and Normander 2013). While others were more ambivalent or circumstantial on the use of taxation to reduce vacancy (Nyborg 2013 and Wiess 2013)

The use of tax breaks as an incentive was put forward for different reasons; as a way of encouraging alternative and temporary uses (Koefoed-Melson 2012) and also conversely in order to aid property owners who cannot earn an income on a premises due to its vacancy (Lindhardt 2013).

Taxation in Dublin

Taxation in the form of commercial rates are collected by the Cty Council though they have limited powers in how they are applied as much of the specifics are set by the national Department of the Environment. With crisis rates have been reduced lower than the declining rate of inflation down 20-25% in the last 5 years (McGinley 2013 and Montague 2013).

The burden of rates on businesses is described by Stephen Coyne of the 'Save Thomas Street' campaign:

“There is a big problem with the rates being a lot of the rent...and businesses here have really tight margins...the rates are definitely a big issue and also the quality of the services they get for the rates, you know, their bin services are now being privatised, water next year is going to be privatised, so the rates haven't gone down they are going up and they are going to say what I am paying for?” (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013)

With this burden in mind; the heavy reliance of the Council on commercial rates results in the need to balance their own need for income to reinvest in the City and the need to reduce the burden on new and existing businesses (Ni Dhalaigh 2013, McGinley 2013, Montague 2013 and Russell 2013)- a reliance that was reduced during the boom when the Council benefited from revenue through planning fees and development levies- a sizeable amount which is still owed to the Council (Ni Dhalaigh 2013). The multiple financial pressures facing the council are explained below by Paula Russell of UCD:

“So then you say why can't they just reduce the rates and the difficulty with this is Dublin City

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Council, every city council is cash starved, finding it really difficult to bring in the type of money they need to run the City, to do all the things they need to do...if they reduce rates it equals a big hole in their finances that already have a big hole...and Irish local government is poorly resourced they rely on department of environment finances and they are cut” (Russell 2013)

The rates system as it stands is seen as good in how rates are calculated through the value of the premises (McGinley 2013) and have recently being recalculated which has had a mixed response (Farrell 2013). There was a mixed view of how rates could be used to adjust the market, mostly due to the limited powers of the Council (Ni Dhalaigh 2013 , McAuliffe 2013, McGinley 2013, Montague 2013 and Russell 2013). Some suggested differing levels of rates to encourage retail into certain areas (O'Callaghan 2013 and McAuliffe 2013) though targeting specific types of businesses was also seen as possible (Mcginley 2012). As was offering reduced rates for new or smaller retailers (Ni Dhalaigh 2013 , McGinley 2013 and Montague 2013) all of these suggestions came with a warning that in offering reduced rates in particular places or for particular retailers that it could disgruntle other rate payers in the area.

As it stands a proprietor pays only 50% of the rates they would normally pay if their property is vacant which can be seen as an incentive to take time in re-renting it (Marlborough 2012). However this may be changed so the proprietor does not save by not renting the property (McGinley 2013), and further to this a tax or penalty on a vacant property was seen as viable to help get empty properties into some kind of use (Rose 2013 and Montague 2013). Though much of the valuation system is out of the Council's control, how the discount is or is not applied is apparently under the control of the Council (McAuliffe 2013). However, it is interesting to note that only 5% of owners have declared their properties empty in order to avail of the discount (McAuliffe 2013) and that the number of rate payers in Dublin have remained the same (McGinley 2013). This may be explained by the high rate of tenants entering and leaving a premises with rates set annually and a large amount of businesses opening and closing which may explain the increase in vacancy without a decrease in rate payers.

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8. Renovation and Refurbishment

The role of the City Authorities in regulating or aiding the material and aesthetic quality of retail spaces is discussed below.

Renovation and Refurbishment in Copenhagen

The City's role in the material quality of retail spaces can be seen as limited to the regulation of façades, which was noted as not being enforced very strongly (Shams Ili 2013). Yet, issues with the material quality of vacant retail spaces and the difficulties the, often indebted, proprietors face in trying to secure financing to renovate them was strongly commented on by property consultant Helle Lindhardt:

“So you are not able to refurbish it, so it is a very difficult situation because if you want to rent something out, you have to re-establish it or refurbish it, on the other hand they are not able because it is a buyers market, this office there and a new kitchen they cost a lot of money so the banks are not able or doesn't want to finance it...we find that it is very difficult to talk with the banks right now, they say they want to finance buildings they have a lot of money and they want to loan it out but the reality is different, they are very scared when they are talking about properties.” (Lindhardt 2013)



Photograph 16: Dereliction on Amagerbrogade



Photograph 17: Dereliction on Amagerbrogade II

She also referred to the importance of the material quality or even the aesthetics of a vacant

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space to potential renters, and how partial renovations can sometimes be enough to show a spaces potential.

