Basic Patterns of Sustainability

Reports from the Superbs project
9. Managing housing policy during an economic decline

Hällefors’ Housing Policy and Housing Situation

Gunnar Persson and Anders Bro

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9.1 A new housing administration, demolition of houses

9.1.1 From foundation to housing corporation

There was a great lack of housing in the one-industry municipality of Hällefors during the 1940s. After having built a Housing Cooperative Society in 1948, thoughts of a housing foundation where the community would be able to affect construction and design began to take form. On December 18, 1948, the local parliament and the local municipal council decided to establish a municipal housing foundation. A foundation was also established in Grythyttan (Stiftelsen Bostadshus) (Centre for Housing Foundation) which joined the Hällefors foundation on January 1, 1967 at the same time as the two municipalities became one.

At the end of the 1950s, SKF decided to employ 450 people and because of the great influx of labour to SKF, the Foundation for Community Housing was established in 1962 headed by SKF. The first housing area for the municipal foundation in Hällefors was Klockaren built from 1952-54. In 1968 the two foundations merged and the newly appointed municipal council head, Ingemar Konradsson, became the chairperson. The foundation and then later, the Hällefors Bostadsbolag (Hällefors Housing, Inc), basically have a monopoly on the housing rental market in Hällefors.

In 1991 the Foundation was changed to a joint-stock company owned by the municipality, and the newly appointed Managing Director, Lennart Ljungberg, was given the assignment of presenting the owner (the municipality) with a structural plan for ending company losses, and with budgets as well as annual statements for 1992 and 1993. The new company’s first committee meeting was held on August 28, 1991 with Peter Öhman as the chairperson.

9.1.2 Facing empty apartments and social unrest - the structural plan

The first owner directive was to immediately establish a structural plan for the company. According to the Managing Director’s report in January of 1992, the company had approximately 250 empty apartments (out of approximately 1755 existing apartments at the time of the company’s incorporation) and due to the large number of people moving away (approximately 150 people per year during 1991 and 1992) and the advanced age of apartment...
renters (46% over the age of 60 and approximately 13% over the age of 80 in February 1992), the situation was quite serious. According to the prognosis, company losses during 1992 would be approximately 8.5 million SEK if nothing was done and done in a hurry.

According to the Managing Director it was necessary to quickly consolidate the area in order to enable demolition of some of the buildings or alternatively put them in storage mode in order to bring down operating expenses. There were several strategies at work at the same time in the municipality. An attempt was made to make Hällefors better known in Sweden. Educational institutions would have a spin-off effect and new small design companies would arise.

There were also other motives for starting a renewal project in housing areas. Even before the apartments began to empty, there were many problems regarding housing inventory which were further accentuated when opportunities for choice of housing increased. The problems were mostly social problems but there were also technical problems. Some areas were in need of refurbishing. A Klockarskogen resident tells how the area fell into disrepute and in the end, a person didn’t dare admit to living there. Problem families were moved in and out of the area and there was a “commotion beyond comparison”.

As early as February 1992, the structural plan was already underway and the work was presented to the municipal executive board. The company board said that they were in the midst of a whole new company culture which hadn’t reached completion. The board complained that all assets and debts hadn’t yet been transferred and that this made the work more difficult. In addition they asked for planning time to make the budget since” the Housing Foundation had never had a budget in the real sense of the word”. Other changes included giving contracts to technical personnel as entrepreneurs thus actualising an organisational change in the company.

The structural plan shows how dramatic the economic rental losses were: close to 7 million SEK or 700,000 USD (Table 9.2).

The rise in rental losses in the third quarter can be explained partly by an increase in rental prices which shows how sensitive the market was. Furthermore, the board drew the conclusion that the company would be out of business within a few months if the accumulated losses were not brought to a halt. Responsible speakers for the company admitted: “At the moment, we are living on liquid assets”. If the first month’s rental losses were to be calculated in advance for the year, the annual losses for 1992 would be nearly 9 million SEK. In the board’s estimation there were approximately 140-150 permanently superfluous apartments which quickly needed to be torn down. At the time, Hällefors had, according to the local employment exchange, 409 strictly unemployed, 115 part-time unemployed, 353 in unemployment programmes and 107 lay-offs - a total of 983 people.

