Demographic change and active inclusion in Copenhagen: Integrated policy for disadvantaged urban areas

CITIES FOR ACTIVE INCLUSION

The EUROCITIES Network of Local Authority Observatories on Active Inclusion (EUROCITIES-NLAO) is a dynamic network of nine European cities - Birmingham, Bologna, Brno, Copenhagen, Cracow, Lille Métropole - Roubaix, Rotterdam, Sofia and Stockholm - each with a Local Authority Observatory (LAO) within its administration. Their aim is to share information, promote mutual learning and carry out research on the implementation of the active inclusion strategies at the local level.

The nine observatories are coordinated by EUROCITIES, the network of major cities in Europe, and supported through Inclusive Cities for Europe, a partnership between the European Commission (DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion) and EUROCITIES.

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1. BACKGROUND

1.1 Copenhagen: diverse capital of Denmark

This report describes the innovative integrated policy for active inclusion of disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen. Inspired by the success of the socially sensitive area-based urban policy approach¹, the aim of this integrated policy is to improve and retain the territorial and social cohesion of the city.

As the capital of Denmark and one of the few large cities in Scandinavia, Copenhagen plays an important role in the nation and in the region. 550,000 of Denmark’s 5.6 million inhabitants live in Copenhagen. Besides being the largest city in Denmark, Copenhagen is also the most diverse, with 22% of the population having non-Danish background.

Copenhagen is often portrayed as a young city, and this is borne out by the figures. The city has a significantly higher share of children and young people aged 0 to 29 compared to the rest of Denmark. The levels of active participation in society and the levels of employment are both somewhat low in a Danish context, but are high in a European context. This is especially true amongst women. In addition, average gross incomes are among the highest in Europe, though net incomes are somewhat diminished by the high taxes that finance the well-developed welfare system. The combination of high incomes and a comprehensive welfare system mean that living standards in Copenhagen are among the highest in Europe.²

1.2 Facing a dynamic population growth

Copenhagen, like other major cities in northern and western Europe, is expected to grow in the coming years. The population growth is today and for the nearest future expected to be driven by increased migration to the city: both national and international. Copenhagen’s appeal to migrants can be explained by the interesting urban development that the city has undergone the recent years, supplemented by the attractive living and working conditions that the city offers.

The official forecasts by Statistics Denmark expect Copenhagen’s population to grow by 22% in the decade to 2020. Currently, each month 1000 new inhabitants arrive in Copenhagen, feeding into a population growth of 100,000 new inhabitants by 2020. As the migrants are expected to be mainly young people, the composition of the population will shift towards a younger but also more heterogeneous profile, with inhabitants from different cultures and lifestyles. The proportion of young people aged 15 to 29 will increase rapidly, while the proportion of people aged 30 to 66 will decrease slightly. This demographic development is mainly a consequence of the vast internal migration within Denmark of young people seeking education and employment in Copenhagen. Meanwhile, families with children tend to leave to obtain larger homes outside Copenhagen, although, currently, this dynamic is temporarily halted since more and more families are choosing to remain in the city.

¹ Slob et al. Spatial knock-on effects of area-based urban policies. ERSA 2006.
² Statistics Denmark, March 2012.
1.3 New opportunities and challenges

The ongoing global economic crisis has had a negative effect on both the labour market and the housing market in Denmark. Unemployment has risen by more than 100% over a two-year period and, partially as a consequence of this, the housing market has slowed considerably. These market factors have affected the demographic trends in Copenhagen. While the inflow of young people aged 15 to 29 into the city has remained fairly constant, people are now staying in the city after starting a family, instead of moving out. The result is an intensified population growth which puts pressure on Copenhagen’s labour market and also on the provision of social services and social housing. In the process new challenges have emerged: in particular, the increased social heterogeneity and the urgent need to rethink the spatial planning of the city.

As Copenhagen becomes a more heterogeneous city, with inhabitants of different ages, cultures and lifestyles, the increased diversity will present opportunities for innovation and help foster economic growth. However, it can also increase the socio-economic segregation that currently exists at city level between low-income groups and high-income groups and different urban areas. The analysis of the city’s socio-economic development over the last 15 years shows that problems have accumulated unevenly, leaving some urban areas disadvantaged compared to the city as a whole.3

The city defines disadvantaged areas as areas that are stagnating or declining compared to the overall growth of the city. The stagnation or decline in some of the urban areas can exacerbate the socio-economic segregation of the disadvantaged population groups living in these areas, with increased inequality in aspects such as education, work and health. To prevent the negative effects of this developmental stagnation and decline, an active inclusion policy for the disadvantaged urban areas of Copenhagen has been developed.