Nevertheless, councillors did not see a role for the City in helping with the renovation or refurbishment of retail space, often deferring it as an issue for the markets (Næsager 2013 and Normander 2013). Though some saw some opportunities: for job creation if the City were to be involved (Bendix 2013) or the chance to leverage more control over the uses of spaces if the City played a role in their renovation (Kabell 2013). That proprietors are allowing material deterioration in order to build a case for demolishing a property was also raised.(Wiess 2013).

Renovation and Refurbishment in Dublin

When it came to the material quality of the vacant spaces and the role of the Council in their upkeep, many saw the need for the Council to regulate quality ,though this was hampered by a lack of resources (McGinley 2013, Montague 2013 and Russell 2013) while the regulations should be flexible as to not penalise lower order uses (O'Callaghan 2013). With properties that are in such a level of decay that they are deemed derelict, the Council can invoke the derelict sites act, which can be used to force repairs and maintenance while paying a 3% levy on the buildings market value. However it was noted that the actions of the Council in this regard were limited due to resources, particularly as such action can involve high legal costs (Rose 2013).

It was also noted that while some proprietors neglect the condition of their property many others are redecorating, which may be due to painting and decorating trades becoming more competitive in the crisis (Rose 2013).

9. Rent as a Tool

The perceived role rent plays in determining occupancy and the role of the City in influencing rent levels is discussed below.

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Rental as a Tool in Copenhagen

Rent, as a cause of vacancy was seen as less significant by some- viewing the quality and offer of the retail in an area as an explanation for its vacancy (Normander 2013). However, before the crisis many retailers were having difficulty with rising rents (Bendix 2013), particularly smaller shops (Andersen 2012). These rising rents resulted in pressure from some retailers on their representative organisation Danish Retail- Dansk Erhverv, to seek some regulation in line with that which regulates the housing rental market (Andersen 2012). However, the boom peaked before the issue became critical. In addition to this it was reasoned that some areas require and cultivate higher rents in order to keep a certain quality of retail, the example of luxury goods which often cluster together (Dueholm 2013).

In the wake of the crisis retailers are seen by some to be arguing successfully for lower rents with the threat of moving into one of the many vacant properties in Copenhagen working to their advantage (Lindhardt 2013). This view was supported by others but with extra consideration given to larger proprietors who are reluctant to lower their asking rent as it would devalue their portfolios (Nyborg 2013). Other strategic reasons for a premises to remain vacant were seen as possible- in Shahriar Shams Ili, of Copenhagen's Business Service:

“I am also asking myself, some of the shops have been closed for 4 years and they have not reduced, it is very, very high rents they have. 1.2 Million a year and they are not reducing and it is also another thing you want to look it, is what is the reason, is it because they have some tax deduction reason that it pays off to have it empty, or is it because if they rent it at a lower rent they can never, never raise it again. What is it really? Because it is not as I tell my boss as easy to go and ask them. These are business secrets!” (Shams Ili 2013)

Rent was overall viewed as less of an issue when it came to dealing with retail vacancy- with evidence pointing more towards the material quality of the vacant premises; where rents for higher quality premises rising and rent for standard and low quality premises remaining stagnant (Shams Ili 2013).

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Rent as a Tool in Dublin

High rents were identified as a structural barrier to filling vacancy in Dublin (O'Callaghan 2013, McGinley 2013 and Russell 2013). Leases which included upward only rent reviews are seen as adding pressure to retailers already leasing a property and facing financial pressure (McGinley 2013, Rose 2013 and Russell 2013). However a recent court case taken by a retailer against their proprietor has challenged the legitimacy of such clauses and they are being phased out (Rose 2013).

Along with the loss of upward only rent reviews, proprietors are having to be more flexible in order to hold tenants by having to offer shorter-term leases and even rents based on the retailers profit each month. This is due to the increased negotiating power of retailers, as proprietors experience difficulty in getting new tenants or holding on to existing ones (Farrell 2013, Rose 2013 and Russell 2013). This flexibility is more prominent on secondary streets where the nominal rents advertised can be negotiated, though with smaller landlords there is a risk of less professionalism (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013).