Based on that the board assessed the employment crisis in Hällefors as not primarily a recessional crisis but a structural crisis. A general national economic boom would not help since the belief was that people would move out in even greater numbers if there was work to be had elsewhere. It was possible that the number of empty apartments might stabilise in 1992 only to increase once again in 1993 and 1994 with perhaps up to 300 more un-rented apartments. That would mean that approximately 550 of the company’s 1755 apartments (nearly a third) risked standing empty within the next few years.

### Table 9.1 Real estate development in Hällefors Housing, Inc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighbourhood</th>
<th>No of apartments at the beginning of (year of construction, 19-)</th>
<th>1992</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>1998</th>
<th>1999</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hemgården, 34, 58</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Klockaren, 52, 54</td>
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<td>151</td>
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<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abborren, 58</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nötskrikian, 58</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Trasten, 60</td>
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<td>124</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hackspetten, 60</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<tr>
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<td>154</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prosten, 63</td>
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<td>253</td>
<td>118</td>
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<td>118</td>
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<td>Sädesärlan, 67</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Diakonen, 70, 71</td>
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<td>Klockarskogen, 72, 75</td>
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<td>219</td>
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<td>Old Age Home Hällefors, 80</td>
<td></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Millesparken Hospital,</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grythyttan</td>
<td></td>
<td>204</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1 756</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 638</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 391</strong></td>
<td><strong>1 331</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Change</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>-120</td>
<td>-247</td>
<td>-60</td>
<td>-60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9.2. Economic losses in the housing company in 1992

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time period 1992</th>
<th>Losses in SEK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st quarter</td>
<td>1.058,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd quarter</td>
<td>1.504,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd quarter</td>
<td>2.100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th quarter</td>
<td>2.335,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total 1992</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.997,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. MANAGING HOUSING POLICY DURING AN ECONOMIC DECLINE

56 empty apartments. This required terminating rental contracts as early as March 1, 1992 and offering each of the tenants other apartments owned by the Housing Corporation. The politically elected board was unanimous regarding this work despite a hard and at times rather inflammatory debate in Hällefors at the time. MD Lennart Ljungberg had no problem winning the board over to this approach. Opposition to Ljungberg came partly over the question of timing - Hällefors was one of the first of the crisis municipalities to analyse its situation in this way - and partly because the local political situation was unstable at times. The once dominant Social Democratic Party - Hällefors was for many years one of the greatest strongholds for Social Democracy in the country - had been challenged locally by both the Leftist Party and the Environmental Party.

An important source of inspiration was Holstebro in Denmark. Leading representatives for the housing corporation visited Holstebro and decided to invest in a similar way. There is a Holstebro story about how the newly chosen municipal director travelled to Paris and bought art there for a large sum of money. This unleashed a lot of criticism that captured attention nationwide. The result, however, was that this municipality became famous for choosing to invest in the important things that no one had previously dared to do.

Another event that gave an unexpected boost to the company’s budget was the immigrant situation. The residential area called Prästbacken which bordered on Diakonen and consisted of modernist buildings shaped in the form of a banana was the first to be seized upon. The area was sold by the company to the municipality and due to a heavy stream of immigrants in the beginning of the 1990s the apartments could be rented out as immigrant residences which contributed, with the “help of bookkeeping regulations, approximately 7 million SEK”. By renting out Prosten as a refugee camp to the Department of Immigration before beginning to tear down parts of it, the municipality could move the area out of the commonly used system of negotiations.

In the middle of this process the company changed directors and the new director Assar Granström led the work of tearing down over 400 apartments during the period 1992-1998. The housing company established a policy document in 1994 which included a number of fixed points detailed below.

9.1.4 Residents of the future

The function and aesthetic formation which this residential area has today is imprinted by industrial society. This shall be changed in order to adapt to the needs of the future.

Give Renting Higher Status. If a person pays 40 - 50,000 SEK per year for an apartment, that person should be able to demand more than a roof over their head but also, for example, discount offers, a complete, clean and beautiful environment and service expanded to meet the needs of the individual.

Aesthetic Improvements. The company will offer environments that stimulate the imagination and creativity. Aside from park paraphernalia, artistic ornamentation in residential areas should become a hallmark.

Children’s Needs. Children’s needs and their development will be given particular consideration in playground environments. All residential areas will include a neighbourhood playground for smaller children.

Privacy and Security. Maximum residential security will be sought after. Disorderly renters will be evicted and housing security, which will act against disturbances, will be on call at night and on the weekends. Intercom systems will be installed in all building entrances.