1.4 An innovative coordinated policy for active inclusion

Copenhagen’s Municipal Planning Strategy 20104 presented an ambitious vision for the city to become more diverse, yet cohesive and safe, with enough space and adequate services for all its citizens. To achieve this vision, a multi-faceted active inclusion scheme was needed to alleviate the social and spatial segregation of the disadvantaged areas of the city. This would reduce social exclusion, for example, by improving access to employment, education and health.

In 2011, this vision resulted in the publication of a municipal Policy for Disadvantaged Urban Areas of Copenhagen. This active inclusion policy builds on the joint responsibilities and coordinated efforts of all seven administrations in the municipality. The policy is a groundbreaking achievement, considering the administrative structure in Copenhagen. The city has seven separate specialised administrations (e.g. education, health etc), each overseen by their own political committees; and each mayor has their own separate jurisdiction5. This structure can make it difficult for the city authorities to work in an integrated way. For Copenhagen therefore, this city-wide policy is an example of a fully integrated and coordinated framework for dealing with the complex challenges of active inclusion. The aim is to actively include all the disadvantaged urban areas and the residents living there.

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3 Policy for Dis advantaged Areas of Copenhagen, City of Copenhagen, 2011.
5 For more information, please see the Cities for Active Inclusion report, Autumn 2010.
2. HOW COPENHAGEN IS COPING

The policy for disadvantaged urban areas is needed because we want Copenhagen to be a cohesive city. That is exactly the aim of the policy: to create equal opportunities for all, wherever they may live in Copenhagen.

Ayfer Baykal, Technical and Environmental Mayor of Copenhagen

2.1 Demographic change at city level: disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen

Partly due to population growth and partly due to the current global economic crisis, the disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen are growing in number and extent. Previously each of Copenhagen’s seven specialised administrations defined and developed their own active inclusion strategies and projects for disadvantaged areas, within their own field of operation. Therefore, there were multiple active inclusion plans for each area, each with a different focus. For example, each area had: an education plan, perhaps focusing on all-day school provision; an employment plan, perhaps emphasising early re-integration back into employment; a health care plan, for example, introducing special exercise and health activities; an integrated urban renewal regeneration plan; a social services plan; and so on.

These separate active inclusion plans tended to be implemented from the perspectives of one administration leaving out coordinated and multidisciplinary solutions to the complex problems of the disadvantaged urban areas and their inhabitants. In addition the initiatives and projects have mainly been temporary, so the activities and funding have been short term with poor results. This short-term approach has shown to be insufficient to halt the negative spiral of inequality and socio-economic segregation between different areas of the city.

Copenhagen’s new policy for disadvantaged urban areas sets out a new direction, with a coordinated and long-term commitment that is integrated into the core of the city’s municipal operations.

The importance of this new integrated policy is emphasised by the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen, Frank Jensen:

“This is a departure from putting layers of projects on top of the normal operations in disadvantaged urban areas. We must return to core operations”.

The policy includes a 10-year framework with three overall objectives to be met by 2020, as follows:

- **Closing the gap**: The gap between the disadvantaged areas and the rest of the city is to be closed, as measured by agreed indicators.

- **Equal opportunities**: Education and employment is to be available for everyone, so that no human resource is left unutilised.

- **Transformation**: Each disadvantaged area is to be developed into an attractive distinctive neighbourhood characterised by diversity, cultural pluralism and creativity.
2.1.1 The Socio-Economic Map of Copenhagen: an interactive targeting tool

A precondition for integrating the active inclusion efforts of all seven city administrations has been to develop a common and unambiguous definition of what characterises a disadvantaged urban area. A shared definition is also essential for ensuring a transparent and effective process for setting targets and measuring progress. For this purpose an innovative new targeting tool has been developed: the Socio-Economic Map of Copenhagen. This is being used to highlight the most deprived areas of the city. The map allows all seven city administrations to use the same definition of disadvantage. It also allows the success of the policy to be measured objectively over time, through statistical data collection and analysis.

The city’s socio-economic map combines various statistical indicators, to represent the complexity of the social, economic and physical challenges faced by the disadvantaged areas. Six objective indicators have been chosen to identify urban areas that show a negative deviation from the Copenhagen average.

