

Neighbourhood Governance in Vapnagård, Borupgård and Nøjsomhed

A Danish National Report

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1. Governmental Tradition in Denmark

Governance can be seen as a narrative interpreted through governmental traditions. Therefore, it is necessary to explore how the governmental tradition expresses itself. In Denmark there is a tradition which mix influences from, respectively, Germanic and Anglo-Saxon traditions. The Germanic emphasis on state and civil society as organic whole weighs heavily in the Danish tradition in combination with the Anglo-Saxon stress to a decentralised state having a basis in negotiated contracts rather than natural law. Furthermore, the Danish tradition is based on a strong participation ethic and a high level of integration between state and civil society based on local governments and organisations, public, semi-public and private (Rhodes 1999: 28, 34).

Homogeneity, continuity and a high level of organisation are three key words to describe the state and the public system (Knudsen cited in Rhodes 1999: 34). In addition, consensual democracy and a multi-party system are characteristics of the functioning of the state. There is a tradition of negotiative decision in the political system as coalitions are based on 3-5 parties, and seldom a coalition has the majority of seats in parliament. Hence, the negotiative decision style is also between the coalition in power and the political opposition (ibid.). However, the Danish political situation has changed in a variety of ways within the past couple of months. A national election was held in November 2001 and resulted in a political shift from a Social Democratic-Liberal government to a Liberal/Conservative government that as a coalition, with a right-wing party, The Danish People Party, has the majority of seats in the parliament.¹ This arrangement minimizes the negotiation between the government and its coalition partner, on one side, and, on the other side, the political

¹ In addition, two other elections for counties and municipalities were held and those resulted in an overall shift to right-wing party politics as well.

opposition, as the government with the votes from the coalition partner has the majority to pass any policy, bill or regulation. Therefore, the current government will have a stronger executive than previous governments, and this might lead to more comprehensive ideological reforms.

There are 275 municipalities and 14 counties. Municipalities and counties are represented in, respectively, the National Association of Municipalities and the Association of Danish Counties. These two associations are extremely important as they negotiate with the central state about budgets and financial responsibilities for welfare services. They ensure local authority as can be understood as both local-self government and local state administration. This dual role of local authority make every dialogue between state and local authorities a negotiative dialogue instead of a dialogue based on the state commands local authorities (Rhodes 1999: 35).

Finally, trends in the Danish governmental processes are that the Danish government has a “network character”, and power and responsibilities are decentralised to municipalities, local councils and boards. Municipalities as key actors in local matters have multi-centered and local forms of governance, and that is to some extent caused by a major grey zone where boundaries between public and private sectors are blurred, and new layers in public governances are crystallised. The grey zone is to large degree non-public “covering delivery of services by markets, community, associations and voluntary organisations, singly and together” (Rhodes 1999: 10).

2. The Current Political Situation

The political changes, as the Danish society is experiencing at the moment, are similar to the general right-wing political turn in Europe, and there is a major similarity between the right-wing arguments in Denmark and in other European countries. A main theme in the sitting government’s election manifesto was to transform the public sector and the welfare state by cutting down certain expenses to the public sector, to privatise public tasks, and to reduce the system of experts guiding e.g. public agencies by abolishing councils, boards, and tribunals. At the same time, the sitting government during the election campaign announced that public spending at basic welfare to elders and health was in need to be increased. These points in the election manifesto were sharpened with promises such as reduction of the system’s interference in individuals’ everyday life and aims of putting individual human beings in centre of attention.

Traditionally in Denmark, the “political culture has consisted of a strong sense of autonomy of citizens in civil society, and the state as the medium for the public good operating

through the institutionalised participation” (Rhodes 1999: 46). However, there seems to flourish a public understanding that the state, to some extent, is invading individuals’ life and restricting their autonomy. Likewise, among many Danes a weariness and a dislike of the system and its lack of innovation and development are identifiable. It seems that there has been a general public understanding and belief that the system is not working efficiently as regards e.g. to provide the adequate means to those individuals in need. This understood lack of efficiency has been a point of departure for the current government. Hence, new policies are launched as ways of distributing means to individuals according to their respective needs, preferences, and demands, and a priority of social groups in need has been made. This priority and policies, in general, seem to be founded in an understanding that national affairs have to be in order before foreign affairs can be dealt with. Furthermore, when it comes to national affairs there is an understanding that those who are societal productive and cooperative are favoured and prioritized to those who are not seen as being productive and cooperative.

