

## Werk

**Titel:** Managing and marketing of urban development and urban life

**Untertitel:** proceedings of the IGU-Commission on "Urban Development and Urban Life", Berlin, August 15 to 20, 1994

**Jahr:** 1994

**Kollektion:** fid.geo

**Signatur:** XX

**Digitalisiert:** Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

**Werk Id:** PPN1030505985

**PURL:** <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN1030505985>

**OPAC:** <http://opac.sub.uni-goettingen.de/DB=1/PPN?PPN=1030505985>

**LOG Id:** LOG\_0136

**LOG Titel:** Why was the central city population stabilized? The case of Copenhagen

**LOG Typ:** article

## Übergeordnetes Werk

**Werk Id:** PPN1030494754

**PURL:** <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN1030494754>

**OPAC:** <http://opac.sub.uni-goettingen.de/DB=1/PPN?PPN=1030494754>

## Terms and Conditions

The Goettingen State and University Library provides access to digitized documents strictly for noncommercial educational, research and private purposes and makes no warranty with regard to their use for other purposes. Some of our collections are protected by copyright. Publication and/or broadcast in any form (including electronic) requires prior written permission from the Goettingen State- and University Library.

Each copy of any part of this document must contain these Terms and Conditions. With the usage of the library's online system to access or download a digitized document you accept the Terms and Conditions.

Reproductions of material on the web site may not be made for or donated to other repositories, nor may be further reproduced without written permission from the Goettingen State- and University Library.

For reproduction requests and permissions, please contact us. If citing materials, please give proper attribution of the source.

## Contact

Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen  
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1  
37073 Göttingen  
Germany  
Email: [gdz@sub.uni-goettingen.de](mailto:gdz@sub.uni-goettingen.de)

## WHY WAS THE CENTRAL CITY POPULATION STABILIZED? THE CASE OF COPENHAGEN

**Sven Illeris**  
**Roskilde University, Copenhagen, Denmark**

In the 1980s, a stabilisation in the number of people in the core has been observed in many West European cities. In the paper, the causes of this stabilisation in the case of Copenhagen are analyzed. The following factors are concluded to play a role: (1) An increased attraction of persons aged 20-34, some of whom are well-to-do ("gentrification"), but more are under education, "social losers", or international immigrants. (2) The thinning out of the old population of mid-age and elderly blue-collar workers and housewives has now proceeded so far that the "reservoir" has almost been emptied. (3) The building of new ownership housing in the periphery has - for a number of economic and legal reasons - been radically reduced, which has forced people to remain in the existing housing stock. (4) Urban renewal and house-building in derelict areas, on the other hand, has not played an important role. And (5) the hypothesis that the saving of energy costs should be a factor can be discarded.

Ever since urbanisation gained pace - in most European countries in the 19th century - and the growing population could not be contained in the older city cores, an intra-urban process of suburbanisation has taken place, in recent decades even developing into exurbanisation: Residences and inhabitants expanded centrifugally, while at the same time the population in the older, central parts of the cities declined. Firms and working places, on the other hand, remained much longer in the central parts of the cities. So massive centripetal commuting movements evolved. A main planning problem was to create sufficient traffic capacity to cope with these concentrated flows, especially in rush hours.

In the 1980s, there are indications that these processes have come to an end in many cities, and that new intra-urban structures emerge. In many cities, the suburbanisation of working places is reported to accelerate, giving rise to phenomena like "edge cities". On the other hand, the population living in the central parts of the cities seems to stabilize - a phenomenon which is documented for instance by BOURNE (1991) and by two major EU reports (DREWETT, KNIGHT & SCHUBERT 1992, and European Institute of Urban Affairs 1992).

Copenhagen is a case in which both of these new tendencies are observed, as witnessed by Table 1. In this table, the central or core communes of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg, which include the area up to 5 km's from the city centre, are compared to the rest of the metropolitan region, up to 50 km's from the city centre. (It should be noted that the working place data are not totally comparable from 1970 to 1982, but the main tendencies are certain enough).