- The chosen indicators cover: types of housing; the proportion of residents of non-Western origin⁶; and levels of employment, education and income.

- These indicators are listed in the yellow box. It is important to emphasise that it is the sum of the indicators, rather than a single indicator on its own, that define an area as disadvantaged.

- Using the targeting tool, six areas of Copenhagen have been identified as the most disadvantaged:
  - Tingbjerg/Husum;
  - Bispebjerg/Nordvest;
  - Norrebro;
  - Valby/Vigerslev;
  - Vesterbro/Gangers Enghave;
  - Amager/Sundby.

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⁶ This was chosen as an indicator because several reports from The Danish Centre for Urban Regeneration and Community Development show that a higher than average proportion of citizens of non-Western origin live in the disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen.
Each of these six areas has its own distinctive characteristics and presents a particular combination of the six indicators of disadvantage. Common to all six areas is developmental stagnation or even decline compared to the overall development and growth of the city. The bar chart shown here illustrates the extent to which the combined indicators for Copenhagen’s six disadvantaged areas differ from the Copenhagen average (shown as the horizontal line at 100%).

To identify additional characteristics of the disadvantaged areas, the data from the city’s Socio-Economic Map has been combined with data from the city’s Safety Index and also with the city’s election participation rates. The analysis reveals that inhabitants in the disadvantaged areas feel less safe than in other areas, and are also less likely to vote in municipal elections compared to the rest of the city’s population.

2.2 Solutions at city level: innovative methods and customised solutions

2.2.1 Innovative methods

To prevent the continuing segregation of the city, four innovative methods have been developed to help actively include people living in Copenhagen’s disadvantaged urban areas:

- **Preferential treatment**: disadvantaged areas will be given preferential treatment. This involves providing a higher level of services in the disadvantaged areas than in the city as a whole. For example, disadvantaged areas can be provided with: specialised or profile schools and day-care institutions; local employment services; additional graffiti removal and street cleaning; and unified social housing plans. By providing better services in disadvantaged urban areas, additional initiatives, that aim to increase social inclusion, will be more effective.

- **Focused core operations**: the city will ensure that its core operations in each disadvantaged area are focused on meeting the specific needs of that area. Because a high proportion of residents in disadvantaged areas are socially excluded due to individual problems, there will be initiatives that focus on individual needs as well as initiatives focusing on the area’s overall needs. For example, employment services and education schemes will be customised to reflect local and individual challenges such as cultural barriers and language barriers. Also, the traditional use of short-term funding and pooled funding will in the future be restricted to pilot projects and back up projects that may be needed to solve unforeseen situations.

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7 The Municipal Safety Index is published once a year. It is a tool for estimating and prioritising the crime prevention efforts in urban areas of Copenhagen. The safety index is composed of statistical data from reports by the Danish National Police and questionnaires on people’s experiences and exposure to crime and security problems.

8 Policy for Disadvantaged Areas of Copenhagen. City of Copenhagen, 2011.
Municipal yet local approach: The integrated policy for disadvantaged urban areas and its shared targets are not only designed to be used at municipal level but also at local level. The city’s disadvantaged areas are characterised by complex and extensive social and physical challenges. So there will be extensive municipal activities in these fields. This will require a high level of inter-departmental cooperation, as well as collaboration with many stakeholders. The goal is that the common set of shared municipal targets will provide a basis for effective synergy and participation by all the different stakeholders, both at the municipal level and at the local level. The municipal and local steering groups will use the shared targets to check that all activities actually contribute to meeting the targets and therefore to promoting social inclusion. The shared targets will also empower local forums, consisting of local citizens, local organisations and municipal representatives, to make decisions. They will be able to use the shared targets to decide whether a particular initiative will be in line with the municipal policy, so resources are spent on local active inclusion initiatives that actually meet citizens’ needs.

Stronger cooperation with public housing sector associations and residents: binding agreements are being made with the public housing sector to ensure innovative public housing initiatives in the disadvantaged urban areas. Social housing is a common characteristic of Copenhagen’s disadvantaged urban areas. In Copenhagen, as in the whole of Denmark, the social housing sector is privately owned by non-profit housing associations. These housing associations coordinate and carry out most of the social housing improvements and construction. The City of Copenhagen and the National Housing Association’s District 1 unit (which covers the Copenhagen area), have signed a visionary cooperation agreement to cover the period 2011-2014. The agreement encompasses aspects such as: proportions of different types of residents; social housing allocation; social housing initiatives; future proofing; safety and well-being of residents; social sustainability; and environmental sustainability.