Goal Oriented Residency Forms. The future will see an increase in the demand for goal-oriented forms of residency such as old folk’s homes, group residences, special residences for customers in the higher middle aged group, and perhaps also for youth.

Long Distance Work - the Work Environment of the Future. The company will show interest in and follow developments regarding work environments of the future. Long distance work will increase and places suited to such work ought to exist in the residential areas.

Different Standards and Apartment-Based Solutions. It can be said that most apartments follow similar standards. The resident of the future will have a greater demand for differences than similarities. Therefore the company ought to renovate a number of current apartments as well as be able to offer ‘cheaper’ areas where maintenance is less costly.

Environmentally Friendly Thinking in Agreement with the Life Cycle. The entire company will strive to achieve an environmentally friendly way of thinking that is in agreement with the life cycle and actively work with the Ecology Programme that has been laid out.

This policy document is still valid according to Laila Norén, Housing Corporation, but some points have not been carried out or have been toned down such as offering ‘cheaper areas’.

Figure 9.1 One of the 23 works of art. in the Polstjärnas residential area. (photo: Aulis Syväjärvi, Multimediafabriken Grythyttan)
9.2 REBUILDING THE AREAS

9.2.1 Demolition and renovation

The major investment was carried out primarily in the four areas which in the future would be called Polstjärnan, Millesparken and then later, Mästarnas Park as well as Prosten. The greatest change in Prosten was that four of the eight buildings were torn down. Strict rules meant that disorderly residents were to leave the area, a measure that was quite popular among most of the residents.

The housing transformation that occurred in Hällefors from 1992 - 1999 in the form of demolition as well as renovation, complemented by conventional investment in outdoors areas, occurred primarily in three areas:

- Diakonen which changed its name to Polstjärnan,
- Klockarskogen which became Millesparken,
- Klockaren which became Mästarnas Park.

9.2.2 Rebuilding Diakonen/Polstjärnan

The residential area of Diakonen was built in 1970-71. It consisted then of 16 two story buildings with gables closely juxtaposed in two parallel rows containing a total of 186 apartments. The intention at that time was to create a ‘modern foundry street’ (Polstjärnan a Residential Area in Transformation, Hällefors Housing, Inc.). The area was a traditional example of the Environmental Programme and never won the heart of the local population. When the housing surplus became evident in Hällefors, Diakonen was one of the hardest hit areas in terms of unrented apartments.

The area is being changed now with an emphasis on the outer environment. First, four buildings were torn down and then three buildings were transformed from residential use to use for administration and education, primarily for Hällefors Housing Corporation’s own activities. One building was rebuilt to combine studios and residential spaces. Large areas of asphalt were replaced with green areas, flowers, fountains, etc. The outer facings were ornamented and given a totally new colour composition. Eleven artists, some with a national reputation, are represented in the area with 23 works of art. Sweden’s best known potters contributed to ornamentation of the gables.

A totally new lighting system was set up in the area where all lampposts were removed and replaced with low-set lighting according to artistic principles. One goal was that the starry night sky would be more visible when conditions were clear. Several works of art were connected to that theme including “The Universe”, which is a starry globe situated on the highest rise, deriving its movements from a computer programme.

The work commenced in 1994/95 and the area was inaugurated in the fall of 1997. Investments reached up to 10 million SEK for work on the grounds, 6 million SEK for the buildings and 2 million SEK for the artwork.

9.2.3 Rebuilding Klockarskogen/Millesparken

Klockarskogen is the newest residential area of those built by the municipal housing company - it was built from 1972-75. The area consisted of courtyards bordered on four sides by buildings with a total of 24 two storey buildings containing 219 apartments. Half of these were empty in 1991. Five buildings in the area were torn down. Work began first with the outer environment. A new residential care centre for the elderly was built by joining four buildings which created 49 care units. One of the residential buildings was rebuilt into a space for the municipal social welfare services administrative work. In addition, two buildings were joined to create a home for seniors (over 55 years). The remaining 12 buildings were equipped for planned maintenance. A separate laundry facility was rebuilt to make room for three office spaces.

The work commenced in 1992 and the analysis of how the new residential area should be formed is a thorough one. A study was made of “possibly the first residence for the benefit of everyone, the 20,000 year old caves in Combeed’Ark in France” and the remarkable Bronze Age rock-carvings from the historical areas in Tanum (West Sweden).