The perspectives and outcomings of the sitting government are yet to be experienced although the Budget for this year has come through and glimpses of outcomings are possible to identify. Preliminary consequences are that more funds are canalised to health sector, families, and elders, a reduction of public sector by 5-6000 job positions, major changes in the system of transfer income, restrictions in immigration policy, including the right to obtain Danish citizenship and bringing relatives from origin country to Denmark, the criminal code is toughen up, and, finally, a reduction of funds to pools which distribute government money to social matters and activities for instance related to social housing.

The longterm outcomes of the sitting government’s policies are uncertain at the moment. Therefore, when it comes to policies aimed at promoting social inclusion and combating social exclusion it is too early to identify the contours of such policies. Hence, the outcomes of those policies are yet to be experienced. Therefore, this study of neighbourhood governance and policies aimed at social inclusion and exclusion will be executed, primarily, on the basis of the political contextual background previous to the new governmental policies. To the extent, that the new government’s policies are identifiable in regards to form and influence the existing and ongoing processes of social integration of marginalised and stigmatised individuals, these policies will be incooperated in the study.

3. The 1990’s approach to combat social exclusion and to promote social inclusion

Since the 2nd World War ambitions have been to secure and improve a well-functioning welfare state with a high level of welfare services, which are based on institutional rights

linked to citizenship (Rhodes 1999: 34). The preceding governmental policies carried a high priority to improve the welfare state especially through promoting education and employment. These two areas have been seen as the most adequate tools to include individuals in society. The founding idea is to qualify individuals and give them self-esteem by letting them obtain a meaningful position in society, a position that is enriching to society and themselves. Expenses to education have increased in the past decade, especially; expenses to primary school and supplementary education have increased. The sitting government has cut down expenses to supplementary education, and this might affect individuals who lack qualifications in order to enter the labour market.

Some major problems related to the success of including individuals in society via the labour market are, besides inadequate education, related to inadequate mastering of the Danish language, health, age, mismatch of job seekers abilities and the demand for labour etc. Policies have been formed to deal with these problems, partly by creating alternative jobs for job seekers that are in no position of possessing a full-time job, partly by extending programmes to teach immigrants Danish. However, there are many unresolved problems, for instance, related to let immigrants with academic education enter the labour market. Consequently, there is a vast amount of high-qualified immigrants who do not possess a job that match their qualifications. This is counterproductive to intentions of social integration and inclusion and to the efficiency of society.

3.1 Social housing policies related to social integration

During the 1990s urban policy has been formed as to ensure the coordination among the divergent and plural urban interests and to establish a framework for a sustainable development economically, commercially, socially, and environmentally. In particular, interests are to be coordinated between a national, a regional, and a municipal level. In urban policy focus is centered on improving life quality in urban and suburban areas and on the geographical distribution of welfare means (Sørensen 1999: 3).

The cooperation between public and private agencies is in favour to be extended and developed in order to ensure the improvement of individuals' everyday life. An inherent intention in such a strategi can be interpreted as to enforce the private sector to take a responsibility for the alteration of unsuitable processes in urban and suburban areas, and an acknowledgement of the public sector not alone is able to improve individuals' life quality via traditional means such as the juridical system and distribution of money through funds and pools.

The key elements in urban policy can be summarised as below (Ministry of Social Affairs 2001: 36):

- To promote welfare and improve living conditions and quality of life in the cities
- To break the vicious circle of disadvantaged areas as well as realising urban initiatives of a more general nature
- To promote viable growth in the cities – culturally, economically, environmentally, and socially
- To promote the development of more integrated urban committees through synergy between private and public initiatives, with each district of a town offering a range of possibilities to a broad cross-section of the community, so that wherever possible, town districts can meet the changing need of their residents
- To create optimum conditions for a positive interaction between the many coherent activities which make the town a good place to live and work in.

Instruments to carry these objectives out have been mainly Urban Committee and Urban Area Improvement Programme.² These programmes were initiated in, respectively, 1993 and 1996 and continued in, respectively, 1999 and 2000, to improve the deprived and poor living situation in housing estates.

3.1.1 Urban Committee

In 1993 the Urban Committee with a national and inter-departmental scope took steps to introduce more comprehensive urban improvement and regeneration programmes including social, educational and labour market measures as well as cultural aspects (Vestergaard 1998: 115-29).