Table 1 Place of living and working of the economically active population in the Copenhagen region, 1970-1991 (Thousand persons. In parenthesis: Share of region)

	Copenhagen + Frederiksberg communes		Rest of region		Copenhagen region total	
<b>Place of living</b>						
1970	361	(40)	534	(60)	895	(100)
1982	270	(30)	637	(70)	907	(100)
1991	256	(29)	638	(71)	894	(100)
<b>Place of working (1)</b>						
1970	476	(53)	429	(47)	905	(100)
1982	409	(44)	527	(56)	935	(100)
1991	353	(38)	573	(62)	926	(100)
<b>In-commuters (2)</b>						
1970	218	(53)	191	(47)	409	(100)
1982	229	(46)	275	(54)	503	(100)
1991	208	(37)	348	(63)	556	(100)

- (1) except persons with unknown or shifting places of work, but including in-commuters from outside the region.  
 (2) persons living and working in different communes.

Table 1 clearly shows that while in the 1970s suburbanisation of both dwellings and jobs of the active population took place - the former slightly stronger than the latter - the 1980s have been a decade of only decentralisation of working places, while the distribution of the (active) population according to place of living has stabilized. The ever increasing commuting movements naturally follow the places of work. So the planning problem is now one of much more diffuse commuting flows which are difficult for the public transport to capture.

In this paper, I shall focus only on the stabilisation of the central city population. The above-mentioned EU reports do not try to analyze the question of *why* this stabilisation has occurred. The purpose of this paper will be to discuss its causes, on the basis of the Copenhagen case. But first it will be necessary to describe the process in much more detail. Are the groups which nourished the out-migration from the central communes declining, are new groups coming in and stabilizing the number of inhabitants?

The region of Copenhagen (see Figures 1 and 2) will be subdivided into the following areas (1-3 form the core or central communes):

1. The Inner City: the historical centre and the 19th century multi-storey extensions (Østerbro, Nørrebro, Vesterbro and Amagerbro, in Tables 2 and 3 also Sundbyøster Nord).
2. The Outer Districts of the commune of Copenhagen, early 20th century mixed building areas.
3. The commune of Frederiksberg, an enclave in the commune of Copenhagen with higher standard residences.
4. The county of Copenhagen, a ring roughly 5-20 km's from the city centre.
5. The county of Frederiksborg, the northern periphery of the region.
6. The county of Roskilde, the western periphery of the region.

The evidence presented in this paper is exclusively taken from official statistics. These are good and reliable, compared to data in many countries, but it has not been possible to compare data on all characteristics of the population.

### Migration within the Copenhagen region

Table 2 shows the distribution of the total population of the region.

Table 2 Population in the Copenhagen region 1970-1993 (thousands)

Area	6.11.1970	1.1.1981	1.1.1993
Cop. comm., Inner City*	336	259	244
Cop. comm., Outer districts	287	235	223
Frederiksberg commune	102	88	87
Copenhagen county	615	625	604
Frederiksborg county	259	330	346
Roskilde county	153	203	221
Copenhagen region	1753	1740	1725

\* Including 2000-3000 persons with no fixed address

According to Table 2, the total population has stabilized in the 1980s in all parts of the central communes. At the same time, population growth has turned into decline in the suburban ring of the county of Copenhagen, and it has strongly decelerated in the peripheral counties.

Figure 1 Total Net Migration in the Copenhagen Region 1973-1992 (in thousands)