2.2.2. Customised solutions: six area development plans to meet specific local challenges

To enable Copenhagen’s seven administrations to develop and implement the new integrated policy for disadvantaged areas, a new innovative structure for cooperation has been introduced. This structure now means that the city’s seven administrations can work together to produce a unique customised area development plan for each of the city’s six disadvantaged areas. Each area development plan will address the specific problems of the area and taps into its local potential.
Local organisations, networks, residents and experts are being consulted at different stages of the design and implementation of the area development plans, including the mapping, analysis and evaluation processes. This ensures that all the views and ideas of all the relevant stakeholders are included in a coordinated way. Consultation takes place at open conferences and focus group discussions, so everyone can actively engage with the plans and offer their suggestions, comments and feedback. The full working process for creating and continually refining the area development plans is shown below:

1. Identification of disadvantaged areas
2. Mapping of existing initiatives. Analysis of the area’s specific problems and potential
3. Development plans with customised tools and solutions for each area
4. Implementation and follow-up progress

Based on the analysis of each area’s specific problems and potential, the area development plans will define the specific tools and initiatives that will best meet the targets for each area. The area development plans will therefore provide a basis for prioritising the initiatives for each area. This will ensure synergistic cooperation and support between the municipality’s seven administrations and all other stakeholders, including the housing associations and private organisations.

Synergy between the city administrations is vital. For example, it has been shown that better coordination of education, employment and health services in a disadvantaged urban area can help empower unemployed residents to (re)gain access to the labour market. This can be achieved, for example, by: integrating job training and health programmes; requiring social clauses in municipal contracts; and creating municipal part-time jobs. The involvement of all stakeholders is essential, to ensure a coordinated approach to tackling the complex problems.

Two of the pillars described in the EU active inclusion strategy are inclusive labour markets and access to quality social services. Copenhagen’s framework for stakeholder cooperation is a good example of an integrated approach which will ensure these two active inclusion pillars are met in the city’s disadvantaged areas with high social exclusion among the residents.

Each area development plan presents an in-depth analysis of the area’s problems and a set of customised initiatives designed to address these local problems. These initiatives will be included in the municipal budget negotiations as an objective basis for funding the work in the disadvantaged urban areas. The resource allocation and practical structures for cooperation between the administrations and local partners will be agreed after the budget processes of autumn 2012 and autumn 2013.
2.3 Key successes and shared 2020 targets

The key success of this social inclusion initiative so far has been the achievement of a shared policy and shared targets for disadvantaged urban areas by Copenhagen’s seven different city administrations. All seven mayors of Copenhagen, covering all aspects of city policy, are committed to ensuring joint responsibility and joint efforts to achieve the vision of the policy for disadvantaged urban areas. This type of commitment, by all seven administrations and their political leaders, is both very unusual and very ambitious. The development of the agreed analytical process behind the shared targets is also a major accomplishment.

In addition, the opening policy conference, on 13 March 2012, was very successful. Representatives of all the stakeholders attended, including local residents of the disadvantaged areas.

Nine specific measurable targets for 2020 have been established for the disadvantaged urban areas, together with relevant baseline figures and how these will be quantified. The 2020 targets and how they will be quantified are:

1. Schools and day-care: Municipal schools and day-care facilities in the urban disadvantaged areas should be so attractive that they are the first choice for local residents. (Quantification via average usage levels for local municipal schools and day-care facilities compared with the Copenhagen average: analysis by the Children and Youth Administration.)

2. Vocational and higher education: 95% of young people to be in vocational or higher education. (Quantification via the Socio-Economic Map of Copenhagen.)

3. Employment: Employment levels in the disadvantaged areas to be equal to the average for Copenhagen. (Quantification via the Socio-Economic Map of Copenhagen.)

4. Culture and sports: The disadvantaged areas will offer attractive and varied cultural and sports activities. Residents of the disadvantaged areas should be just as satisfied with local opportunities for cultural and sports activities as the residents of Copenhagen in general. (Quantification via user satisfaction surveys for individual cultural and sports facilities performed by the Culture and Leisure Administration.)