However the reluctance of property owners and the banks which finance them to reduce rents and face a write down in the value of the property in question expressed below by Paula Russell of UCD:

“There seems to be this fear of contagion where if we lower something all our other clients will go why don't we get a deal so I think there is a sense of holding the line so unless you have a kind of wedge or leverage, unless the city council get involved” (Russell 2013)

She further emphasised the need for public ownership of some property in order to give the City the aforementioned leverage to correct rental levels.

10. Change of Use

How the City Authorities adapt the function of a space in the hope that a different use will result in occupancy is a tool that is limited by the need to maintain certain functions or limit possible conflicts on a street or in an area.

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Changing Use in Copenhagen

With the increasing prominence of larger stores and stronger multiple centres smaller dispersed shops are under pressure, as Per Nyborg of the Institute for Centre Planning puts it: *“You cannot go against the market forces but you may make it more or less difficult transformation but I guess it is a challenge at the moment how can we do this.”* (Nyborg 2013).

In the past there was a trend to change housing to offices and now the opposite is occurring, due to housing needs and investor preference (Lindardt 2013). This has also been carried over to retail in some cases- though the location of retail does not always make it appropriate for re-use as housing (Nyborg 2013). However it was noted that the City is often quite open to allowing a change of function (Lindardt 2013, Nyborg 2013, Shams Ili 2013 and Wiess 2013)

The City sees re-use of spaces with different functions as a useful method in reducing vacancy by consolidating retail. Liberalising the uses of spaces is also seen as a way of reducing vacancy- so where a doctor or dentist would normally be on the upper floor of a building they can be encouraged to take vacant ground-floor spaces which adds more to the street-life. Changing the function of a space is also seen as necessary due to the increase in e-trade which can eliminate the need or viability for some types of retail to have a street presence. (Laursen and Hansen 2013 and Shams Ili 2013).

Change of Use in Dublin

Changing use, when discussed was seen as important in order to deal with locations where particular uses are consistently unsuccessful and it was noted that it can be more complex than it should be to change uses (McGinley 2013). The need for the relatively restrictive regulations in place was explained by Kieran Rose of Dublin City Council, as being in place to protect and preserve the function and balance of certain streets and areas, though he was critical of their cost and length and he also noted the protectionist element which may lead to other retailers objection to changes of use that might threaten their business:

“Those planning applications are very expensive for start ups and stuff..it could be changed fairly easily but you could make exemptions in certain cases, but it could allow natural, quicker responses, but sometimes I think we put development levies on a change of use which makes it

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even worse...they take 3 months at minimum...but then of course private enterprise or free enterprise as they call it, it is only free when it doesn't cost them, so one shopkeeper or café owner can object or appeal it and it can go on for ever and then there's the fees they pay fees to us and then they have to engage an architect” (Rose 2013)

However, Stephen Coyne of the 'Save Stephen Street' campaign stated that there is a need for more flexibility when it comes to some fire and living standards regulations, as some older spaces designated for commercial use, which are empty could possibly fair better as residential (Coyne and O'Higgins 2013). The clash between old designs and new regulations can leave space which might have more use with a different function, empty.

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1. Comparative Policy and the Adjusted Flow Chart