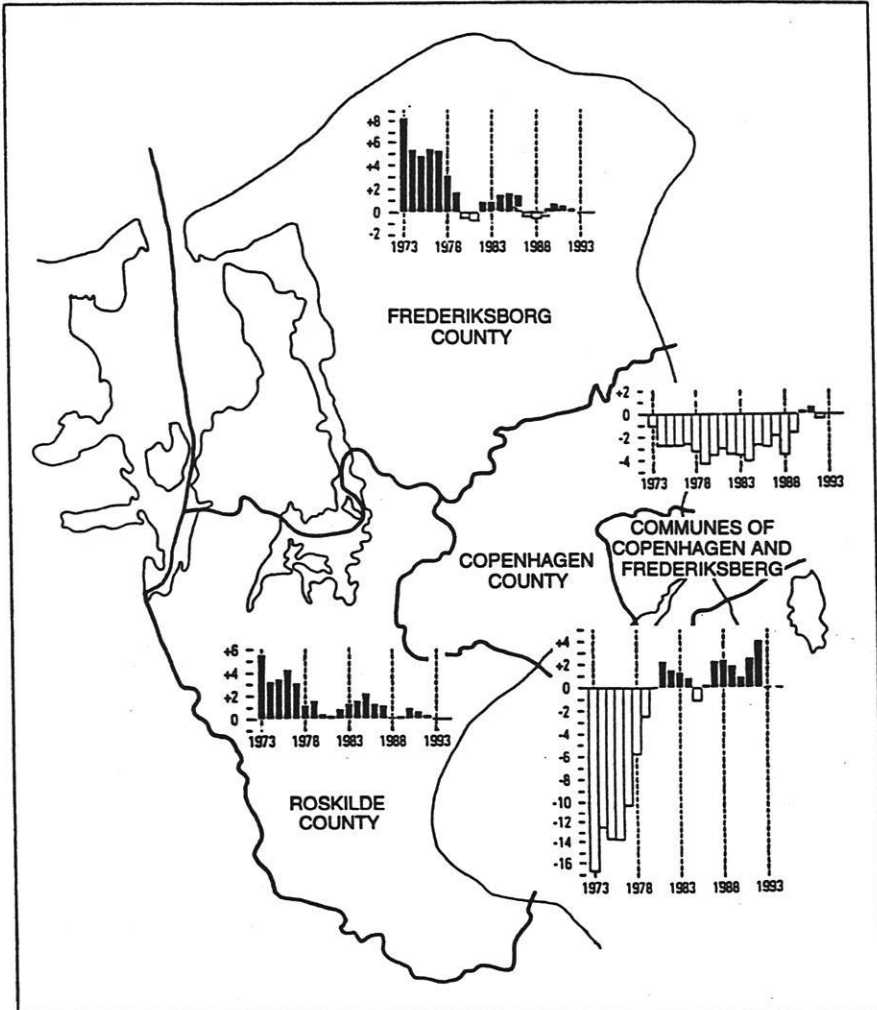
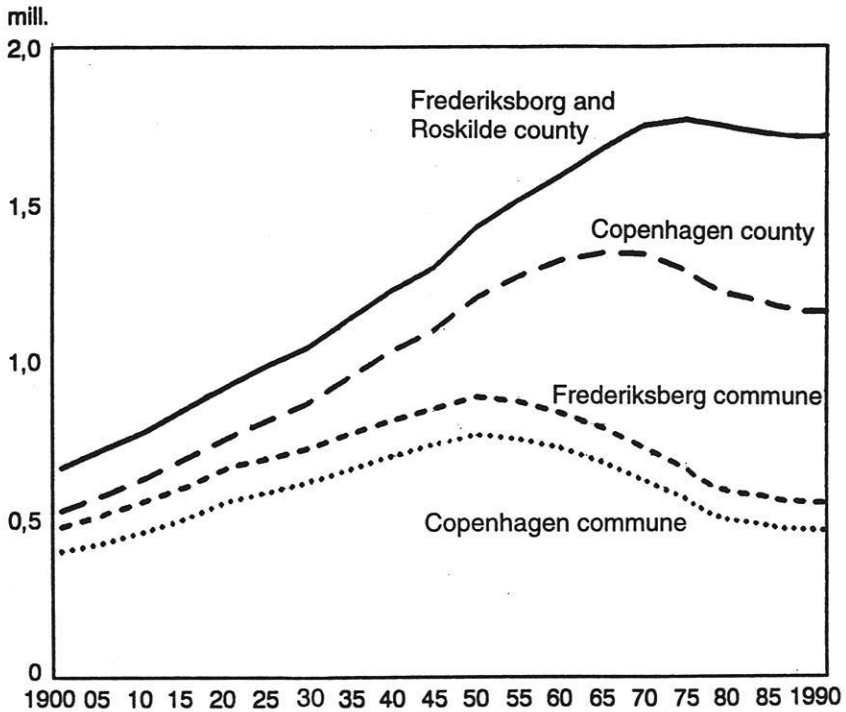


Figure 2 Population in the Copenhagen region 1901 - 1992



Source: Københavns kommune 1994

In Table 3, these total changes have been broken down to the components of internal (domestic) and international net migration and national growth in selected sub-periods. Figure 1 shows net migration each year since 1973.