The purpose of the Urban Committee is to improve urban and social housing conditions in exposed housing areas and its activities are aimed at the individuals in those areas, including socially deprived and marginalised individuals in poor housing (Ministry of Social Affairs 2001: 20).

From the beginning the Urban Committee had a broad composition consisting of the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of Housing and Urban Affairs, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Church, the Minister of Social Affairs, and the Minister of Education. The Committee was reorganised two times, and at the end it was composed of the following ministries: the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs (as chairman), the Ministry for Finance, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the

² Additional instruments have been Urban Renewal Initiative and the Business and Urban Policy Committee.

Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry of Education and Church.

The committee's programme was funded by approx. 95 millions EURO of which 28 per cent was provided by the state, 43 per cent provided by local authorities, and the National Fund of Housing Associations provided 29 per cent. In addition, 847 millions EURO was re-mortgaged by loans.

The Urban Committee's means of efforts have concerned these elements in the period from 1993 to 1998 (Andersen 1999: 8-14):

- Physical renovation
- Rent reduction and economic rehabilitation
- Social empowerment: employment of social workers and support for social activities, especially among immigrants and socially excluded residents
- Special education initiatives for immigrants and refugees, including efforts to solve problems following a concentration of foreign speaking children in certain schools.
- Means against crime
- New rules and institutional framework regulating immigration and housing for immigrants
- New rules regulating rule for municipal referral to social housing
- Increasing state funds for local authorities with problem hit estates

Within this spectre of means of efforts four strategies are crystallised. However, these strategies were not formulated in the policy process but were later on seen as embedded in the initiatives. These strategies are (ibid.):

- Local Network Strategy, which is intended to strengthen local networks to combat social exclusion. Especially, attention is brought on social workers, social activities, and improvement of local/neighbourhood co-operation between local authorities, housing associations, estate boards and other local actors.
- Improved Competition Strategy, which contribute to make the non-profit housing estates competitive to housing market, in general. Two main instruments to increase residents' everyday life and improve the estates' reputation have been physical renovation and rent decrease, and a minor instrument has been support for social activities.

- Reduce Segregation Strategy, which is set out to dam unsuitable segregation and concentration of residents who are marginalised and stigmatised.
- Reduce Consequences Strategy, which has a purpose to minimise undesirable consequences due to social housing for the municipalities. An effort has been made on support for schools with a high concentration of foreign speaking pupils, on education and training of immigrants, and on increased funds for municipalities with concentrations of social problems. This strategy has indirectly improved co-operation between local actors such as local authorities and tenants' elected estate/section boards.

The Urban Committee has continued in a second period from 1999 to 2003. It is composed of the Minister of Housing and Urban Affairs (as chairman), the Minister of Employment, the Minister for Finance, the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of Social Affairs, the Minister of Culture, and the Ministry of Education.

This time a fewer housing estates receive funds from the committee based on the argument that means of efforts need to be canalised according to specific social problems in the housing estates in order to change disadvantageous processes and developments. Therefore, the reorganised Urban Committee's intention is to focus the neighbourhood's upgrading. The main areas for making efforts to improve neighbourhoods and to combat social exclusion are (www.bm.dk/bypolitik/byudvalg/byudvalg.asp):

- Employment
- Democracy and resident involvement
- Local urban policy and the public school
- Social inclusion focused on immigrants and refugees
- Particularly marginalised individuals
- Promote a suitable composition of residents and develop new ownership

The committee attaches importance to holistic efforts, local co-operation, and involvement of residents. Likewise, importance is attached to transverse co-operation between the involved sectors such as the social, the environment, the culture, the employment, the education, and the health sector. In continuation of this, the Urban Committee aims at strengthening the task to coordinate efforts between different official, municipal, and local sectors.

Hence, the local network strategy and the improved competition strategy are the two main strategies in this second round of the urban programme. Improvement of condition for

employment and education to marginalised and socially excluded individuals are two main concerns and crucial points in the programme, and are seen as distinct instruments to include these individuals in social networks, communities and society in general.

In connection to the Urban Committee a board, the Urban Ginger Group (Den boligsociale Initiativgruppe), has been established to coordinate the Urban Committee's tasks between ministries and between the system and local actors. Additionally, a Committee consisting of Mayors has been set up in order to involve the most socially burdened municipalities. The intention of this committee is to be an urban policy think tank (www.bm.dk/bypolitik/byudvalg/kommis.asp).