5. Health: Health levels in the disadvantaged areas should be equal to the overall average for Copenhagen. (Quantification via the Municipal Health Index.)

6. Urban environment: Levels of cleanliness and maintenance in the disadvantaged areas should be equal to the overall average for Copenhagen. (Quantification via the Technical and Environmental Administration’s data collection for the municipal Unified Operations Strategy.)

7. Safety: The disadvantaged areas should be as safe for people to live in and visit as other parts of the city. (Quantification via the city’s Safety Index.)

8. Quality of city life: Services and activities for people in disadvantaged areas should be improved, so that 80% of the areas’ residents are satisfied with city life. (Quantification via the Urban Life Report.)

9. Housing: More public housing should be made available in the disadvantaged areas so that at least 20% of the flats are provided by public housing, to match the current proportion across Copenhagen as a whole. (Quantification via the Socio-Economic Map of Copenhagen.)

These nine goals have been established to enable the active inclusion of people in disadvantaged urban areas who currently are at a higher risk of social exclusion than other residents of Copenhagen. One of the main aims is to create inclusive labour markets and quality social services that are adapted to the needs of the people living in the disadvantaged urban areas. It is also
important to encourage all residents who are successfully actively included as a result of the policy to stay in the area, rather than leaving. They can then contribute the area’s further development, so that these urban areas no longer centres of disadvantage. So it is important not only to actively include the residents but to actively include the areas themselves.

2.4 Challenges

The extensive inter-departmental coordination that is required is a huge challenge for Copenhagen and has turned out to be demanding not just for the project managers but also for other staff members. The different disciplines and analytical approaches used by each administration are not always easy to merge into a common style. Therefore many resources have had to be invested in the process. However, it is a common acknowledgement that the problems faced by the disadvantaged urban areas and their residents are complex and the city is determined to address this complexity: it is hoped that a coordinated and comprehensive approach, combined with innovative methods, will result in an outcome that is worth far more than the invested resources.

An additional potential challenge is how best to win the support and cooperation of residents in disadvantaged urban areas. Some residents may not actually appreciate the shift towards large long-term initiatives, and away from small short-term projects, which often allow close local involvement and ownership. However, the initial responses and inputs from local representatives and local organisations at the opening conference were generally positive rather than sceptical. This suggests that if all stakeholders, including representatives of local residents, can be included in all steps of the process, then they are more likely to give their support.

2.5 Future progress

The work on the area development plans is being scheduled in two phases, to coincide with two funding rounds. Once completed, each plan will include data about the area and the main issues in each area, an analysis of the challenges and potentials in each area, and a description of proposed initiatives. Municipal politicians will use the plans to help prioritise funding.

At the time of writing (May 2012), the process of data collection and data analysis is underway for the area development plans for three disadvantaged areas to the north-west of the city centre: Tingbjerg/Husum; Bispebjerg/Nordvest; and Norrebro. These three plans will be used in the municipal funding negotiations in autumn 2012, which determine the 2013 city budget.

Work will then start on the development plans for three areas to the south of the city centre: Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave; Valby/Vigerslev; and Amager/Sundby. These plans will be prepared ready for negotiations in autumn 2013, for inclusion in the city’s 2014 budget.

Details of expected budget allocations are not available at the time of writing, but it is hoped that the most important active inclusion initiatives will be approved for each of Copenhagen’s six disadvantaged urban areas. This will ensure that all stakeholders can start working together to actively include the residents of these areas, to reverse the trend towards social exclusion caused by demographic change, and meet the objectives of Copenhagen’s innovative integrated municipal policy.
### 2.6 Additional information

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic information</th>
<th>Web link &amp; contact person</th>
<th>Photos &amp; video</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Policy for the Disadvantaged Urban Areas of Copenhagen will be implemented in six areas of the city over the period 2013-2020. The policy is financed through the allocated budget for each of the seven different administrations (education, health etc.) Please find the English version of the policy below:</td>
<td>For further information please see: <a href="http://www.kk.dk">www.kk.dk</a></td>
<td>Photos:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contact person: Senior Supervisor Jørgen Dahl Tel: 0045 3317 3718 Email: <a href="mailto:h932@bif.kk.dk">h932@bif.kk.dk</a></td>
<td>Video link (in Danish): <a href="#">Conference on Disadvantaged Areas of Copenhagen 13 March 2012</a></td>
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ANNEX 1


![Graph of population projections]

Source: Statistics Denmark, May 2012.

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