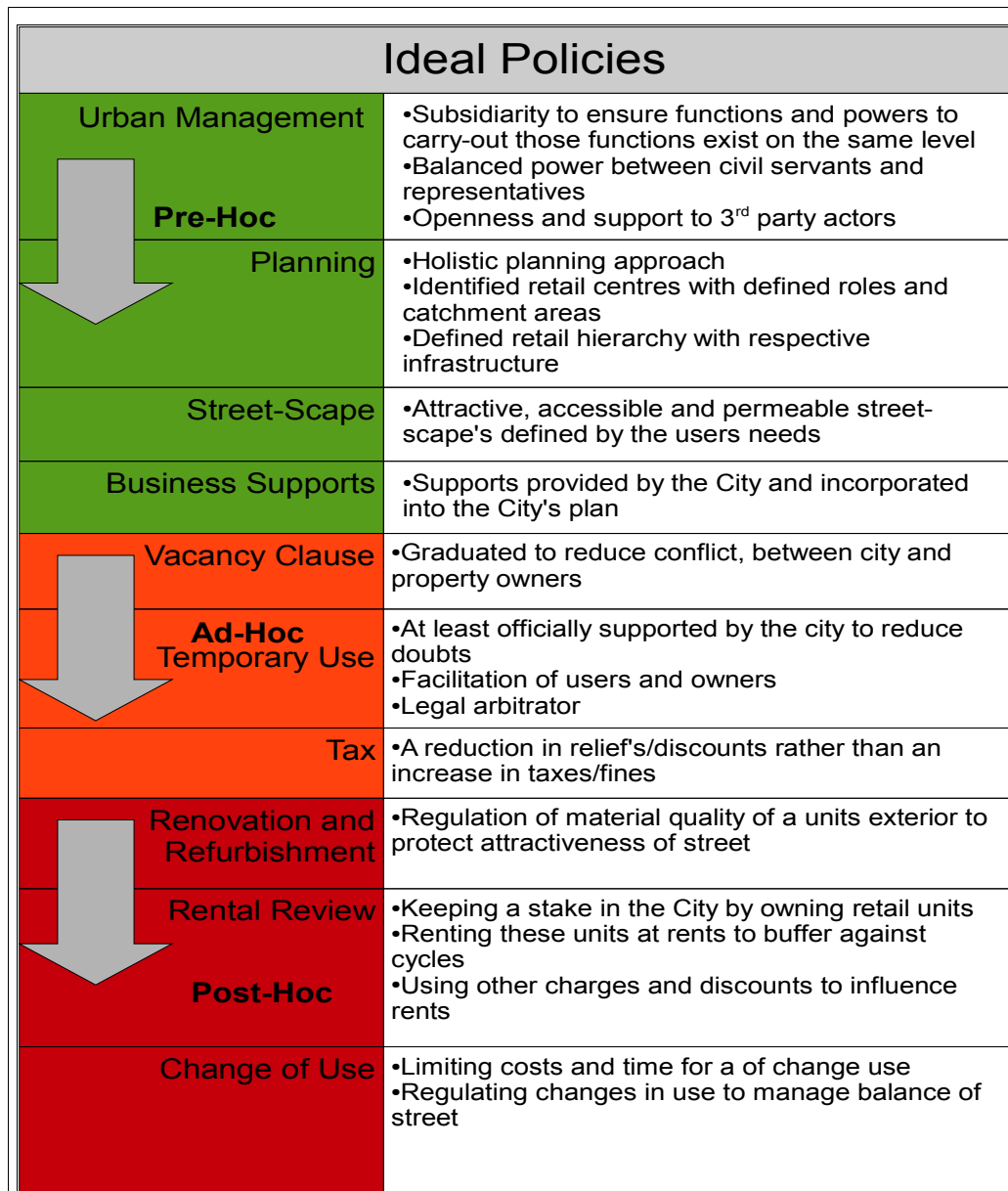


Figure 13: Adjusted Policy Flow Chart

This section compares the policy landscapes of Copenhagen and Dublin, to examine current practice and the perceived effectiveness of initiatives in each policy area. An ideal approach in each policy area is present in the adjusted policy flow chart (Figure 13). This can serve as a guide

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for policy planners wishing to reduce retail vacancy, securing the associated jobs, preserving urban life and reducing susceptibility to speculation.

Urban Management

Both city authorities are perceived as having a council with weak internal communication, however Dublin was seen as having a less able and less powerful council. These issues are real barriers to third-party actors wishing to implement initiatives to ease vacancy, often without pay, it can also impede more holistic strategies and plans which would require greater interdepartmental coordination.

The electoral systems in both authorities raised concerns among the interviewees, with Copenhagen's system possibly giving more power to some parties than they would get under a system without automatic mayorships. In Dublin the electoral system creates difficulty for councillors, as they have to tend to both their local constituency and wider city issues- a difficulty the Copenhagen councillors do not face due to their city wide constituency.

Financial pressures are also more present when talking to the Dublin interviewees. No doubt there is also such pressure on the Copenhagen authorities, but the Dublin authorities seem limited doubly by the crisis at large and their already limited powers. Though these issues do not lead to a clear approach regarding vacancy, the issues regarding how the City is managed, where power is held and where it is subordinated, and how the structures of that system provide or limit ideas are important.

Planning

The approach to retail planning in Copenhagen contrasts strongly with the approach of Dublin. In Copenhagen they are active in attempting to consolidate existing retail areas to ensure the health of their centres by changing the use of some units. Such active policy was not detected in the Dublin interviews, though more short term efforts, such as that of the Arts Office were being implemented and more active planning approaches were seen as being part of Dublin's future. The looming prospect of a return to Dublin's developer lead approach to planning

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remains and courting developers and investors to stimulate further development is still seen as a constructive way forward by others. The fallout of Dublin's out of synch regional planning provides a strong illustration of the need for a more joined up approach and a defined retail hierarchy.