A study was also made of how people with higher status arrange their residences. One important motive behind, for example, large parks, baroque parks, etc., was assumed to be that a person who subdued nature was powerful. From this comes the idea that parade parks or promenades were a way to increase status locally. In addition, Managing Director Lennart Ljungberg says:

[Figure 9.2 Map of the residential area Diakonen before it was reconstruction into Polstjärnan. Buildings 4.5, 4.7, 4.12, and 4.14 were later demolished.]
“The human instinct to give one’s children the best possible opportunities in life were among the subjects we discussed. We also made deeper studies of the knowledge that research offers us concerning the flocking instinct in humans and the human need to be seen and respected in the social community as well as the way we strive to understand the abstract feelings, desires, faith and the future.”

This leads to a desire to invest in the public arena, in opportunities for children to play, in artistic ornamentation and in security.

Eight artists contributed to the artistic ornamentation including Carl Milles with his works of art entitled “God’s Hand” (1952-54), “Angel with Clarinet” (1949-51), “Beethoven” (details from the Orpheus Fountain, Concert Hall, Stockholm, 1926-36), and the “Europe Head” (1921-26).

Figure 9.3 The fountain in the centre of the residential area Milles Park. (photo: Aulis Syväjärvi, Multimediafabriken Grythyttan AB.)

Figure 9.4 Maps before and after the residential area Klockarskogen was rebuilt into Millesparken.
9. Managing Housing Policy during an Economic Decline

The municipality in its vision for the transformation of the town focus on the development of the area along a straight line between the residential areas in Alvastra and Klockarskogen. This region has been turned into a beautiful park. The emphasis on beauty is intentional. Humans have long had a need for orchards and herbal gardens not only for the sake of production but also for their aesthetic value.

The new area was inaugurated in August of 1995. The investments made were as high as 20 million SEK for construction and the outdoor environment, including the Home for the Elderly (Servicehus Millesparken), Fyrklövern, 26 million SEK, Municipal Social Services, 2.5 million SEK, stairway art, 0.5 million SEK, as well as the Milles’ statues for approximately 1.8 million SEK.

9.2.4 Rebuilding Klockaren/Mästarnas Park

The neighbourhood called Klockaren is situated centrally in Hällefors directly north of the downtown area. The area was built in 1951 with 151 apartments. Some of the buildings here were also torn down. A small park with a pond filled with lily pads and the artist Hasselberg’s “Toad”, was laid out between the buildings. The idea behind Mästarnas Park was that there would be sculptures by deceased Swedish Master Artists there. Sergel, Bror Hjort, Arne Jones, Eric Gate and so on are represented. The company procured a copy of Jones’ “Cathedral” made in aluminium. Two exhibition apartments in the area were equipped in the style of the 1950s, one as a worker’s home and one as the home of a civil servant.

The work was completed during the fall of 1999. 13.5 million SEK was invested in construction (sewage etc repairs, facing, etc.), 7 million SEK for grounds ornamentation, and 1.6 million SEK for art. The intention is that during the year 2000 the area will be one of the major features for the festival called the “50s Week”.

9.2.5 Environmental awards

For these efforts, the Hällefors Housing, Inc. won the 1999 SABO Environmental Award. It was written in the adjudication that art was included in the efforts to an extent that was unique, that Hällefors Housing, Inc. had succeeded in the difficult task of changing negative attitudes about a residential area by investing in the outer environment in an unexpected way. These efforts had created a clearly defined identity for the area which gave the residents a sense of self-esteem and pride about living there.

Transformation from a sense of inferiority to one of pride is a large step towards development in the right direction. Security and experience have been important issues in these efforts. It has also been important to create and find places where youth want to spend their time which was also a successful effort. The company demonstrates the importance of people as a driving force not only out in the field but in leadership positions as well. Their work with transforming housing areas continues, area by area.

Planning for change includes, above and beyond company leadership and renters, a new way of looking at children. Children are represented by children. The company’s work with the outdoor environment is unique and a good example for many housing companies, not least of all smaller companies in areas with declining populations. They have shown that it is possible to turn a hopelessly negative trend into something positive (excerpt from the adjudication).