The budget of the new programme is of DKK 225 millions, and two thirds will be provided by the state. The rest will be financed by The National Fund of Housing Associations and the municipalities.

3.1.2 Urban Area Improvement Programme

This programme was launched as part of the Urban Committee in 1996 and continued in 2000. This programme goes more in depth with the entire neighbourhood and is based on a co-ordinated and integrated effort. Additionally, it is based on participation and strength of local actors (Vestergaard 1998: 12).

The programme attaches importance to upgrade the neighbourhood socially, physically, and culturally. The following dimensions have high priority: A social dimension aimed at inclusion of immigrants and strengthening their social network; an employment dimension focused on creating local jobs; an architectural/ecological dimension aimed at improving the physical appearances; a traffic dimension oriented towards reducing traffic noise; and a cultural dimension aimed at establishing cultural activities and institutions.

This programme has a bottom-up holistic approach and aims at involving all relevant parties in the process of combating social problems. Additionally, it is an integrated part of the programme to develop new partnerships and ways of co-operation between parties on governmental, sectoral and local level.

3.1.3 Policies promoting social inclusion and combating social exclusion at different societal levels

Below the important policies regarding social integration are summarised schematically

Policies	National Level	Regional Level	Local Level	Neighbourhood
Areabased Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Committee Programme • Urban Area Improvement Programme • Rules regulating municipal referral to social housing 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Committee Programme • Urban Area Improvement Programme • Building housing • Authorization of neighbourhood's dispensation from law and regulation to try new ways of solving vicious circles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Committee Programme • Urban Area Improvement Programme
Sectoral Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health – hospitals • District psychiatric • Help to alcohol problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transfer income • Social pension • Day care 	
Social inclusion/ social exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education (Universities) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment • Education (gymnasium) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment • Public school • Language school • Employment of social workers in housing estates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social activities in housing estate

3.2 Difficulties inherent in the housing policies

Evaluation research done in relation to the programme of the first Urban Committee has made the politicians aware of the importance of holistic means of efforts if unsuitable processes in housing estates are to change. In continuation of this, awareness has been drawn to the importance of encouraging all relevant actors to participate and get involved in the processes of improving everyday life for all residents and promote social inclusion. Hence, immanent in policies related to social housing is a broad and holistic view that is transferred to view housing estates in a broader context and that favours all local actors that are in contact with the particularly housing estate. In addition, there is a will from the political quarter to involve residents and make them co-responsible for actions, initiatives, and alteration of contemporary conditions in their neighbourhood. However, experiences indicate problems in regards of involving the most marginalised residents in the processes of activities in the respective housing estates.

As regards the balance of responsibilities and activities between local, regional and national levels of government in policy making and implementation of actions to promote social inclusion at the neighbourhood level, the political intentions are to decentralise responsibilities and to let the neighbourhoods come up with own strategies and ideas to solve issues of social exclusion. However, it has to be done within the framework decided on the national level by the government due to the major part of financing the projects is provided by the state. This means that the activities have to be related to the high-priority areas defined in the programmes.

Experiences from the Urban Area Improvement Programme are that a main problem is, especially, that the government defines the framework, and the efforts are time-limited to a period of four or five years. When a period ends, the funds come to an end as well even though social problems remain unsolved and need more time and funding in order to be dealt with.

By the same token, experiences show difficulties in relation to the decision making process. These difficulties are related to the fact that municipalities have to approve the ideas and projects developed by actors in a neighbourhood. This minimises the neighbourhood's free scope to do things their way. Additionally, the cross-sectional co-ordination, which is an intended approach in the programme, is fraught with difficulties.

Finally, in regards to the extension of "neighbourhood governance" within the policies, attention is devoted to incorporate public agencies and organs, and voluntary organisations in the decision-making processes. Public schools, leisure-time institutions for young people,

the local social authorities, church, evening schools, etc. are recognised at the political level as co-players and important actors in the neighbourhoods.

4. Description of neighbourhood³

The neighbourhood consists of three social housing estates, which are, respectively, Vapnagård, the largest one, Borupgård, and Nøjsomhed.⁴

The neighbourhood is situated on the outskirts of an old provincial city, Elsinore, in the greater metropolitan area of Copenhagen. Within or close to the neighbourhood there are schools, institutions for childcare and teenagers, theatre, police station, and a variety of super markets and grocery shops. Additionally, close by is public transportation such as busses and trains.