The difference in approach to retail planning in both cities is evident from their planning maps. In Copenhagen, areas are marked, quite distinctively, into different categories of retail with strong borders (see Map 1). The Dublin maps feature a central area, carved out from the rest of the city, with primary and secondary streets identified and the map with a wider focus seems to map the location of centres and transport routes with little assessment of their function (see Map's 6 and 7). The more calibrated approach of Copenhagen allows for a stricter control and stronger vision for how the city develops and is used and such an approach is seen more favourably when the intention is to avoid speculation and avoid an oversupply of retail which can lead to vacancy.

Street-scape

The development of the street-scape can be seen as the most direct way of dealing with retail vacancy, it avoids legal issues with private property or the risk of over managing the retail environment. However, it can not deal with wider structural issues such as the market forces that control rents and occupancy or the income of those in the area that sustain occupancy. In Copenhagen there is a strong debate about whether car or bike centred streets sustain greater retail, a debate not found in Dublin, where the low-key planning may not have garnered enough infrastructure or plans to fuel such a debate.

An attractive, permeable and accessible street-scape that allows a milieu to develop is ideal, but what this is in practice would depend on the users of that area.

Business Supports

It is difficult to compare the supports available for businesses in both cities, but the support offered directly from the City seems to be higher in Copenhagen. Having the business supports

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available in a city being incorporated into the council rather than being managed by another body, could allow for more liaison between how the city is managed and planned and how retail develops. This would also allow for more direct responses to emerging issues and would allow for the profit motive of retail to be moderated by the City. The Quarter manager pilot seems to offer financial and logistical support to a position whereas those working on the 'Save Thomas Street' campaign are doing voluntarily and with weak support from the council. The strong rapporteur the Thomas Street group have with local businesses and residents could offer added benefits if there was a direct link between the organisers and the City.

Having business supports and associations that wish to influence the streets they inhabit incorporated into the City Authority is ideal to moderate how commercialised the street gets, but the City must offer strong and professional services if it wishes to attract their cooperation.

Vacancy Clause

The vacancy clause was a relatively new concept to most interviewees, and that made its legal framework an obvious barrier. It did receive a reasonable level of enthusiasm though the objection that it would encourage lower order uses, which may damage the retail on the rest of the street, is worth considering. Yet it can be argued that having a more graduated approach might resolve this risk and remove an element of confrontation. A more nuanced approach may be to remove benefits rather than to apply penalties in the face of inaction. This could mean the removal of some benefits or tax exemptions if the unit is not put into some use or an option to offer it for temporary uses and finally fines for prolonged vacancy due to its negative spillover onto the rest of the street.

Temporary uses

Temporary or alternative use of spaces, whatever the intention of the user or the interest of the proprietor, brings life to empty spaces. In both cities' it was seen as positive and there was a willingness on the Cities behalf to offer what support they could, though rarely financial. A strong barrier to such uses is the caution of the proprietor, which can be alleviated in part, with little cost by the involvement of the city authorities. The good will of the proprietor can be seen

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as a necessity for such uses, as the occupancy by others against their will may lead to overly conflictual situations. This brings us back to the removal of benefits in order to prompt action. Some stronger supports for such uses would be ideal, be they business, community or artistic uses, the value they bring to streets should be valued consistently and not just when the property sector requires them to plug holes in the market.

Taxation

The rigid system in Copenhagen did not open up much discussion on what could be possible, though with legislation the use of taxes or fines on vacancy was seen as possible, though penal taxes may not be viable at a time when taxes are being lowered to ease the property and retail sectors through the crisis.

The appetite for penal taxes in Dublin was larger, perhaps due to the perception that above market rents are a problem or perhaps it is due to pressure on the council to find more sources of income. However, those interviewed can be seen as more amiable towards retailers themselves, with suggestions that lower rates for start-ups or struggling retailers would help. Taxation is a viable way of correcting the market and more importantly of dampening destructive speculation in the first place, though taxes to reduce such speculation would need to be securely placed on the property owners or the exchange or development of those properties.

Renovation and Refurbishment

The material quality of retail in both cities was seen as an issue, and with both authorities it was seen as too much of a burden for them to deal with directly. In both cases it was seen as feasible for the City authorities to have some role in regulating the material quality.