Hällefos won SKTF’s “Most Outstanding” award within the area of culture. The adjudication stated that:

“...In Hällefos, culture creates faith in the future. That culture reinforces and equips both the individual as well as groups in society is something that is taken to heart and acted upon. The School of Culture is a resource for the municipality’s inhabitants and one of the goals is to give all students the opportunity to try out different forms of cultural expression.

To be able to offer residential environments which stimulate the imagination as well as creativity is exciting and praiseworthy. Likewise with regards to equipping the parks in Hällefos with artistic ornamentation which has garnered much acclaim. We await with baited breath the work of founding a national museum for the culinary arts. In Hällefos - the most outstanding municipality for the year 2000, the politicians have the courage to adhere to the cultural values that permeate all of society.”
9. MANAGING HOUSING POLICY DURING AN ECONOMIC DECLINE

9.2.6 The pros and cons of investing in housing

The fast and extensive turn-about was not free of pain. Many people were forced to move, the housing company was stricter towards renters seen to be failing to take proper care of their homes. The municipality invested, as an owner, capital in the company. A large investment in artwork and the outdoor environment was made which was seen by many as unnecessary. Even the process itself was seen by many in a critical light as being too fast, undemocratic and steered from the top down.

For Managing Director Lennart Ljungberg personally, it was a jolting experience. His life was threatened periodically and he was outfitted with a bullet proof vest and personal alarm. Housing company employees experienced constant threats. (Interview with Lennart Ljungberg 1998).

This period of great change tripped off an extensive local debate carried on at times with harsh words. Many were, however, in agreement that the major problem was a decreasing population which resulted in empty apartments.

“There has, as I have seen it, been a unified agreement spanning the entire political spectrum when it comes to analysing the problem.” (Interview with the group leader of the Liberal Party on the town council)

On the other hand, the question of which measures should be taken tripped off a huge debate. Part of the town council, especially the Conservative Party (in Swedish: Moderata Samlingspartiet), wanted to try selling to interested real estate companies but did not receive support from either the Social Democrats or the other right wing parties. Some saw the artistic ornamentation as being part of Lennart Ljungbergs’ own ambitions to create something of lasting value.

The opinion of many people was that investing in art, above all the more costly statues, was unnecessary. The local leader of the Liberal Party also expressed his surprise over how renters could agree with the proposals and when he showed the area to his friends and delegate groups from other parts of the country there was an uproar over how such a poor little municipality could have “anything like that”.

“I know that there has been a lot of fuss made throughout this journey about the sculptures/artwork and that it has cost a lot. At the inauguration it was said that too much money was spent on them. This is still going around but is beginning to fade.” (Interview with a civil servant.)

In the nearby private residential area in Klockarskogen/ Millesparken the criticism was quite hard at first. People argued that children could drown in the pools of water, that it was wrong for taxpayers to pay for works of art, that there was an unnecessary excess of trees etc. (Interview with a woman living in Millesparken). Despite this she also felt that the renters could pay for the sculptures themselves (18.50 SEK per month = approx. 2 USD). When the number of trees was under question one of the renters went around the private residential area and counted the trees. He found that home owners had on the average 3.8 trees per residence while renters had 1 tree per residence after reconstruction. This caused the criticism to quickly die down. One of the renters tells the story:

“Many people probably think that he (the Managing Director, our addition) put money into too many statues and pieces of art instead of renovating the apartments from the inside. There are probably a lot of apartments that need renovating from the inside, too. Up until now, he has only done interior renovations at Klockaren and then they’ll continue at Lärkan on Gillersvägen. …What you hear a lot of is that they could very well have done more interior renovations and not spent so much on the exterior.”

The opinion of others is that the area has increased in appeal but that that isn’t worth the money, and the value of field trips and so on is overrated. After a periodically hard debate the debate climate settled and the changes were successively accepted on a wider scale.

“Now, afterwards, with hindsight we can say that it is reasonable to conclude that other areas with similar problems could not count on an increase in population… We can’t state, and still be believed, that Hällefors will experience an expansion in population.” (Interview with the local liberal party leader of the town council).

9.3 THE SUSTAINABILITY DIMENSION

9.3.1 How can restructuring be understood from the perspective of sustainability?

When we discuss the results of housing investments from the perspective of sustainability it is primarily a matter of economic and social sustainability i.e. to stop population migration and to create socially stable housing areas. However, an ambitious effort to think ecologically was made during the demolition and reconstruction phase. The demolition work in Hällefors was one of the first so-called ecological demolitions where efforts were made to sort and recycle building material and housing sections. The demolition work which is based on life cycle thinking, resulted
in a step forward for the local building and construction market since many bought housing sections at cheap prices in order to upgrade houses, summer cabins, etc. Despite a plentiful supply of construction products, the local dealers of construction materials also found that there were advantages to the situation, as there was a complementary demand for articles such as nails, paint, etc.