As elsewhere, natural growth has influenced population change in the Copenhagen region. The birth surplus decreased in peripheral zones and the birth deficit increased in the core until the first half of the 1980s, then took a more positive direction. These developments happened in more or less parallel ways everywhere in the region, however. The cause of the difference between core and periphery is above all the different age structures.

The variations in population change between the various parts of the region are primarily due to the migration pattern.

The 1970s showed the traditional pattern (in Table 3 represented by the years 1976-78), with heavy net migration from the core, and to a small degree from the suburban ring, to the peripheral zones, though these flows had already started to decline. International migration only played a minor role.

Table 3 Population change and its components 1973-92 (annual rates per 1000 inhabitants)

Area	Internal migration					International migration				
	76-78	80-82	84-86	87-89	90-92	76-78	80-82	84-86	87-89	90-92
Cop. comm., Inner City*	-18.6	1.8	-0.2	3.9	1.9	0.8	0.1	3.7	0.9	3.5
Cop. comm., Outer distr.	-18.2	-0.7	-6.0	2.0	-1.3	1.0	0.1	1.0	1.0	2.3
Frederiksberg commune	-8.5	11.8	3.0	5.6	10.2	-0.5	-0.6	0.6	-0.2	2.6
Copenhagen county	-5.3	-5.0	-6.1	-4.2	-1.4	0.7	-0.4	0.9	0.3	1.7
Frederiksborg county	13.6	0.3	2.6	-1.7	0	1.1	-0.6	2.3	0.6	2.0
Roskilde county	13.2	3.2	6.7	1.8	1.4	1.7	-0.4	1.5	0.8	1.7
Copenhagen region	-3.9	-0.6	-1.5	-0.5	0.3	0.9	-0.3	1.6	0.6	2.1
Area	Natural growth					Total population change				
	76-78	80-82	84-86	87-89	90-92	76-78	80-82	84-86	87-89	90-92
Cop. comm., Inner City*	-11.2	-12.9	-12.0	-6.5	-5.2	-29.0	-11.0	-8.6	-1.7	0.2
Cop. comm., Outer distr.	-3.6	-4.6	-5.0	-5.6	-2.2	-20.8	-5.2	-10.0	-2.6	-1.1
Frederiksberg commune	-8.9	-10.7	-9.6	-9.0	-6.7	-17.9	0.5	-5.9	-3.7	6.0
Copenhagen county	4.1	1.3	0.2	0.6	1.3	-0.5	-4.0	-5.1	-3.3	1.7
Frederiksborg county	5.9	2.5	1.9	2.5	3.0	20.5	2.2	6.7	1.4	4.9
Roskilde county	5.9	2.7	1.9	2.8	3.6	20.7	5.6	10.2	5.4	6.7
Copenhagen region	0.5	-1.9	-2.3	-1.0	0.1	-2.6	-2.8	-2.2	-1.0	2.6

\* Including 2000-3000 persons with no fixed address

In the 1980s, a different pattern emerged. The migration pattern of the Inner City and especially the commune of Frederiksberg turned positive. This means that the two core communes from 1981 to 1991 received 8000 in-migrants net instead of losing 165,000, as they would have done had the 1973-75 tendency (not shown in the Table) continued. The balance of the Outer Districts of the commune of Copenhagen, on the other hand side, remained negative. The net migration into the peripheral counties of Frederiksborg and Roskilde decreased substantially. From 1981 to 1991 they received 110,000 fewer net migrants than they would have got, had the 1973-75 tendency continued. In the period 1984-86 and from 1990, international net migration contributed significantly to the total population change.

One might say that the outward growth wave and the thinning out behind it almost came to a stop about 1980 - though a small wave into the peripheral counties and some thinning out in the older suburban ring continued to operate. A completely new phenomenon was the net migration into the Inner City and the commune of Frederiksberg. In the case of the Inner City, it consisted partly of international immigration, primarily from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Pakistan and Morocco.

There are, however, fluctuations in the pattern of the last decade. The net flows from the suburban rings into the peripheral counties were strongest from 1983 to 86

(a boom period). They were considerably weaker in the early 1980s as well as in the early 90s (recession periods). The Copenhagen region had an improved migration balance against the rest of the country in the recession periods, and this has contributed to increased gains in the core communes and reduced losses in the county of Copenhagen in these periods.

