

**AT HOME IN
EUROPE**

**EUROPE'S
WHITE
WORKING
CLASS
COMMUNITIES**

AARRHDS



**OPEN SOCIETY
FOUNDATIONS**

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WORKING WITH LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN MORE THAN 100 COUNTRIES, THE OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS SUPPORT JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS, FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, AND ACCESS TO PUBLIC HEALTH AND EDUCATION.

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At Home in Europe has final responsibility for the content of the report, including any errors or misrepresentations.

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Preface

Over the past 50 years states in western and northern Europe have undergone dramatic demographic, social and economic changes, including de-industrialisation, a shift to a service economy, growing inequality, challenges to the sustainability of social welfare, and increasing ethnic and cultural diversity. The challenges these changes create to sustaining social cohesion and ensuring integration are experienced at the local city-level.

Since 2007, the At Home in Europe Project of the Open Society Foundations has worked to support improved social inclusion, participation and advancing equality across 20 cities in 10 countries, in partnership with local policy makers, practitioners and civil society. The impetus for the engagement arose from Open Society Foundations' mandate to address and mitigate the concerns of vulnerable groups at a time when Europe's governments were beginning to accept that its myriad of immigrant communities—particularly those with a Muslim background—were here to stay and an integral part of the social, political, and cultural landscape. As Europe's Muslims and other minorities became more visible and demographically larger, there has been a pursuit of policies to encourage integration but this has been set against a backdrop of growing anxiety about migration, the perceived erosion of national identity, and the perception that communities from the majority population of European countries have been ignored and consequently disenfranchised.

While there is rhetoric of integration as a 'two way' process, too often integration and social cohesion policies have failed to engage with the views and experiences of existing settled communities, focusing instead on what immigrants or their descendants must do to integrate. For many this failure to address the concerns or anxieties created by changes in the economic and social structures of their neighbourhoods reinforces a sense of being ignored, left behind and demonised. In some cases this has fed into resentment of mainstream political parties and the liberal political values they are seen to represent and increased the appeal of populist parties on mainly the right but also the left. Too often this has led to disengagement from political processes of any kind.

The Europe's White Working Class Communities project documents the experiences of 'white' communities in six cities across Europe (Aarhus, Amsterdam, Berlin, Lyon, Manchester, and Stockholm). Each report in the series focuses on a specific district or neighbourhoods within the city. In doing so it provides new groundbreaking research on the experiences of a section of the population whose lives are often caricatured and whose voices and views are rarely heard in public debates and discussion on integration, cohesion and social inclusion. Through a comparative lens, the project seeks to highlight parallels and differences in policies, practices and experiences across the different European cities.

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Executive summary

The research results presented in this report are a part of the research conducted in the Open Society Foundations' Europe's White Working Class Communities programme targeting marginalised majority populations and communities. This report presents the findings from a case study of the neighbourhood of Trigeparken, which is located in the municipality of Aarhus in the town of Trige. The empirical base of the research consisted of 12 focus group interviews and interviews with 21 local stakeholders (social workers, key residents and members of the political administration). The findings from the empirical data have been substantiated and have been related to relevant, mainly Danish literature on the topics researched.

A wide range of subjects have been explored concerning the majority population in Trigeparken. Questions of identity and belonging, education, employment, housing, health, safety and civil participation all together make up a detailed representation of the most important issues and concerns of the ethnic-majority citizens in Trigeparken. The main findings are identified here.

Many residents in Trigeparken have a strong connection to the neighbourhood. They have lived there for many years, some since it was built in the late 1970s. Many residents are very happy living there. They appreciate the ethnic heterogeneity, the tranquil environment and the intimate atmosphere of the area, but a large group of residents are not able to develop ties with other residents before they move to other areas. This churn is a problem for social cohesion and for any stability in activities and interaction between residents.

Moreover, the high residential turnover rate represents a financial problem for one of the housing departments in Trigeparken. People move out, some with a subsequent financial loss for the department. To aggravate matters, one of the two housing departments' housing is significantly worse in terms of quality, which makes it even harder to attract stable tenants. The configuration of housing markets thus plays an important role in the systematic concentration of social problems in the public housing sector. The private housing market is in most cases a more attractive alternative, especially financially when considering the long-term advantages, but also in terms of subjective preference, and the fact that many public housing estates have somewhat blemished reputations. This imbalance is not a product of coincidence, but rather the outcome of decades of systematic political neglect of the public housing sector.

The residents in Trigeparken are encouraged to get involved in associations and especially in the local tenants' democracy. The tenants' democracy has low rates of participation, except when larger decisions affecting everyone are being discussed. In one department in particular, the elected board has consisted of the same circle of

people for many years without any major changes—including in their attitude towards changes in the department. The board has for instance blocked the merger of the two departments proposed by their housing association, Ringgaarden. This static leadership might be seen as a democratic problem. However, most respondents were either satisfied with the routine or uninterested in local decision-making.

In addition to the tenants' democracy, there are numerous clubs and associations anyone interested can join. Some of them have long histories while others are short-lived and lacking committed participants. The Revitalisation Plan has as an objective to engage residents more and to support the initiatives brought about by residents in order to improve social cohesion in Trige and Trigeparken. The initiative and support from the social workers managing the Revitalisation Plan is without doubt important for the participation and sense of community in Trigeparken, but in some instances the top-down structure has been problematised by residents. The main criticisms emerge from the top-down structure of the plan and from the fact that funding cannot be used for physical facilities or accessories but only campaigns, events and social work.

The ghetto list, an annual public listing of the most deprived neighbourhoods in Denmark, has further damaged the public's estimation of the public housing sector. Trigeparken has been on that list since 2011. This has put a considerable strain not only on the residents' perception of their neighbourhood, but also possibly even more on outsiders' views of the area. Those affected, residents and social workers, try to fight the impact of the list, but without much success, since the list has a certain authority to it given its origin in the highest-ranking political institutions.

The residents of Trigeparken have one of the lowest labour-market participation rates in the whole municipality of Aarhus. This is not a question of unemployment only, but rather a consequence of a high number of residents with disability pensions or on other more or less permanent welfare transfer. Various local and national initiatives are attempting to deal with this. Part of the social work in Trigeparken is concerned with the widespread labour-market detachment, and it actually has seen some results with getting residents into primarily manual jobs. But alleviation of the negative impact of being detached from the labour market, for instance through income substitution, remains a vital element of many residents' existence. Nonetheless, recent reforms of the unemployment insurance system, combined with the concurrent macroeconomic crisis, have put unemployed citizens under more pressure.

Most residents in Trigeparken felt safe and secure in their neighbourhood, yet many focus group respondents were able to report first-hand experiences of crime. Many have had their basement storage rooms and cars broken into, cars had been stolen and some had experienced burglaries in their apartments. Quite a few were also familiar with domestic disputes among neighbours and some have had neighbours

they felt were unsafe being around. However, the general trend in Aarhus of falling crime rates among youngsters also shows in Trige parken. The general experience of the interviewees is that the problems with crime are a thing of the past in Trige parken; that things were turned around a few years ago. This is confirmed by local social workers and the police. One factor explaining the drop in crime and the rise in security is the cooperation between the authorities and institutions, the school, the police and the local social workers. Monthly meetings between these actors provide a basis for knowledge sharing and cooperation in order to prevent young people from following a wrong path. Also, the local school is considered to be an important source of social cohesion in the community, since it is a natural centre in the neighbourhood where children and young people learn how to behave and where emerging social problems can be spotted and prevented.