This large investment was however primarily an effort to attain social and economic sustainability. Economic sustainability was acutely threatened by a large proportion of empty apartments which also threatened social sustainability in the housing company’s areas and in the entire municipality. The following questions can therefore be posed as a way of measuring the results of these efforts:

- Did this effort contribute to stemming the decrease in population in Hällefors?
- Did this effort contribute to the restoration of the housing company’s economic standing?
- Was there a decrease in renter turnover rates and was renter well-being increased?
- Did this effort contribute to an increase in people moving to Hällefors?

A further priority is to describe the character of these sustainability efforts based on our theoretical points of departure. Many people in Hällefors still have values connected to the aspect of foundry mentality that expresses suspicion about large changes whilst some of the housing company’s work for change was distinctly innovative. There is however, a measure of conservatism to be found in the housing company’s work for change, particularly in the relationship between renters and the company. Municipal rental apartments and apartment block residency were never questioned in terms of basic underlying assumptions.

Policy with regard to economic sustainability has been focused on achieving economic survival i.e. that costs do not exceed income in the long run. Given this measuring stick, the demolition work was a necessary measure in the short run in order to stop the leak from un-rented apartments. With regard to social sustainability, there has been the attempt to achieve two goals: the first is that the residential areas should be enjoyed to the extent that people continue living there, and the other is that living in the area should confer a certain social status so that the community develops instead of falls apart. With regard to ecological sustainability, the physical and social structures (ways of life) of the residential areas should be such that environmental destruction is minimised, and the life cycle is maintained and created and becomes sustainable over the long term.

Should the perspective of time serve as a point of departure, it is clear that first economic, then social and third ecological sustainability were considered in the quest for long term sustainability for Hällefors and the Hällefors housing inventory for the period which we have studied (primarily the 1990s). Sustainable housing policy for Hällefors has therefore concentrated on consolidating the company economically and socially and over the long term to a certain degree, ecologically. This does not mean that the ecological goal ought to be seen as less important, but it was the first two which were seen as the most immediate threat to housing inventory survival in the Hällefors area.

### 9.3.2 Evaluating the sustainability effect of the changes

In what way then has sustainability increased in Hällefors subsequent to the measures taken? The following measuring sticks for success or setbacks can be measured:

- Are people remaining in the housing company’s area in Hällefors or are people moving away?
- What does migration from and immigration to Hällefors (population centre) and Hällefors municipality look like?

With housing for 1992 as a departure point and an assumption that no demolition or reconstruction occurred after 1992, the number of apartments that would have been empty is shown in Table 9.3a and 9.3b.

The sums in the table are hypothetical but are still an indication of what could have happened if only renovations without demolition had taken place. If the company had not done anything, one can assume that migration would have been even higher assuming that renovations had a positive value. As well, this hypothetical way of reasoning does not consider the company’s ability to renovate which would have been significantly more difficult economically with a larger inventory.

Thus a retrospective conclusion would be that Hällefors Housing, Inc. would probably have had 500 - 600 empty apartments instead of approximately 140 in 1999 if demolitions had not been carried out. Another conclusion is that the number of unrented apartments would have continued to be relatively high despite demolition and reconstruction work which is an indication that the situation has not in any way stabilized. Tendencies toward more unrented apartments still exist.

It is also possible to ascertain that the population of Hällefors decreased by an additional approximately 180 residents during 1999. The powers at play resulting in

### Table 9.3a Number of empty apartments 1990-99 (Source: Laila Norén, 1999, Hällefors Housing, Inc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Hällefors</th>
<th>Gryt- hyttan</th>
<th>Total empty</th>
<th>Total apt</th>
<th>% empty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>1391</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1331</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9.3b Percentage of empty apartments if no demolition or reconstruction had occurred after 1992.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Apt</th>
<th>Empty + apts</th>
<th>Per Cent of 1992 Inventory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>90 + 118</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>147 + 365</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>137 + 425</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. MANAGING HOUSING POLICY DURING AN ECONOMIC DECLINE

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