Vapnagård was built in 1968-73, and renovated in 1992-96. There are major joint outdoor areas, premises for the residents, cafe, service centre with staff, and a municipal library for children. There are 57 three and four storey housing blocks with a total of 1719 dwellings divided among 34 per cent two bedroom apartments, 48 per cent have three bedrooms, 15 percent have four bedrooms, and the last three percent have five bedrooms.

Borupgård consists of two sections, and they were built in 1973 and 1976. The estate is a mix of blocks and terraced houses. The apartments at ground floor have attached kitchen gardens, while the other apartments have a balcony. There are shared premises for the residents. There are 415 dwellings of which 18 percent have one bedroom, 34 per cent have two bedrooms, 12 per cent have three bedrooms, and 36 percent have four bedrooms.

Nøjsomhed has 456 apartment and was built in the beginning of the 1960s, and there is a mix of tall and low blocks – 3 blocks with 8 storeys, 6 with 4 storyes and one with 3 storyes. In the beginning of 1990s a thorough renovation was carried out. At the same time, the estate had to convert to district heating. This put major stress on the financial situation, and the rent increased drastically. Therefore, many residents moved out, and a vicious circle began as social and economic problems increased simultaneously.

Altogether there are 6,000 residents and dwellings in the neighbourhood. There is a relative high concentration of poor, marginalised Danish residents and foreigners; 20 per cent are foreign nationals, compared to seven per cent in the municipal, and six per cent at the national level. About 40 per cent of the residents have an ethnic origin.

³ Demographic data about the neighbourhood are in appendix A.

⁴ See appendix B

4.1 Vapnagård

The Urban Committee has funded Vapnagård since 1993. The housing estate receives funds to social activities and to a social worker.

The composition of residents is considered unsuitable, as there is a concentration of singles' with children, unemployed persons, and foreigners. As regards to age there is also a majority of young residents.

In the application for the second round of funds the housing state put priority to follow up on the processes and the achievements in the period 1993-97. The objective is defined as to provide broad social and cultural activities, which can strengthen the neighbourhood community and motivate the residents to engage and get involved in the neighbourhood. The following points are the main areas of efforts:

- Safety
- Residents' influence in the neighbourhood
- Young residents including foreign young residents
- Co-operation between the housing estate and the municipal
- General activities to improve the well-being of residents and their everyday life

So far there has been good results related to co-operation between local actors in the neighbourhood, however, the co-operation needs to be developed, and the residents' influence in the decision-making needs to be enlarged as well. Formal mechanisms of governance are weakly developed to incorporate residents and, especially, socially excluded residents. The residents who have some kind of human reserves to participate in the dialogue, e.g. in the formal tenants' democracy, are to some extent represented. However a major part of the residents without this reserve are still left out of the social life and alteration of the housing estate physically and socially.

4.2 Borupgård

As regards to Borupgård within the last couple of years the amount the residents, who have received social welfare benefits, has increased. More than 65 per cent of the residents receive social transfer income from the state. Thus, the level of income is 70 per cent of the mean income level in the municipal. In addition, there are many residents who have social and/or mental problems, and the amount of conflicts between Danes and foreigners has increased drastically during the last couple of years.

The objectives formulated for this housing estate concern the following points:

- To improve the conditions for the lonely and isolated residents
- To establish a co-operation between the housing estate, municipal and the county in order to improve the everyday life for the mental ill residents
- To improve the physical environment, including premises for social gatherings
- Information about activities in the estate in order to make sure that every resident feel included and invited to participate
- To improve the housing estate's image and attractiveness

The problems that this housing estate is facing need to be dealt with in a broad context of actors such as the residents, social workers, municipal, county and police. The tenants' democracy has to be further developed in terms of residents having their say in the political processes regarding the estate. A major difficulty is the amount of residents with loose connection and weak and poor commitment to the estate and neighbourhood in general. Changing these residents' feeling of belonging to the neighbourhood is a troublesome road to go. The difficult situation is twofold. On one side, the formal mechanisms regarding neighbourhood governance need to be developed and enlarged, and, on the other side, the residents need to be motivated to participate in establishing these mechanisms.