### The demographic structure of the central communes

The analysis of the changing number of people is not enough to understand the causes of the stabilisation in the core communes. Even if the total population has stabilized, its composition still changes, and these processes must be investigated in order to perceive the total dynamics. Hence, first the changing demographic and, second, the socio-economic composition of the population must be mapped. The focus will be exclusively on the central communes, and in order to follow the processes of change, the 1960s will be included in the analysis.

Table 4 shows the particular age structure in the central communes. In order to eliminate the influence of baby booms (all over Denmark in the 1940s, 60s and 90s) and the low number of births in the 1930s, 70s and 80s, the age structure is compared to Denmark as a whole.

In central Copenhagen, there is a relative surplus of young people in the 20-24 age bracket, due to a net migration gain in the 15-24 age bracket. This surplus has gradually increased.

Table 4 Age distribution of population in core communes, 1960-93

Per cent of total	26.9.1960		1.1.1971		1.1.1980		1.1.1994	
	Cop. and Fr. berg	Den- mark	Cop. and Fr. berg	Den- mark	Cop. and Fr. berg	Den- mark	Cop. and Fr. berg	Den- mark
0-4	5.9	8.0	5.4	7.7	4.2	6.3	5.4	6.3
5-14	12.7	17.1	9.7	15.5	8.1	14.8	6.5	10.8
15-19	7.7	8.4	5.8	7.5	5.1	7.6	3.9	6.5
20-24	7.3	6.6	9.9	8.3	9.0	7.3	10.5	7.2
25-34	11.4	12.3	13.4	14.1	16.0	15.5	22.7	15.5
35-44	13.3	13.3	9.4	11.4	10.0	12.8	12.8	14.3
45-54	15.4	13.0	13.2	12.0	9.9	10.7	11.3	14.2
55-64	13.1	10.5	15.2	11.1	13.7	10.7	7.8	9.7
65+	13.1	10.6	18.0	12.4	23.9	14.3	19.1	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



There is also a relative surplus of persons over 65. It increased up to 1980, but has declined rather dramatically since then. The old generations die, and the age class is not fed by any in-migration.

On the other hand, there was in 1960 a relative deficit in the 25-39 age bracket (the parent generation) and among children, accompanied by net out-migration. After 1980, this deficit only exists among those over 35, while a huge surplus has developed in the 25-34 age bracket, and the net out-migration has almost disappeared. There is still a deficit of children (fertility is low in central Copenhagen), but among young children it has been reduced.

The mid-age brackets, 40-64, displayed a surplus in 1960, but from 1980 this turned into a considerable deficit (see Figure 2).

Demographically, the central communes have traditionally had two other main characteristics, namely a relative large surplus of women and a relatively large number of singles. In 1994 for instance, 52.5 per cent of the population were women, against 50.7 per cent in the country as a whole. And in 1993, 67 per cent of the central city "families" were childless singles, against 50 per cent in the country as a whole. ("Families" are defined as single adults or couples living together, plus possible children - marital statistics have become irrelevant in Denmark since the 1970s, since many couples live together without being married).

Table 5 shows the development in these variables. Since "family" data only are available for a few years, mean household size has been used as a substitute, households being defined as all persons living at a given address (before 1980, the definition was slightly narrower).

Table 5 shows a slight decrease in the share of women in central Copenhagen since 1980, and a stabilisation of household sizes, relative to the development in the country as a whole. These observations fit well with the relative decline of the elderly population in central Copenhagen (with many single women), and with the relative growth in the age brackets 25-39 and 0-4, where men and non-single-person households are better represented.