The public school is perhaps the most important institution in Trige and Trige parken. Most respondents had very positive opinions about the school as a teaching facility but also regarding the school's ability to see the ethnic and social diversity among children and the wider community as a strength. Compared with schools in areas with similar socio-economic compositions, the public school in Trige's grade point average (GPA) is in line with the national average. Yet some parents consider it less academic than other nearby schools. On the other hand, the school does a lot to improve the above-national-level of student absences by offering additional training and support for those in need; both academically (e.g. after-school homework assistance) and socially (occasionally picking up children and young people at home and offering a comforting start of the day with breakfast and individual talks). Pupils are also offered alternative non-academic but ambitious activities and training in sports, for example.



INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of the Open Society Foundations' research on Europe's White Working Class Communities (EWWCC) in Denmark. The research is based on a comprehensive literature review and an empirical case study of the neighbourhood Trigeperken in the municipality of Aarhus. In the case study, 12 focus group interviews were carried out with residents at Trigeperken, as well as in-depth interviews with 21 local key residents, experts and stakeholders from local government and housing associations.

1.1 | RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONTEXT

In line with the overall EWWCC research design format, this report focuses on a single residential area in the city of Aarhus and Trigeperken was chosen from several potential case study areas in Aarhus. The choice of engaging the residents of this particular location was based on desk research, a review of statistical indicators and initial discussions with social workers and other stakeholders. A central question in this process was how to define and operationalise the concept of marginalisation in a Danish setting.

1.2 | CONCEPTS OF MARGINALISATION

The term marginalisation denominates a kind of social process or interaction that leads to people or groups of people being pushed to the margins of society or of a community. It is a relative concept, and as such closely related to inequality, poverty, discrimination, deprivation and exclusion. In practice, marginalisation is often associated with labour-market marginalisation, because exclusion from employment tends to have consequences reaching far beyond the loss of income. This is also the case in Denmark, although, as this report will suggest, this may in fact be less than might be expected, at least in terms of the capacity of individuals to retain meaningful possibilities for citizenship. In a comprehensive welfare state such as Denmark, labour-market participation is nevertheless vital and unemployment puts a considerable pressure on the individual. Unemployment has been the most important indicator of marginalisation in the operationalisation of this concept in the report.

1.3 | PERSONAL AND NEIGHBOURHOOD-LEVEL MARGINALISATION

This research did not target people based on individual measures of marginality. It only looked at community-level indicators such as aggregated levels of unemployment, low income and stigmatisation. Marginalisation is expressed differently at the two

levels of the group and the individual. An inquiry based on focus group interviews cannot explore individual deprivation related to homelessness, psychological disorders, substance abuse, neglect, prostitution, etc., issues which have been the subject of applied social research in Denmark.¹ Instead the research has focused on the neighbourhood effect and community sentiments about deprivation and exclusion, and has done this, in line with the EWWCC guidelines, for the ethnic Danish, non-immigrant, majority population, also excluding the Danish national minority population of Faroese and Greenlanders, a group strongly represented at Trigeparken.

So the marginalisation examined in this report is that of a neighbourhood, not of individuals. As a consequence, it may be that none of the respondents in the focus groups would agree on the definition of themselves as marginalised, although they might to some extent recognise their neighbourhood's collective status as such. A significant degree of self-selection meant that many respondents, while very often unemployed or living on various income replacement systems, did not feel they belonged to the most disadvantaged segments of the overall population.

1.4 | ETHNIC AND SPATIAL SEGREGATION

A key factor of marginalised communities is segregation, or the concentration of certain social phenomena in one particular area. Contemporary social marginalisation is very closely tied to the specific spatial segregation of public housing projects, but is also an important ethnic dimension to it. Disadvantaged neighbourhoods generally have a high fraction, even a majority, of ethnic-minority residents. This fact presented the difficulty of identifying a neighbourhood which contained a large proportion of ethnic-majority members and a considerable amount of social deprivation. Most disadvantaged parts of Aarhus consist of well above 30 percent of residents with non-Western backgrounds, whereas the whole of the city only has 10.6 percent non-Western immigrants and their descendants.² The picture is very similar nationally: around 35 percent of residents in the public housing sector have non-Western backgrounds compared with a figure of around 7 percent of the population as a whole.³

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- 1 P. V. Pedersen et al., "SUSY Udsat 2012. Sundhedsprofil for socialt udsatte i Danmark 2012 og udviklingen siden 2007" (Health profile for the marginalised in Denmark 2012 and development since 2007), Council for Socially Disadvantaged, Copenhagen, 2012; M. Davidsen et al., "Dødelighed blandt socialt udsatte i Danmark 2007–2012 – Overdødelighed, middellevetid og dødsårsager" (Mortality among marginalised in Denmark 2007–2012), Council for Socially Disadvantaged, Copenhagen, 2013; and Brandt, P., B. L. Henriksen, K. B. Jensen & N. C. Rasmussen (eds), *Udsat for forståelse—Antologi om socialt udsatte* (Being understood—Anthology on marginalisation), Copenhagen, Council for Socially Disadvantaged, 2009.
 - 2 Output from BoSocData, Municipality of Aarhus data, June 2013.
 - 3 A. Schultz and E. A. Højbjerg, *Beboere i de større almene boligområde* (Residents in major public housing estates), Kraka, Copenhagen, 2013, p. 8 (hereafter, Schultz and Højbjerg, *Beboere*).

1.5 | ETHNICITY AND IMMIGRATION

A pivotal element almost as important as employment, in understanding these marginalised neighbourhoods is ethnicity. Minorities of non-Western origin have much higher risks of being poor⁴—indeed long-term poor⁵—and detached from the labour market.⁶ Also, non-Western immigrants and their descendants have much lower rates of political participation than Denmark’s ethnic majority, in part because many are not citizens and thus cannot vote in national elections.⁷ The assumption that the Danish ethnic majority is generally less marginalised, and also of course they are citizens, has meant that the group is rarely the primary choice for research on deprived communities. The EWWCC project aims to provide a better understanding of what is special about the ethnic majority’s marginality, taking into consideration that it may partly be due to the increase in recent decades of large-scale immigration. The marginalised majority population’s relationship with and perception of ethnic minorities is an important theme for this research project.