4.3 Nøjsomhed

Finally, Nøjsomhed is a housing estate that has experienced a social comedown since the beginning of 1990s. Many well-functioning residents moved out due to rent increase, the tenants' democracy came under stress and was poorly organised, and the composition of residents became highly unsuitable. Many serious social and economic problems became everyday life for the housing estate.

The composition of residents is that 25 percent are foreigners, more than 50 per cent are singles without children, almost 50 percent are one-parent families, and about 66 percent are residents over 17 years old who receive some kind of social welfare benefit.

In the period of 1999-2002 Nøjsomhed receive funds from the Urban Committee. The housing estate applied for a social worker as well, however, the sponsored funds are only for social activities. The estate has set its objectives to be:

- To involve the foreigners in the organisation of social activities
- To create facilities for an inviting dialogue between Danish and non-Danish residents and promoting a mutual understanding

- To create a framework for binding relationship
- To involve all groups of residents in the estate
- The section board has to formulate visions and perspectives for the housing estate and has to draw attention to engage and involve the residents in this process of vision and perspective formulation

Some of the main difficulties the housing estate faces at the time being are a non-existing co-operation between residents, housing association and the municipal. Therefore, effort is targeted to establishing a platform for co-ordination of initiatives in the estate, and important actors in this process are the elected section board, residents, staff in the estate, municipal and consultants. At this point, it seems like all the relevant local actors, including residents, local institutions, housing association, and municipal, lack commitment and feelings of responsibility for the functioning and the well being of the housing estate.

Our rationale for choosing Vapnagård, Borupgård and Nøjsomhed for this study is that they are three housing estates which all have a troubled composition of residents, are dealing with a variety of social, cultural and economic problems, and which try to change this vicious circle. Additionally, they are located in the urban neighbourhood, closely connected and built in the same period.

In the process of changing contemporary conditions each housing estate devotes attention to involve the residents and to develop organisational relations between local actors. A preliminary understanding of the neighbourhood is that Nøjsomhed has to start from scratch in terms of establishing a dialogue between relevant actors, Borupgård has achieved some stable co-operation partnerships, while Vapnagård, though there still is a long way to go, has achieved many positive results in terms of neighbourhood governance and involving relevant actors in the process of solving problems. However, the positive results achieved in Vapnagård lack the involvements of the hardest hit residents, including ethnic residents.

The neighbourhood is at a local and a national level considered troublesome, hence, funds from the Urban Committee have been canalised to the area. The municipal recognises the significance of establishing partly co-operation between the three housing estates, partly a common understanding of belonging to the same neighbourhood and therefore the importance that the three housing estates solve the unsuitable housing situation together.

In two ways this seems to affect the neighbourhood. The housing situation and the poor conditions for the residents' everyday life are taken seriously from central quarter. However, simultaneously this generates and regenerates public knowledge about this

neighbourhood being troubled and deprived and this contributes to an even further stigmatisation and social exclusion of the neighbourhood and its residents.

5. Literature

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Appendix A: Social indicators for Borupgård, Vapnagård, Nøjsomhed and Helsingør

	Borupgård	Vapnagård	Nøjsomhed	Neighbourhood	Helsingør
Dwellings 2000-1-1	415	1719	456	2590	27063
Population 2000-1-1	893	4027	1084	6004	59492
Foreign nationals	18%	18%	27%	20%	7%
Foreign nationals under 18 years	22%	22%	29%	23%	9%
Population Structure 2000-1-1:					
0-17 years	29%	28%	34%	32%	21%
18-66 years	64%	62%	59%	61%	65%
Older than 66	7%	7%	7%	7%	13%
Pensioners below the age of 67, 2000-1-1	68%	67%	62%	66%	43%
Transfer incomes/benefits 2000 1-1					
All types of transfer incomes/benefits	68%	68%	79%	70%	52%
Cash benefit	19%	18%	31%	20%	6%
Unemployment benefits	11%	11%	10%	11%	7%
Temporary social benefits	39%	39%	52%	41%	23%
Permanent social benefits	31%	30%	29%	30%	29%
Single, no children	46	37%	43%	40%	37%
Single with children	11	17%	10%	15%	7%

* 2001

Source: Danmarks Statistik, special compilations for Borupgård, Vapnagård, Nøjsomhed and Helsingør

Appendix B: Map of the neighbourhood: Vapnagård, Borupgård and Nøjsomhed

Elsinore/Helsingør