Table 5 Share of women, and mean household size, 1960-1994

	Share of women		Mean household size		
	Cop. + Fr. berg	Denmark	Cop. + Fr. berg	Denmark	
1960	53.2	50.4	1960	2.47	2.90
1971	53.2	50.3	1970	2.13	2.67
1980	53.7	50.7	1983	1.85	2.42
1990	53.1	50.7	1990	1.74	2.27
1994	52.5	50.7	1994	1.75	2.22

## The socio-economic structure of the central communes

Several studies show the special socio-economic composition of the central city population, in particular the high number of receivers of welfare payments and of social services (e.g. ANDERSEN et al. 1985). However, it is difficult to get data that show the development over time. In Table 6, the population in the 15-64 age bracket is split into (A) economically active persons (including receivers of unemployment payments), who are subdivided into wage earners (blue collar workers) and salary earners (white collar) plus independent firm owners. And (B) an estimate of non-active persons, including housewives, persons under education, and persons living from various transfer payments (estimated as the difference between all persons in this age bracket and all active persons, and hence too low because some active persons are over 64 years old). Definitions and data registration methods vary over time, so only main trends may be considered reliable.

Table 6 indicates that the decline in the 15-64 age bracket primarily has hit the blue collar population. Indeed, in 1960 the central commune (and in particular its inner districts) could be called a predominantly working class area, with manual workers, their wives and children, plus retired workers. By 1990, the blue collar workers have all but disappeared - and especially so in the Inner City. The share of wage earners has declined in the country as a whole, but not at all at the same pace. Unemployment is high in the commune of Copenhagen: in November 1990, 11.4 per cent against 8.7 per cent in Denmark as a whole, and since it primarily hits unskilled workers, many of the remaining blue collar workers are undoubtedly unemployed. The number of independents plus white collar workers has remained surprisingly constant.

Finally, the number of non-active residents in this age bracket declined until 1980, but seems to have increased in the 80s, especially in the Inner City. From other sources it is known that housewives - in 1960 the most numerous component - have almost totally disappeared. There can be no doubt that the recent increase of non-actives is due to an increasing number of young people under education (with various sources of income) and of persons living on welfare payments.

We may summarize the shifts in the composition of central city population in the following way: By 1960, the dominating group was blue collar workers and their housewives, with an over-representation of the age classes over 40, and an above-average number of elderly persons. There was also an emerging over-representation of persons in their early twenties.

Since 1980, considerable changes have occurred. The blue collar workers and the housewives have all but disappeared (probably most of the remaining ones are immigrants, but there are no data to highlight this). The number of retired persons is, after a culmination in the 1970s, declining. Instead, the population in the 20-34 age bracket is now over-represented, accompanied by an increasing number of very young children. Most of the inhabitants are under education, living on welfare payments, or white collar workers. And most are single persons. All of these shifts

Table 6 Socio-economic composition of the commune of Copenhagen, 1960-90  
 (in thousands)

Inner City	1960	1970	1980	1990
Age				
0-14	62	45	27	23
15-64				
Wage earners	106	78	45	31
Salary earners + indep.	84	77	79	86
non-active	55	48	34	44
65 +	54	58	50	39
Total	362	306	236	222

Outer districts	1960	1970	1980	1990
Age				
0-14	75	51	32	28
15-64				
Wage earners	98	76	48	38
Salary earners + indep.	88	85	79	80
non-active	62	52	32	36
65 +	37	51	66	63
Total	359	316	258	245

have been most pronounced in the Inner City, but also observed in the outer districts of the commune of Copenhagen. With this notion of the processes of shift in the composition of population, we can return to our initial question: Why did the population stabilize in the 1980s? Why did the growth in some population segments accelerate enough to compensate the continued decrease in other segments ?

### Factors behind the stabilisation of the central city population

The traditional migration pattern in the Copenhagen region, as in other major urban regions, could be explained by two factors. The outward wave of migration was partly pulled by the construction of new housing on the ever moving periphery of the built up area, and partly pushed by the size reduction in the households who lived in the older stock of housing.

The fundamental changes which took place about 1980 require new explanations, however, except for the suburban ring where the "thinning out" continues. Why has a "turnaround" occurred in the Inner City, which now has a positive migration balance in Copenhagen as well as in other big European cities? And why has the net migration to the periphery decreased so much?

Several hypotheses have been put forward. In the following section they will be discussed briefly, continuing the discussion in ILLERIS (1983). First, hypotheses concerned with the size of the moving groups will be discussed.

***Increasing in-migration of new groups.*** The increased in-migration of young people as well as the new relative surplus of persons in the 25-34 age bracket in the 1980s indicate a growing attraction of groups who earlier were not very important in the population of the central communes.