Rent as a Tool

Rent in prime locations was seen, in both cases, as accelerating ahead of the market in the lead up to the boom, to the point retailers began lobbying for regulation in Copenhagen and in Dublin it was not until a number of years into the crisis that leases keeping rents high were challenged. Though some prime locations stayed strong and managed to raise their rents

during the crisis, less prime proprietors were often seen as open to negotiation on rents in order to keep tenants. Both cases featured situations where a proprietor would not lower the rent for a premises to avoid having to devalue the asset. Though it would be difficult for a city authority to regulate private rents, it may be possible to influence them through other charges or discounts in order to pressure them into finding a tenant. It is also possible for the city to influence the level of rent in a city if the City owns a portion of retail properties, which they can rent at certain levels in order to help adjust the market.

Change of use

Changing a unit's use, is seen as a practical way of reducing specific types of vacancy in both cases, though the bureaucracy and cost of such changes appears to be higher in Dublin. However, a more restrictive regime on changes of use can be seen as necessary in order to moderate a switch from saturation of one use another. Changes of use should also be done with respect to the balance of the street that already exists and the needs of its residents and users. It would also be helpful to proprietors if regulations on safety and living standards could be applied in a more flexible way for unit's that may have structural characteristics that cannot be changed.

3. A Street Level Solution to a Global System?

Though it would be reductionist to attribute the heavier effects of the crisis in Dublin to its more liberal and uncoordinated planning and regulation of urban development, it can serve as a microcosm for the country's wider problems. We could say that Copenhagen suffers less due to its growth or that its structures make it more resilient. It is likely a combination, though its contained approach to retail can be seen to have merits. Nørrebrogade and Amagerbrogade noted for their vacancy, seem to have suffered from before the crisis, indicating their vacancy is less to do with, though not independent from the crisis.

The ability of planning and regulation and policies that place the external costs of vacancy on the proprietors to reduce speculation that can lead to excess development are evident And there is a greater need due to the particularly long lags associated with retail. However, this would

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require city authorities to forego speculative investment in favour of urban life and existing retail. Unfortunately the balance can tip towards the benefits of short-sited investment and development.

The increasing role of private actors in the management of cities in the form of BID's and other business associations which take the greater urban environment into their remit follows the trend of neo-liberalism. Though such associations can have clear benefits for urban life, the threat of them filling the vacuum left by weakened city authorities will reduce the streets function to that of an outdoor shopping mall. The transplantation of shopping mall management to the streets, is attractive to city planners and businesses, but without a strong role from the city in this, our streets will face the original betrayal of Victor Gruen's ideals throughout the public space.

City authorities are falling behind due to a lack of funding and a more resigned role designated by neo-liberalism. The solutions cities need have been placed out of reach by the same thinking that created the problems they face. In attempting to implement some form of solution cities could build safeguards, as they can be seen to have some increase in agency while capital is in short supply- however it is also possible that this increase in agency is used to ease the flows of capital back into the same damaging system.

By ensuring a regulated and resilient city, city authorities can help protect existing retail and their associated jobs against a saturation in the retail market at a street level and against the forces of capitalism and speculation at an international level. Many of the policies noted in this thesis can change the structure capital flows through on a city level. They are of limited cost beyond staff necessary to develop and implement them, compared to piecemeal redevelopment approaches- they can also be seen as more enduring solutions. They focus on bringing together networks, as done by the private sector with a less holistic approach. They can also adjust the economics of urban development, through legal and management changes that keep retail property closer to its use value.

Though this will make cities less attractive for investment the literature and financial analysis shows that prime city centre retail units are in demand even during the crisis, with some even able to demand higher rents and retain their tenants. Capital's needs to flow into markets, and certain locations will continue to provide satisfactory outcomes, and despite growing globalisation and changing retail structures for investors, retailers and customers alike there will always be an attraction to traditional city centres. The very concept of flagship stores in city centres shows the value international retailers place on such location as does their tolerance in supporting loss making stores in some locations with stores in stronger markets.

4. Economic and Physical Blight

Nørrebrogade, Amagerbrogade and Thomas Street can be seen to suffer from a combination of economic blight. There are too many retail units to be supported by the limited income of the residents, and they are limited in how they can attract outsiders or even keep residents spending in the area. The 3 streets also share similar histories with changes in retail reducing their significance, leading to their current problems.

From this, physical blight becomes a problem as the lack of occupancy and lower order uses make investment for refurbishment from the proprietors themselves less attractive. These streets are the lower end of the increasingly polarised retail hierarchy in cities. The lot of these streets is worsened as more successful shops expand out of these streets to primer locations, removing one more unique asset and leaving the streets with more vacancy. At the same time luxury stores and goods seem to continue to sell, indicating that the polarised hierarchy of locations is reflected by a polarised base of residents.