1.6 | TRIGEPARKEN AS AN EXAMPLE

Because Trigeparken is quite typical of similar public housing communities in Denmark in many respects, insights from the present project may shed light generally on the concerns of the Danish marginalised ethnic-majority. Trigeparken is a classical type of public housing, shaped according to the widely used Southern Jutland plan^{8,9} and inaugurated at a time when construction in the public housing sector peaked.¹⁰

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- 4 Ministry of Finance, “Indkomstudvikling og -fordeling i Danmark 1983–2007” (Developments in income and distribution in Denmark 1983–2007), Copenhagen, 2010, at http://www.fm.dk/nyheder/pressemeddelelser/2010/03/20100301-danmark-det-mest-lige-land-i-oecd/~media/Files/Nyheder/Pressemeddelelser/2010/03/Indkomstudvikling%20og%20fordeling%20i%20danmark%2083%20til%2007/indkomstudvikling_og_fordeling_i_danmark_83_07.aspx (accessed 11 September 2014).
 - 5 J. S. Juul and G. Rosenlund, “Langvarig” fattigdom er et stigende problem blandt indvandrere” (Long-term poverty is a growing problem among immigrants), Economic Council of the Labour Movement, Copenhagen, 2010, at http://www.ae.dk/files/dokumenter/analyse/ae_langvarig-fattigdom-er-et-stigende-problem-blandt-indvandrere.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).
 - 6 H. L. Andersen, *Forklarende analyse af ikke-vestlige indvanderes arbejdsmarkedstilkn ytning* (Explanatory analysis of non-Western immigrants’ labour market attachment), KORA, Copenhagen, 2012, at <http://www.kora.dk/media/1032525/forklarende-analyse-af-ikke-vestlige-indvanderes-arbejdsmarkedstilkn ytning.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).
 - 7 Y. Bhatti and K. M. Hansen, “Valgdeltagelsen blandt danske unge” (Election turnout among Danish youth), Working Paper, Department of Political Science and Government, Copenhagen University, 2010 (hereafter, Bhatti and Hansen, “Valgdeltagelsen blandt danske unge”).
 - 8 It was so named because the first developments were in cities in southern Jutland. See E. Nygaard, *Tag over hovedet* (Shelter), Arkitektens Forlag, Copenhagen, 1984, Chapter 13 (hereafter, Nygaard, *Tag over hovedet*).
 - 9 Bech-Danielsen, C., J. O. Jensen, I. M. Kirkeby, S. Ginnerup, A. Clementsen & M. Ø. Hansen. *Renovering af efterkrigstidens almene bebyggelser* (Renovation of post-war public housing). Copenhagen: Danish National Centre for Social Research (SBI), 2011, pp. 16–17.
 - 10 Ministry of Welfare. *Den almene boligsektors finansiering—Anden rapport fra udvalget om den fremtidige styring af den almene boligsektor* (The financing of the public housing sector – second report from the commission on the future regulation of public housing). Copenhagen, 2009, p. 70 (hereafter, Ministry of Welfare, *Den almene boligsektors finansiering*).

In terms of location, construction time and demography, Trigeparken is also very similar to many other neighbourhoods in Denmark, principally in Jutland and around the cities of 20,000–25,000 inhabitants and over. Typically, these housing projects were built in the 1960s or 1970s, relatively secluded in location, even separated from their main city, where sites were cheap and planners envisaged inhabitants would appreciate the green surroundings. They are often the places in the city where unemployment, social problems, general deprivation and poor, new immigrants are disproportionately concentrated. This form of construction responded to a growing demand for low-cost housing. It was an efficient form of mass production based on precast parts, but of low overall quality. When the last section of Trigeparken was built in 1981, it was arguably already outdated.

1.7 | SAMPLING AND SELECTION IN PRACTICE

With a total number of residents in Trigeparken of around 1,050 in 471 households, the margins of error for the sampling for a large-scale study such as the EWWCC research project were fairly narrow. The target population consisted of adult residents who considered themselves as ethnic Danes, amounting to around 500 people. With a research design requesting 12 focus groups with ideally 8 respondents in each, the preferred sample-ratio approached 20%, which is optimistic in a neighbourhood with high turnover rates and low levels of involvement. To reach as many of these as possible with an invitation to the focus group interviews, the researchers decided simply to knock on their doors and talk to them. They brought flyers with basic information about the study, contact details and information about the incentive payment of DKK 150 in gift tokens (approximately €20). The researchers knocked on doors with names that looked Danish and also where the name on the door was both Danish and a foreign name or when only parts of a name (e.g. first name) looked Danish. Potential participants were approached in this way during the daytime in weekends and late afternoons on workdays. For every household a note was taken of whether the name looked Danish or not, if contact was made or not, and if a representative from the household expressed a wish to participate or not. The names and phone numbers of those interested were registered as well. Where possible, researchers also registered the gender and an estimate of the age of those they talked to. Of the 471 households in total, 298 were at first glance considered to fit the target population. After making contact, this number was adjusted to 279, basically because Greenlanders have names of Danish origin.

All relevant but non-responding households were visited at least once more on a different day in order to maximise the number of participants and reduce bias. Contact was made with 174 households with one or more residents belonging to the target population in these two rounds of door-knocking. Contact was face-to-face except on one occasion where the offer was rejected in a dialogue through the door. Of those

174 households, 81 agreed to participate and consequently gave their phone number, so that an interview with them could be arranged. The non-responding but seemingly relevant households were looked up online for phone numbers. Phone numbers for 64 out of 94 households were retrieved. Half of these phone numbers produced a response after at least three attempts, and eight of those responding agreed to participate. The main reason for non-participation was lack of interest, although some referred to illness in the household. Twenty-four expressed interest, but wanted to make contact themselves without giving their phone number; no response came from those residents. Information about the research and contact information was also distributed around the housing departments and online, but this only generated one or two participants. Face-to-face encounters on the doorstep and contact by phone resulted in a total of 89 residents from 89 households expressing a wish to participate. Thus, face-to-face contact was by far the most efficient way to recruit focus group respondents.

The total number of respondents for the focus group interviews reached 54. Some of those who gave their phone numbers eventually dropped out because of loss of interest, illness and interrupted telephone conversations (mainly cooking or children requiring attention), and some felt despite encouragement that they were too old. Most participants received letters and the rest received phone calls as reminders of the focus group meeting, but around a third of these did not show up as expected. The 12 focus groups had between two and eight participants. Of the 54 respondents in total, 29 or 53.7 percent were female, which is slightly more than the average for Trigeperken of 48.8 percent.

Trigeperken is divided in two housing departments under the same housing association (Ringgaarden). The two housing departments involved were represented approximately corresponding to their proportion of residents. The estimated mean age of respondents was around 43–45 years, which is in line with the age distribution of the above-18 segment in Trigeperken.

In summary, the focus group respondents represented approximately 10 percent of the target population in Trigeperken. Dropout patterns, non-response and interviewee characteristics suggested that the group of interviewees in general represented the least deprived in Trigeperken. The unemployed were somewhat underrepresented in the focus groups, and only a few respondents were on disability pensions. Also, the form of inquiry was most appealing to those who enjoy social interaction and those who generally engage themselves in the community. A big group of the target population was impossible to reach, even after at least two doorstep visits or at least three phone call attempts. This suggests that the voices of the most isolated and possibly most deprived residents in Trigeperken have not been represented sufficiently in the focus groups. Hence, the findings in this report that are based mainly on focus group interviews should be viewed in the light of this bias.

2.

POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

In the commonly used operationalisation where majority Danes are considered to be those citizens with at least one parent born and raised in Denmark, around 89 percent of the Danish population belong to the ethnic majority. This number is decreasing because of immigration and a slightly higher (though rapidly decreasing) fertility rate among non-Western immigrants.¹¹ The pattern is similar for Aarhus: of the total population of 320,000, 84.7 percent belong to the majority population. The rest are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. Some of the biggest groups of immigrants are the Lebanese, Turks, Somalis, Iraqis, Vietnamese, Iranians, Polish, Germans, Afghans and Romanians. This corresponds roughly to the composition of immigrants nationally. Table 1 shows the composition of immigrants nationally, at the city level and in Trigeparken. Even though most of the immigrant groups that are dominant in the national setting are also present in similar proportions in Aarhus, it is worth noting the somewhat higher proportions of Somalis, Lebanese, Iraqi and Vietnamese immigrants. These concentrations suggest a tendency to less variety in the ethnic composition in Aarhus relative to the rest of the country: half of immigrants and their descendants in Aarhus originate from seven countries, whereas nationally the top seven countries account only for around 30 percent of immigrants. For Trigeparken, the biggest minority groups are the Lebanese who account for more than one-fifth of immigrants and descendants. The group of “Other countries” is of course mixed, but includes many Greenlanders. Trigeparken houses many Sri Lankans, Romanians, Faroe Islanders and Icelanders compared with Aarhus and the rest of Denmark.

TABLE 1. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AMONG IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS (% OF TOTAL IMMIGRANT POPULATION), JULY 2013

	Denmark		Aarhus		Trigeparken
Turkey	8.44	Lebanon	9.74%	Lebanon	21.12%
Poland	4.79%	Turkey	8.79%	Other countries	10.47%
Germany	4.37%	Somalia	8.45%	Somalia	9.35%
Iraq	4.20%	Iraq	7.21%	Sri Lanka	9.35%
Lebanon	3.44%	Vietnam	5.14%	Romania	8.79%
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3.11%	Iran	4.88%	Iraq	7.29%
Pakistan	3.08%	Poland	4.38%	Turkey	5.98%
Somalia	2.47%	Germany	4.00%	Poland	5.23%
Iran	2.35%	Afghanistan	3.52%	Faroe Islands	3.93%
Norway	2.26%	Romania	2.93%	Vietnam	3.18%
Jugoslavia	2.24%	Norway	2.43%	Iceland	2.99%

Source: Statistics Denmark 2013Q3 and BoSocData July 2013

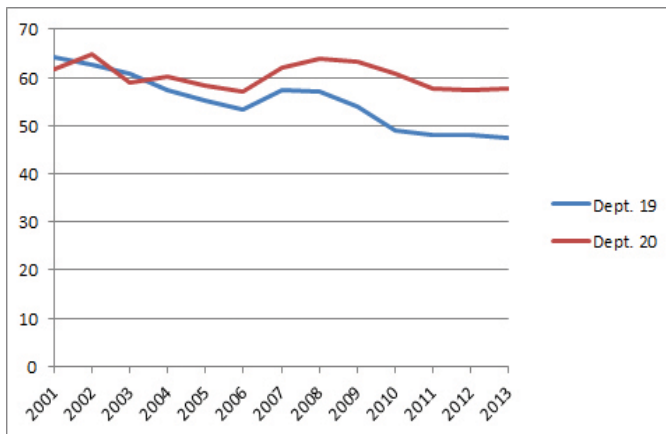
¹¹ Statistics Denmark (Danmarks Statistik). “Indvandrere i Danmark 2012” (Immigrants in Denmark 2012). Copenhagen: Statistics Denmark, 2012. At <http://www.dst.dk/pukora/epub/upload/16601/indu.pdf> (accessed 7 October 2014).

2.1 | TRIGEPARKEN

Trigeparken is a housing area in the town of Trige, a small community on the outskirts of the municipality of Aarhus, the second-biggest city of Denmark. Trige's population is 2,800, approximately 1,050 of whom live in Trigeparken. Trigeparken is a public housing project in Trige, consisting of two departments, no. 19 and no. 20. The first was constructed during 1974–1975 and the second during 1980–1981. Compared with the 320,000 inhabitants of the whole municipality of Aarhus, Trige and Trigeparken are relatively marginal. But despite its small size, Trigeparken is one of around 15 areas of Aarhus which are being monitored by the local authorities and the national government due to the persistent high rates of unemployment, crime and other social problems.

Since it was built, an above-average share of residents have had immigrant backgrounds. Certain periods have been characterised by sustained mono-ethnic migration into Trigeparken, mostly mirroring the national influx of new immigrant groups. But also migration unrelated to national patterns has played a role, particularly as regards immigrants from Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands, the last two groups being Danish citizens from the North Atlantic territories. The ethnic mix has been fairly stable, although with a slight reduction in the proportion of ethnic Danish residents. Figure 1 shows this development in the two housing departments. Department no. 19 has experienced a drop in the proportion of ethnic Danes, so that less than half of the residents have had ethnic-majority backgrounds since 2009. The proportion of ethnic Danes has stayed relatively stable in Department no. 20.

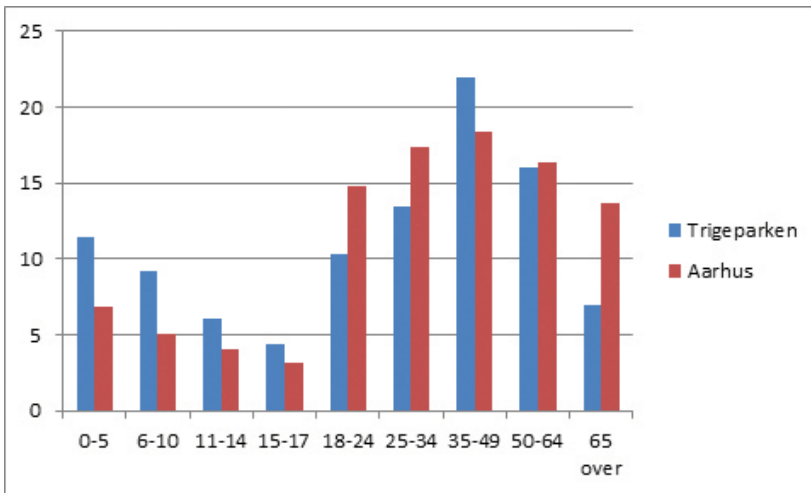
FIGURE 1. PROPORTION OF ETHNIC DANISH RESIDENTS (% OF TOTAL POPULATION), 2001–2013



Source: BoSocData July 2013

The proportion of residents with non-Western immigrant backgrounds is 35 percent, while approximately 51 percent of the residents have at least one parent born and raised in Denmark and hence belong to what in this report is termed the ethnic majority in Denmark. The population in Trigeparken is on average younger than in the whole of Aarhus. Figure 2 shows the age distribution in Trigeparken and in Aarhus as a whole. Children and adolescents as well as those aged between 35 and 49 are overrepresented in Trigeparken compared with Aarhus. This is very much a question of apartment sizes and the general overrepresentation of family households in public housing. In terms of gender distribution, Trigeparken houses 48.8 percent women compared with 50.8 percent in Aarhus.

FIGURE 2. AGE DISTRIBUTION: TRIGEPARKEN AND AARHUS COMPARED, 2013



Source: BoSocData July 2013

3.

POLICY CONTEXT

3.1 | THE MUNICIPALITY OF AARHUS

Since local democracy was established in 1919, the municipal administration has been headed by a Social Democratic mayor, except for the election period 2002–2005, when the mayor was from the Liberal Party. The current mayor, Jacob Bundsgaard, is a Social Democrat. He was elected in November 2013.