The influx has often been connected with gentrification, understood as a socio-economic process by which well-to-do (especially childless) households should move "back to the city" with its truly urban, high density environments and its proximity to many people and services, in contrast to this group's earlier low density preferences. There is no doubt that this has happened in some cases, in Copenhagen as well as in other cities it is easy to point out "gentrified" areas.

In this connection, it may be argued that we must drop the notion of all-embracing changes of preferences such as a "green wave" in the 1970s followed by gentrification in the 80s. In general, the shift from an "Industrial" or "Fordist" to a "Service" or "Post-Fordist" society is supposed to be connected with more segmented markets and individualized tastes. This is probably also the case in the residential sphere: Preferences for low densities and for dense urban environments may very well exist in different groups of the population and both be realized when people can afford it.

However, the increased influx observed in the demographic statistics may also consist of less well-to-do persons. There is actually a good deal of evidence to indicate that gentrification is rather the exception than the main cause of the Inner City stabilisation:

- According to Table 6, both the number of salaried persons (plus independents) and the (under-estimated) number of non-active persons have increased in the 1980s, especially in the Inner City, but the latter more than the former.
- The above-average unemployment rate in the commune of Copenhagen has increased: In November 1980 it was 0.6 percentage points over the national average, but in November 1990 2.7 percentage points above.
- The mean taxable income in the commune of Copenhagen was in 1980 7 per cent over the national average, but in 1990 exactly the same as in the country as a whole.
- The commune of Copenhagen has above-average rates of crime as well as of disease and of deaths by suicide, alcoholism, drugs and lung cancer (ILLERIS 1984).
- A detailed study of all persons who moved into and out from the commune of Copenhagen in 1982 showed that the out-migrants in all socio-economic respects scored better than the in-migrants. Furthermore, the few immigrants who moved into good and big dwellings only stayed there for short periods (Københavns kommune 1994).

The less well-to-do persons are undoubtedly attracted to the central city by its cheap old housing stock. To illustrate the low quality, it may be mentioned that 67 p.c. of the dwellings in the commune of Copenhagen are under 80 square meters, against 33 p.c. in the country as a whole. The following sub-groups of less well-to-do persons may be distinguished:

- Young people under education. This group is increasing in the country as a whole. They prefer to live in the central city not only because of the cheap housing, but also because of the proximity to many schools, and many probably share the preferences for urban life of the "gentry".
- International immigrants clearly form another increasing group of the Inner City population. It is well known that immigrants usually prefer to live in big cities, and we already observed that in 1990-92, the growth of the population of the whole region was due to this factor. Furthermore, immigrants have a higher fertility than Danish citizens. However, the total number of aliens in the Inner City of Copenhagen by 1992 was only 24,000 or 10 per cent of the population (against 3 per cent in Denmark as a whole), a modest increase by 4000 persons since 1982 - by far not enough to explain the changed trend of population.
- "Social losers" of all kinds, attracted by cheap housing, possibly also by the anonymity of the Inner City environment, and in some cases forming special milieux. It is often assumed that this ill-defined group has been growing in the 1980s.

Altogether, a number of growing groups are attracted to central city and contribute to the stabilisation of its number of people.

***Thinning out of the traditional out-migrant groups.*** On the other hand, the groups which traditionally have fed the net out-migration of persons over 40 years are thinning out, and these flows are smaller than before 1980. The working-class population, which must have contributed substantially, is by 1990 so reduced that it cannot give rise to much out-migration (just like the agricultural population in rural districts).

We shall now turn to hypotheses concerned with the motives for people to move or stay.

***The saving of energy costs*** was a widespread hypothesis in the wake of the two oil price crises: People were supposed to concentrate in the Inner City in order to save heating and transport costs - both things being cheaper in the multi-storey houses of the Inner City, with short distances to many jobs and good public transport, than in the one-family houses of the periphery. However, as the oil prices have gone down without any real return to the old pattern of migration, this hypothesis can be discarded.

**The construction of new housing** might also explain the stabilisation. This has happened partly in urban renewal areas and partly on abandoned harbour, railway, industrial and similar sites. As regards old housing areas, for many years it has in Denmark been an objective of urban renewal policies to reduce densities in the 19th century areas - only recently this objective has been loosened. Consequently, the statistical district where most urban renewal has taken place, Inner Nørrebro, has seen its population decrease from 57,000 in 1970 (before the renewal started) to 34,000 in 1992, after the new housing had been built. Of course the process has contributed to a more positive population development during the rebuilding phase of the 80s than during the demolition phase of the 70s, but its total effect has been a clear reduction of population.