The attempts to revitalise Nørrebrogade and now Amagerbrogade through redeveloping the street-scape are limited. Though they will make the areas more aesthetically appealing and interesting, and more functional- and though this may attract investment, it cannot resolve the limited incomes of those living there. This poses a risk, in that the re-imagining of these streets may open them up to more investment, but the residents' income would open them up to displacement in favour of higher-income residents more able to support new development and

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retail ventures.

There is also an opportunity here- the oversupply of retail could open up opportunities for fewer commercial uses. This could open spaces and possibilities for the residents, who may have limited cultural and social capital along with their limited income. However this would need support from the City, and will be discussed more below.

Thomas Street differs in that there is little intention or possibility for its redevelopment by the City. The efforts of the 'Save Thomas Street' campaign have value in how it aims to optimise its existing assets, capturing latent value by pooling resources and ideas. Having people prepared to act as advocates for the street in the face of public institutions and city officials is also of value. These efforts can help encourage residents to shop on the street and attract new visitors. It will be interesting to see how the campaigns role in consolidating and promoting the streets retail through the crisis will develop.

These streets, can be seen as bearing the brunt of capitalist crisis, they suffer from a lack of investment, both private and public, they are finding it difficult to find a role amongst changing flows of capital and with any prosperity the residents can expect to face gentrification. But because they are so undervalued by capitalism there is a greater possibility for experimentation and participation in finding new uses and new initiatives that may increase the streets resilience.

5. Ever Changing Retail

Aside from the crisis there are great pressures on retail and shifts in the structure of retail. The internet is playing a major role in changing the retail market. It is making much retail space redundant, as people shop from home. The increase in lower order uses and the increase in food and drinks services is filling some of these vacancies. But there may still be a functional blight and if this cannot be filled by changes into housing and office use, due to saturation or their location it will be interesting to see what cities do with this redundant space. The slack of industrial properties in many cities is still being dealt with and the lack of economic motives has

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allowed for some innovative uses free from commercial pressures, and such uses within retail centres could make for interesting attractions, helping to sustain the urban life lost previously.

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Appendices

Map Notes

The vacancy data for maps: 2, 3, 4 and 8 was collected on location in Copenhagen during March 2013 and in Dublin during August 2013. The vacancy data for map 6 was taken from an ongoing project by Eoin O'Mahony and Stephen Rigney to map vacant and derelict sites.

Attempted Interviews

Copenhagen*	Dublin
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anders Lund Hansen- Department of Human Geography, University of Lund • Ayfer Baykal- Mayor of Technical and Environment Department, Copenhagen • Danish Business Association • Danish Property Federation • Danske Bank • Hausenberg- Social and Cultural Research Consultancy, with a focus on the Urban • Jan Lilliendahl Larsen- Political Urbanist • John Pløger- Lecturer, Roskilde University, Department of Environmental, Social and Spatial Change • Karin Storgaard- Danish People's Party • Peter Mortensen- Professor of Law, University of Copenhagen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An Bord Pleanála- Irish Independent Planning Authority • Daft.ie- Property Website • Dublin Institute of Technology- Retail and Services Management Department • Irish Small and Medium Enterprise Association
<p>*As Copenhagen was the first case to be examined, there is a larger amount of attempted interviews, the successful ones helped frame my research in Dublin, focusing my attempts.</p>	

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Interview Table Copenhagen

Name	Role	Base/Project	Organisation	Department
Politicians				
Bo Normander	City Councillor	Copenhagen Commune	The Radical Left	Technical and Environmental Committee
Jacob Næsager	City Councillor	Copenhagen Commune	Conservatives	Technical and Environmental Committee
Pernille Gaarde Bendix	City Councillor	Copenhagen Commune	Socialist Peoples Party	Technical and Environmental Committee
Lars Berg Dueholm	City Councillor	Copenhagen Commune	Liberals	Technical and Environmental Committee
Lars Weiss	City Councillor	Copenhagen Commune	Social Democratic Party	Technical and Environmental Committee
Morten Kabell	City Councillor	Copenhagen Commune	Red-Green Alliance	Technical and Environmental Committee
City Officials				
Shahriar Shams Ili	Business Consultant	Copenhagen Commune		Business Development
Mads Laursen	Urban Planner	Copenhagen Commune		Economic Department
Kenneth Horst Hansen	Urban Planner	Copenhagen Commune		Economic Department
Academics				
Hans Thor Andersen	Head of Research	Aalborg University	Danish Building Research Institute	
Industry Reps.				
Helle Lindhardt	Partner	Lund and Lindhardt-Commercial Intermediaries		Property Consultant
Per Nyborg	Administrative Director	Institute for Centre Planning		
Rita Justesen	Director of Planning and Architecture	City and Port		Planning and Architecture
Project Workers				
Erik Schröder	Director	Liv I Ruden- Life in The Window	Multitaske	
Jesper Koefoed-Melson	Partner	Giv Rum- Give room	Givrum.nu	