In addition to the mayor, five council executive offices or aldermen are elected to support the mayor in the five areas of work undertaken by the city administration: Families, Children and Youth; Culture and Civil Service; Social Affairs and Employment; Health and Care; Technical Services and Environment. The five council executive offices are also members of the city council.

The city council has 31 councillors elected every four years. The seats (31) are currently occupied by Socialists and Social Democrats (18), Liberals and Conservatives (9), social liberals (2) and the Danish People's Party (2), which is sceptical of immigration.

In 2007, the Danish municipalities and regional administration went through a comprehensive reorganisation, which extended the responsibilities of municipalities. Many municipalities were also merged with others, but not Aarhus, because it was so big already. This also meant that Aarhus was affected less than other municipalities, mainly in health care (especially non-hospital issues, alcohol and drug rehabilitation, physical rehabilitation, care for citizens with special needs), public transport and certain parts of education (e.g. special needs training), whereas other municipalities grew bigger with more comprehensive restructuring and a higher degree of centralisation as a result. However, the municipal budget is suffering from a decrease in block grants from the state.¹² In 2012, this translated into an overall cut of approx. DKK 140 million¹³ (approximately €18.8 million) out of an overall budget of around DKK 29 million (approximately €4 million).¹⁴ As a response to these tightened budget constraints and problems with inefficient cross-sectional cooperation, the municipal administration of Aarhus started to work on a strategy to optimise and improve its organisation.¹⁵

12 Aarhus Municipality, "Budget 2013–2016: Hovedkonto 7" (Budget 2013–2016: Main accounts), 2013, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/Borgmesterens-Afdeling/Budget-og-Regnskab/Budget-2013/Bemaerkninger-til-B2013-2016/Borgmesterens-Afdeling/Budgetbemaerkninger-HK7-B2013.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

13 Aarhus Municipality, "Økonomisk Redegørelse" (Financial accounts), September 2012, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/Borgmesterens-Afdeling/Budget-og-Regnskab/Oekonomiske-redegoerelser/Oekonomisk-Rede-goerelse-September-2012.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

14 Aarhus Municipality, "Budget 2014—Hovedoversigt" (Budget 2014—Main accounts), 2014, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/Borgmesterens-Afdeling/Budget-og-Regnskab/Budget-2014/Budget-2014-vedtaget/Oekonomiske-oversigter/Hovedoversigt-Budget-2014.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

15 Aarhus Municipality, "Analyse af strukturen i Aarhus Kommune—Resumé" (Analysis of the structure in the municipality of Aarhus), Deloitte, 2012, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/Borgmesterens-Afdeling/Byraadsservice/Oevrige-raad-og-naevn/Analyse-af-strukturen-i-Aarhus-Kommune---Resume-3-12.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

The subsequent restructuring process has sought to actively engage citizens, civil servants, civil society associations and service providers.¹⁶ Through involving these different stakeholders in meetings and workshop sessions, the municipal administration has attempted to develop a more efficient organisation more responsive and connected to the everyday lives of the city's residents.¹⁷ The restructuring process is in its final stage, which means that there is still some organisational turmoil.

3.2 | ADDRESSING MARGINALISATION

Marginalisation in a broad sense is dealt with in various parts of the municipal administration depending on the type of issue. Often there is collaboration across the five main areas, but mainly in Social Affairs and Employment and Family, Children and Youth. Unemployment, homelessness and mental health problems are generally addressed by subsections of Social Affairs in a wide range of decentralised institutions and drop-in centres,¹⁸ whereas family- and adolescent-related are mainly dealt with by the Family, Children and Youth section. This said, it is clear that some overlaps and blurred organisational boundaries continue to characterise the municipal administration.

Although external funding (European Union, national funds or private funds) for programmes targeting socially marginalised citizens make up a slightly larger proportion of the budget than in comparable municipalities, the overall expenses for such purposes have dropped 20 percent, from DKK 2,396 per head in 2010 to DKK 1,906 per head in the 2013 budget (€322 and €256 respectively). This is a slightly higher decrease than the average for comparable municipalities.¹⁹ In addition, the expenses per head (amount of money per inhabitant in the age span 18–64 spent by the municipal administration) in Aarhus's accounts for the socially marginalised are already among the lowest of all comparable municipalities in a period when,

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- 16 Aarhus Municipality, *Aftale om styring, struktur og samarbejdskultur* (Agreement on governance, structure and collaboration), 19 March 2013, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/nyheder/2013/Marts/~media/Dokumenter/Borgmesterens-Afdeling/Kommunikation/Nyheder-2013/11-kvartal/Aftale-om-styring-struktur-og-samarbejdskultur.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).
- 17 Aarhus Municipality, "Indstilling til Aarhus Byråd vedr. Aktivt Medborgerskab" (Proposal for the city council regarding active citizenship), 26 September 2013, at <http://www.medborgerskabi aarhus.dk/~media/Subsites/Medborgerskab-1 Aarhus/Dokumenter/Indstilling-om-aktivt-medborgerskab.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).
- 18 Aarhus Municipality, "Socialpsykiatri og udsatte voksne—Kommunale, frivillige og private tilbud samt bruger- og pårørende foreninger og interesseorganisationer" (Social psychiatry and marginalised adults—Municipal, volunteer and private services and associations for users and relatives), 2012, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Subsites/CSUVirk-somhedsplaner/Filer-til-download/Faelles-maalsaetninger/Udvikling-af-det-sociale-arbejde/Tilbud-og-ydelse-i-SUV.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).
- 19 Council for Socially Disadvantaged (Rådet for Socialt Udsatte), "Nøgletalsanalyse 2013 Aarhus Kommune" (Analysis of key indicators in the municipality of Aarhus 2013), Council for Socially Disadvantaged, 2013, at http://www.udsatte.dk/dyn/resources/News_Content/file/1/201/1396610782/aarhus-lokalrapport-2013.pdf (accessed 1st of October 2014).

for example, the number of homeless citizens in Aarhus went up by 32 percent between 2009 and 2013.²⁰ This may reflect more efficient organisation or other cost-cutting improvements, but to some extent, it is argued by various nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) working in the field, this inevitably ends up in lower-quality service and aggravated social problems.²¹

3.3 | THE HOTSPOTCENTER

Another branch of the municipality of Aarhus's work on marginalisation is focusing on marginalised neighbourhoods rather than individuals. The HotSpotCenter was established in 2010 in the Social Services department in the municipality of Aarhus. Such centres have been established at the municipal level in other large cities, including Copenhagen. They initially focused, including the one in Aarhus, narrowly on crime prevention and security, thereby replicating a Dutch model for area-based social work and police work,²² but they have gradually developed into a more general initiative to improve the quality of life in marginalised neighbourhoods.

The centre focuses on specific geographical areas where problems emerge, but does so by systematically working with and employing the knowledge of local stakeholders, rather than being an outside agency seeking to implement centrally initiated plans.²³ The centre also monitors all the difficult neighbourhoods in Aarhus, with a view to identifying problems before they develop too far. Another part of the centre's activities is local social work, primarily targeting young, often male citizens. The idea is to form a network of young, local volunteers who can become role models for the younger generation. This is achieved through contacting individuals or existing local associations in the area who are interested in collaboration, and then nurturing and supporting development by employing one or two positive role models and providing financial support for various activities. This is the kind of work that is carried out in Trigeparken through the HotSpotCenter's Youth-4-Youth programme.²⁴ Other neighbourhoods with more serious social problems are targeted with a wider range

20 L. Benjaminsen and H. H. Lauritzen, *Hjemløshed i Danmark 2013 – National kortlægning* (Homelessness in Denmark 2013 – National mapping), Danish National Centre for Social Research (SBI), Copenhagen, 2013, p. 56.