The total stock of dwellings in the Copenhagen region is shown in Table 7. Altogether, the number of dwellings in the core communes has, after a decrease in the Inner City in the 1970s, hardly changed in the 80s. However, a comparison with Table 2 shows that this stabilisation in the number of dwellings cannot explain the total stabilisation of population: Not only did the number of dwellings stabilize in the 1980s, but also the number of persons per dwelling (in the core communes 1970 2.2 persons, 1981 1.8 persons, 1992 1.7 persons).

Table 7 Number of dwellings in the Copenhagen region, 1970 - 1992

Thousands	1970	1981	1984	1987	1990	1992
Cop. comm., Inner City	160	148*	149	148	148	147
Cop. comm., Outer districts	126	125*	130	130	130	130
Frederiksberg commune	47	49	49	50	50	51
Copenhagen county	216	260	264	269	276	279
Frederiksborg county	87	122	127	133	139	141
Roskilde county	52	75	78	85	89	91
Copenhagen region	686	790	798	815	832	839

\* 10,000 dwellings in the commune of Copenhagen not accounted for.

**Economic barriers to new peripheral house-building.** Table 7 leads to a new hypothesis. It might be the very modest construction of new housing in the periphery in the 1980s that was responsible, not only for the deceleration of net migration into these counties, but also for the stabilisation of the population of the core. In this hypothesis, it is not changed preferences and hence reduced demand that has caused the slow-down of new peripheral house-building, but economic barriers such as the long periods of recession (1980 - 83 and again from 1987), high real rates of interest, reduced inflation and hence reduced value of home-ownership as an investment, and finally less favourable taxation and mortgaging rules for ownership

housing from 1987. In brief: When people cannot afford to have new houses built, they have to remain in the old ones!

This hypothesis probably explains the variation in the migration balance of the peripheral counties. Indeed, in the boom period in the mid-1980s, when house-building increased somewhat, net migration into the periphery as well as out of the older and newer suburban rings increased, too. If this hypothesis is correct, net migration into the periphery may pick up again if and when economic conditions for house-building improve.

## Conclusion

The above discussion points towards the following factors behind the stabilisation of the Copenhagen central city population since 1980:

- The thinning out of the old population of mid-age and elderly blue collar workers and housewives has now reached a stage where the "reservoirs" are almost empty.
- An increased attraction of persons aged 20-34. A certain rejuvenation has taken place. Some of these people are well-to-do ("gentrification"), but more are under education, "social losers", or international immigrants.
- Economic and legal stimuli for the construction of new ownership housing in the periphery have been reduced, forcing people to remain in the existing housing stock.

On the other hand, the hypotheses were rejected that either saving of energy costs or urban renewal and house-building on derelict land should play important roles.

The above-mentioned factors combine in a unique way in each metropolitan region. The explanations found in the Copenhagen region cannot be generalized without an individual examination of each case.

---

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANDERSEN, B. R. et al. 1985. Københavnerrapporten: Sociale og sundhedsmæssige udgiftsbehov. København: Amternes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut.
- BOURNE, L. S. 1991. "Recycling Urban Systems and Metropolitan Areas: A Geographical Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond", Economic Geography, 67, 3: 185-209.
- DREWETT, R., KNIGHT, R. & SCHUBERT, U. 1992. The Future of European Cities. Fast Occasional Papers 306. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities.
- European Institute of Urban Affairs 1992. Urbanisation and the Functions of Cities in the European Community. Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, Directorate-General for Regional Policies.
- ILLERIS, S. 1983. "Befolkningsudviklingen i den ældre del af Hovedstadsregionen 1973-84", AKF-nyt 4: 22-37.
- ILLERIS, S. 1984. Arbejdsløshed og arbejdsmarkeder i Hovedstadsregionen. København: Amternes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut.
- Københavns kommunes statistiske kontor 1994. Københavnske til- og fraflyttere: En forløbsundersøgelse af flytternes boligforhold 1982-1990. København.