Interview Table Dublin

Name	Role	Base/Project	Organisation	Department
Politicians				
Cieran Perry	City Councillor	Dublin Central	Independent	Housing Committee
Andrew Montague	City Councillor	Dublin North-West	Labour Party	Committee on Planning & Economic Development
Ruairi McGinley	City Councillor	Crumlin/Kimmage	Fine Gael	Committee on Planning & Economic Development
Paul McAuliffe	City Councillor	Finglas/Ballymun	Fianna Fáil	Committee on Planning & Economic Development
Criona Ní Dhálaigh	City Councillor	South-West Inner City	Sinn Féin	Committee on Planning & Economic Development
City Officials				
Kieran Rose	Senior Planner	Dublin City Council		Economic Development Unit
Jim Doyle	Arts Officer	Dublin City Council		The Arts Office
Academics				
	Lecturer	University College Dublin		Planning and Environment Policy
Cian O'Callaghan	Post-doctoral Fellow	National University of Ireland, Maynooth		National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis
Industry Reps				
Gerard Farrell	Operations Manager		Business Improvement District- Dublin	
Killian O'Higgins	Chartered Surveyor		Save Thomas Street	
Stephen Coyne	Town Planner		Save Thomas Street	
Project Workers				
Maira Murphy	Campaigner	Unlock Smithfield	Unlock NAMA	
Mick Byrne	Campaigner	Unlock Smithfield	Unlock NAMA	
Louise Marlborough	Director and Co-founder		PrettyvacanT Dublin	

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Interview Prompts

Political Actor

Background?

Is there vacancy?

Where?

Why?

Regarding vacancy...

What does the city do?

What could the city do?

Relationship with civil servants?

What do politicians do?

What could they do?

What does the business community do?

What could they do?

What do property owners do?

What could they do?

Do you know of any initiative or actors regarding vacancy?

Would your constituents have raised the issue?

How would you react to...

Interim use

Higher/lower taxes

Max vacancy periods

Stipulations on development

Refurbishment grants etc

Is there a legacy remaining from the Denmark's last property crash?

Is there anyone else you suggest I talk to?

Project Based Actor Prompt

Your background?

What is the project?

How has the reaction been?

What is the future of the project?

Is there vacancy?

Where?

Why?

Regarding vacancy...

What does the city do?

What could the city do?

What do politicians do?

What could they do?

What does the business community do?

What could they do?

What do property owners do?

What could they do?

How would you react to...

Interim use

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Higher/lower taxes

Max vacancy periods

Stipulations on development

Refurbishment grants etc

Do you know of any initiative or actors regarding vacancy?

Is there a legacy remaining from the Denmark's last property crash?

Is there anyone else you suggest I talk to?

Third Party Actor prompt

Background?

Is there vacancy?

Where?

Why?

Regarding vacancy...

What does the city do?

What could the city do?

What do politicians do?

What could they do?

What does the business community do?

What could they do?

What do property owners do?

What could they do?

How would you react to...

Interim use

Higher/lower taxes

Max vacancy periods

Stipulations on development

Refurbishment grants etc

Do you know of any initiative or actors regarding vacancy?

Is there a legacy remaining from the Denmark's last property crash?

Is there anyone else you suggest I talk to?

**Liam Duffy,
91 Crestwood
Galway**

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Mobile: +353860535847
E mail: Lmtduffy@gmail.com

Education

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 2011-2013 | 4Cities, UNICA Euromaster in Urban Studies
Université Libre de Bruxelles Vrije
Universiteit Brussel University of
Vienna University of Copenhagen
Universidad Complutens de Madrid
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid |
| 2007-2011 | Public and Social Policy- International BA
National University of Ireland, Galway University and
University of Helsinki
Second class honours |
| 2006 – 2007 | Applied Social Studies- Post Leaving Certificate Course
Galway Technical Institute
10 Distinctions and 3 Merits |
| 2000 – 2006 | Secondary Level- Leaving Certificate
St. Mary's College
Galway |

Erklärung

Hiermit versichere ich,

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

Wien, 14/09/2013

Liam Duffy