21 Aarhus Municipality, "Hørings svar ift. besparelser MSB (Katalog A + B) d. 14. januar 2011" (Hearing statement on budget cuts related to social marginalisation, 14 January 2011), Social Services Administration, 2011, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/MSB/SOC/Organisation/Udsatteraadet/Hoeringsforslag-besparelser.ashx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

22 Larsen, M. R., S. Bisgaard & F. M. Sigurd, *Hotspotmodellen—Fælles fodslag for trykligere boligområder* (The HotSpot model—Towards safer neighbourhoods). Copenhagen: Centre for Urban Regeneration and Community Development, 2010.

23 Aarhus Municipality, "HotSpotCentrets mission, vision og værdier" (The HotSpotCentre's mission, vision and values), undated text, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Subsites/HotSpotcentret/Filer/HotSpot/Vision-mission-vaerdier/HotSpotscentrets-mission-vision-vaerdier.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

24 Aarhus Municipality, "Unge4Unge" (Youth-4-Youth), 23 August 2013, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/borger/familie-boern-og-unge/Fritid/Unge4Unge.aspx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

of initiatives. Although it is formally a part of Social Services, a subdivision of Social Affairs and Employment, the HotSpotCenter works across the different administrative sections of the municipal administration. In addition, its administration is located away from City Hall, in Bispehaven, one of the main neighbourhood areas of activity of the HotSpotCenter.

3.4 | INTERVENTIONS IN DEPRIVED NEIGHBOURHOODS

The social policy for deprived neighbourhoods is closely connected to the concept of Revitalisation Plan (*Boligsocial helhedsplan*), which is a special kind of revitalisation plan to consider the needs of neighbourhoods and residents in a holistic way, rather than viewing the neighbourhood as an incidental concentration of dwellings and social problems. The efforts and engagement of residents are important factors here, and so are the social workers employed to administer the funding and to engage with residents and the local community. The funding comes from three main sources: the National Building Fund, shared by all public housing associations (75 percent), the municipality and the housing association to which the housing departments affected belong,²⁵ typically a number of blocks of housing with their own elected board. The municipality and the housing association together finance the remaining 25 percent. Each Plan is configured according to the needs of the neighbourhood, and the goals to be achieved during the Plan are defined during the application and initiation process. Revitalisation Plans such as the one for Trigeperken are concerned only with the social environment, not the physical structure of the neighbourhood. But they often supplement separate, ongoing improvements of neighbourhoods. This is also the case in Trigeperken.

In Trigeperken, the current Revitalisation Plan has been in operation since early 2014, as a continuation from the 2008 Plan. However, prior to this time, social workers who were employed with assistance from the housing association played a similar, if less specified, role. The costs of the 2008 Plan amounted to around DKK 9 million (€1.2 million) or DKK 8,650 per resident (€1,162) for the full period.²⁶ The 2014 Plan has a slightly bigger budget. The majority of the funding is earmarked for salaries for the social workers and project planners involved. The overall purpose of the 2008 Plan was to make Trigeperken a better place to live in, to reduce the residential turnover

25 A housing department or public housing project (for instance dep. 19 in Trigeperken) belongs to a housing association (i.e. the Ringgaarden Housing Association in Aarhus). Housing associations are relatively independent, but their funding comes in particular from their common fund, the National Building Fund, which collects mandatory, but differentiated contributions from all public housing projects (departments within housing associations) in Denmark. These funds are redistributed to departments in need and to new public housing projects.

26 Ringgaarden Housing Association (Boligforeningen Ringgaarden), "Helhedsplan for Trigeperken Afdeling 19 og 20" (Revitalisation plan for Trigeperken department 19 and 20), 2008, p. 31, at http://8380.dk/wp-content/uploads/images_8380/Helhedsplan_Trigeperken_21_10_08.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Helhedsplan").

and to improve the sense of belonging among residents. This involved improving both social cohesion across ethnic groups and the town of Trige as a whole, and encouraging the engagement of residents in local associations and activities. Explicit targets included lowering the proportion of immigrants and residents detached from the labour market,²⁷ since high rates of unemployment are a sign of deprivation. The 2014 Plan is more focused on social cohesion in Trigeparken, reducing unemployment, promoting education and labour-market attachment among young residents, and crime prevention.²⁸

3.5 | THE GHETTO LIST

The ghetto list emerged as one of a series of responses to public controversy and concern over increasing segregation of minorities and social problems in certain areas in Denmark in the late 2000s. The list, which was in fact officially called the ghetto list, was a part of the former government's ghetto strategy, which aimed to prevent the formation in Denmark (as in a number of other North-Western European countries) of what have been labelled parallel societies, that is, public housing projects with many non-Western immigrants, high levels of crime and many unemployed. In the presentation of the ghetto strategy in 2010, the ghetto label was specified by the prime minister at the time, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, and by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs.

The first list was published in October 2010, naming 29 public housing projects considered as ghettos. Since then an updated list has been published by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs every October.

According to the ghetto strategy launched in 2010, a neighbourhood initially had to satisfy the following criteria to enter the list:²⁹

- it must be a public housing project;
- it must contain 1,000 residents or more.

And it had to satisfy at least two of the following three criteria:

- the proportion of non-Western immigrants and their descendants among residents must be above 50 percent;

27 Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Heldhedsplan", p. 8.

28 Ringgaarden Housing Association (Boligforeningen Ringgaarden), "Boligsocial helhedsplan 2014–2018" (Revitalisation plan for Trigeparken 2014–2018), 2014, at <http://www.bf-ringgaarden.dk/media/82832/Helhedsplan-Trigeparken-2014-2018.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

29 Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, "Liste over særligt udsatte boligområder pr. 1. oktober 2010" (List of particularly deprived neighbourhoods, 1 October 2010), 2010, at http://mbbl.dk/sites/mbbl.dk/files/dokumenter/publikationer/liste_over_saelrigt_udsatte_boligomraader_pr_oktober_2010.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).

- the average proportion, in the preceding four years, of residents in the age range 18–64 detached from the labour market or educational system must be above 40 percent;
- the average proportion, in the preceding four years, of residents above 18 convicted of violations of the criminal act, weapons act or drugs act must be above 2.7 percent.

In late 2013, these criteria were supplemented with criteria concerning the educational level as well as the income of residents. This was done by the Social Democratic government to provide more nuance to the list. The nuance added is, however, questionable, since the resulting list, published on 1 October 2013, corresponded roughly to the old one.³⁰

Although the Social Democratic minister for housing, Carsten Hansen has expressed his discomfort on several occasions with the name ghetto list, preferring the more neutral “residential at-risk areas” (*udsatte boligområder*), and although the very idea of the list was clearly not specifically the Social Democrats’, the new edition of the list still bore the name. Only in February 2014, when the 2014 list came out, was the name changed to residential at-risk areas” (*udsatte boligområder*), although still with an explanatory “ghetto areas” (*ghettoområder*) in brackets afterwards. The political vacillation over the name may reflect media-driven logic, whereby the Social Democrats, although they disliked the list and attempted to broaden the criteria, were reluctant to completely abandon it, as this would be seen to send a signal of political lenience.

Ghettos were considered, by the Liberal-Conservative government to be “stony deserts”,³¹ “housing estates which are physically and socially isolated from the surrounding community”, areas of “an entirely different nature from the rest of Denmark”,³² and “parallel societies with deviant norms of behaviour and values” constituting “a democratic threat to social cohesion”,³³ where “Danish norms concerned with trust, equality, the system of justice, and respect for public authorities do not exist”.³⁴ In sum, a ghetto was constructed discursively as a phenomenon occurring when the unemployed, criminals and non-Western immigrants chose to concentrate in one place, so as to create a separate society characterised by distrust,

30 Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, “Liste over særligt udsatte boligområder pr. 1. oktober 2013” (List of particularly deprived neighbourhoods, 1 October 2013), 2013, at http://www.mbbi.dk/sites/mbbi.dk/files/dokumenter/publikationer/liste_over_saerligt_udsatte_boligomraader_pr_1_okt_2013.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).

31 Lars Løkke Rasmussen, 5 October 2010, speech given at the opening of Parliament. Transcript available at http://www.stm.dk/_p_13260.html (accessed 11 September 2014).

32 Lars Løkke Rasmussen, press conference on 12 October 2010, transcript available at http://www.stm.dk/_p_13270.html (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Rasmussen, press conference).

33 Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, “The Danish social housing sector”, 2013, at http://mbbi.dk/sites/mbbi.dk/files/dokumenter/publikationer/the_danish_social_housing_sector.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, “The Danish social housing sector”).

34 Rasmussen, press conference.

inequality, injustice and lack of respect for authorities. The effects of the ghetto label and its connotation, related to media and media strategies, are explored in more detail in Chapter 11.

Trigeparken has been on this list since 2011. As will become clear in this report, this has provoked considerable resentment among residents and stakeholders. Apart from its function as an administrative registration device, and a way to publicise the number and geographical spread of areas at risk as bad neighbourhoods or parallel societies, the purpose of the list is not entirely clear. In the presentation of the ghetto list in 2010, the strategy was described as a fight against ghettoisation, a concept describing the formation of ghettos or the transformation of regular neighbourhoods into ghettos. Among the social workers and civil servants interviewed for this report, very few really considered it a useful administrative tool, although not all shared the criticism voiced by residents of Trigeparken.

The municipal administration in Aarhus has much more flexible, accurate and fine-tuned tools and practices to monitor the various neighbourhoods in Aarhus that are at risk. The only thing some stakeholders mentioned as a peculiar advantage of the ghetto list was that in some cases it makes fundraising easier.

The ghetto strategy is basically a low-impact policy using conventional measures (partnership between municipalities and the state, optimisation of existing regulations, etc.), with only modest state funding for implementation. Less than DKK 50 million (€6.7 million) in the period 2011–2014 has come from state subsidies. This is less than DKK 700 per citizen (€94) in the affected areas. Apart from these state funds, the primary source of funding consists of the housing associations themselves, which through the National Building Fund distribute funding for revitalisation projects, renovation, new constructions, social work, etc., The initiatives for the ghetto strategy thus rely on these funds, not the other way around.

GOOD PRACTICE – CROSS-SECTORAL, AREA COOPERATION

Trigeparken has the advantage of being a part of a geographic community in Trige. The school is next door, the Revitalisation Plan social workers are present at the premises and the after-school club is just across the street. The few actors can easily arrange meetings with each other. The geographically fixed community is a huge advantage for conducting social work. By bringing together central stakeholders at monthly meetings, problems are often solved very quickly just after they appear to teachers, social workers, city council social service representatives or police officers, and information is shared in a cross-disciplinary setting. In Trigeparken, this has been a key to solving many of the youth-related problems in the community

4.

IDENTITY AND BELONGING

Some of the most interesting findings from the focus groups concern the identity and sense of belonging of the ethnic-majority Trigeperken residents. Some of the findings have a social and psychological dynamic which may apply to other ethnic communities. The ethnic heterogeneity, the high flow of residents and the stigmatisation of the neighbourhood are all central factors. Fragmentation characterises the area, but many residents still feel tied to it. The social work carried out locally through the Revitalisation Plan seems to play an important role in promoting social ties and interaction across the various segments of the population in Trigeperken.

Identity and identification are closely related to one's sense of belonging. If you identify strongly with the neighbourhood you live in, the sense of belonging is likely to be strong as well. Belonging is also often closely related to strong ties to neighbours and other residents in the area. Traditionally, local social ties have depended on kinship relations and long-term, even intergenerational friendships,³⁵ but in a contemporary context of urbanisation, increased geographic mobility and easier access to various real-time forms of communication, the significance of location for belonging and identity has eroded.³⁶ Instead, identity is increasingly a matter of who your friends are, what you do for a living, where you go on holiday, what type of food you enjoy, and your habits, values and attitudes. Identity and identification are relative, as they are achieved when an individual or a group can be distinguished from other individuals or groups. When you identify with something, you automatically distance yourself from something else.³⁷ This relational element in identity makes ethnic-majority citizens difficult to study, particularly when the focus is only on ethnicity as a distinguishing factor.

4.1 | IDENTIFICATION WITH TRIGEPARKEN

Majority citizens in Trigeperken are thus not a homogeneous group when considering other aspects than ethnicity. Some people are deeply rooted in the neighbourhood, whereas for others Trigeperken is just a place where they sleep. Many residents have lived there for decades, some even since its construction in the mid-1970s, whereas some have lived there only a couple of months, and others plan to move to another place in the near future. Many of the respondents explained that they initially moved to Trigeperken by chance, because it was easy to get an apartment there, due to short

35 M. Young and P. Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1957.

36 S. Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 2001; M. Castells, *The Informational City: Information technology, economic restructuring, and the urban-regional process*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 1991; B. Wellman, "The Community Question: The intimate networks of East Yorkers", *American Journal of Sociology* 84 (5) (1979), pp. 1201–1231.

37 M. Savage, G. Bagnall and B. Longhurst, *Globalization and Belonging*, Sage, London, 2004.

waiting lists, and they had an immediate need for housing. However, many who arrived this way have settled and are happy to live there.

Most of the residents interviewed were indeed content with living where they did and often had strong social ties to the communities of Trigeparken and Trige. The community's location outside the city of Aarhus and its small size are highly valued features for many residents. Often the respondents would contrast Trige with other parts of Aarhus, mainly the city centre and specific difficult neighbourhoods in Aarhus (e.g. Gellerupparken and Bispehaven, the two other neighbourhoods denoted ghettos by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs). In this comparison, residents in Trigeparken emphasised Trigeparken and Trige's difference in being close to forests, fields and green areas and also having a certain idyllic village atmosphere in a self-contained neighbourhood with its own school, grocery stores, library, church, pub, etc., Also, in terms of positive identification several respondents noted their appreciation of Trigeparken's ethnically mixed population, displaying a certain pride in the community's ability to embrace a variety of other cultures. Indeed, the heterogeneity of Trigeparken was a special trademark, which made life there more exotic and exciting. Other residents emphasised how Trigeparken's seclusion from the rest of Trige produces a comfortable atmosphere of an enclosed town within a town.

On the negative side, many focus group participants referred to waves of crime that occasionally hit the neighbourhood. Some respondents reported how their storage rooms in the basements were broken into and vandalised repeatedly, or how cars were broken into when parked on the housing estates' parking lots. Incidents such as these damage residents' sense of security. In a 2009 among residents' survey of those planning to move out, some of the main reasons given were the amount of disturbance, crime and a lack of safety. From a national perspective, disturbance and lack of safety have been shown to be important both in a direct and an indirect way, the latter because it affects the reputation of the neighbourhood, thereby making it less attractive for people to live in.³⁸

4.2 | LIVING IN A MULTICULTURAL NEIGHBOURHOOD

Almost half of the residents in Trigeparken have ethnic roots outside Denmark. The focus group respondents said that they were aware of this ethnic heterogeneity, but the

38 H. S. Andersen, "Residents' Understanding of Deprived Urban Neighbourhoods and its Significance for Plans to Move", paper for European Network for Housing Research (ENHR) conference, Workshop 29 on Poverty Neighbourhoods, Cambridge, 2004, at http://www.sbi.dk/download/pdf/enhr_2004b.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014). See also H. S. Andersen, "Why do residents want to leave deprived neighbourhoods? The importance of residents' subjective evaluations of their neighbourhood and its reputation", *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 23 (2008), pp. 79–101, at http://boligforskning.dk/sites/default/files/Why%20do%20residents%20want%20to%20leave%20deprived%20neighbourhoods__o.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Andersen, "Why do residents want to leave deprived neighbourhoods?").

general opinion was that the concentration of ethnic minorities in Trigeparken was not a problem, nor something that would concern residents. In fact, references to ethnicity were rarely made by focus group participants without moderators asking specifically about the role of ethnicity in relation to various issues such as crime, community identity, participation and ghetto status. On the whole, the ethnic heterogeneity was not talked about as a big deal at all. This was supported by the 2009 residents' survey mentioned above. When asked what would improve Trigeparken as a place to live, a reduction in the numbers of immigrants was only indicated by 6 percent, whereas 12 other factors were rated more important than the ethnic composition, among which were, for example, improvements to the buildings and reduction in crime.³⁹ In fact, many respondents had very positive attitudes to the wide representation of ethnic minorities in Trigeparken. Several participants in the EWWCC focus groups emphasised the rich cultural diversity linked to the ethnic heterogeneity:

And the residential composition; there are so many nationalities here. In Gellerup, it's very concentrated: Arabs and Somalis. There are all sorts here, and I really think there is space (for it). At least that's my experience. I'm really happy to live here. (Woman, 24)

In this extract the multicultural character of the neighbourhood is appreciated and contrasted to another neighbourhood in Aarhus, where there are many immigrants and descendants, but in a much less culturally diverse mix. In another focus group, a respondent expressed appreciation of the opportunity to expand her knowledge about other cultures:

I actually really like the diversity of this area, and that there are opportunities to learn something. I really like learning stuff from other cultures ... What are their family patterns? What are their... Because I'm really interested in food and cooking. (Woman, approx. 55)

This fascination of non-Danish cultures was only expressed by some, but generally speaking, residents seemed content with living in a multicultural area. However, only rarely did the ethnic Danish residents interact with residents from other ethnic backgrounds. The different ethnic groups were perceived by many to tend to stick together and avoid interaction with other ethnic groups. This was seen by many residents as an obstacle to gaining a sense of community in Trigeparken. One obvious reason for this is the language barrier:

The challenging thing regarding the many nationalities is that language barrier. Because when you don't have a common language, then it becomes really difficult ... There's a limit to how much you can communicate non-verbally ... Then you try with gestures and pointing. But you can't really have a dialogue

39 Ringgaarden Housing Association, 2009, p. 50.

with them, and I think that's a shame. Because I really would like to have more to do with them. (Woman approx. 40)

In contrast to the older residents who had more inhibited relationships with the minorities, some of the young males clearly had no problem interacting across ethnic backgrounds. When setting up the focus group with young males, the notions of majority ethnicity were put to the test. One respondent had immigrant parents, but he refused to view himself as belonging to an ethnic minority. Instead he considered himself a regular Dane, referring to his lifestyle choices, values and appearance. In contrast, one of the respondents born and raised in Denmark by parents belonging to the ethnic majority viewed himself as Danish, but he emphasised that others often considered him something of a hybrid in the sense that he had grown up among immigrants and therefore had appropriated some immigrant gestures as well as some Arabic language and subtle grammatical imperfections prevalent among ethnic-minority groups. Both cases must be understood as the effects of having grown up in an ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhood. The group of young men had gone to the local school and had known each other for many years. This way, their identity was not so much bound up in ethnic membership as in personal relationships, choices and narratives.

In terms of participation in local associations and activities, there was a clear division based on ethnicity, at least among the older residents. The residential board governing each housing estate consists exclusively of ethnic Danes, despite the fact that almost half the residents in Trigeparken have ethnic-minority backgrounds. Only on one occasion did an ethnic-minority member join a department's board. This is something that the boards in both departments have tried to deal with in different ways, but so far without much success. One obstacle, respondents would stress, was that the concept of a board in a housing estate, elected democratically to make decisions on behalf of the residents, is difficult to understand, and also that some refugees and immigrants (from non-democratic countries) are sceptical about the registration of participants and the paperwork associated with residential democracy. In addition, some of the ethnic minorities were perceived to be primarily involved in their own ethnic associations. Although many considered this a problem for social cohesion in Trigeparken, most respondents accepted and understood that ethnic-minority members might have a desire to associate with their peers.

One ethnic-minority community stood out from the rest. This is the group of Greenlanders, which has grown substantially in the last few years. The main issue as perceived by the focus group respondents is the excessive use of alcohol among some of them. Some focus group respondents have had bad experiences with Greenlanders, mainly because of noise and behaviour that scares people:

All those dear Greenlanders, they can be problematic. I have kids, and they have had periods where they didn't dare to walk home from school and stuff like

that. Then it becomes a problem. At one point, they set up pubs in their own apartments. But then suddenly it went too far, so they started to stab each other with knives and stuff like that. And then the police came. It's six months ago.
(Woman, approx. 40)

The problems associated with the Greenlander residents had a significant negative effect on the focus group participants' perceptions of the neighbourhood, but most respondents also acknowledged that "it's a community divided in two: the good families and the families with problems" (woman, 45) and that "we shouldn't forget that there are many well-functioning families also among the minority groups" (woman, 51). On alcoholism, one focus group participant mentioned that: "You know what? There are people who drink and act out anywhere in Denmark. It's just a question of what vintage they can afford to drink." (woman, 57). Alcoholism may be found in all social strata, which of course is true.⁴⁰

4.3 | INCLUSION THROUGH LOCAL SOCIAL WORK

In the middle of Trigeparken lies The Oasis (*Oasen*), where residents' associations organise activities and social workers are to be found. Quite a few residents emphasised the importance of the local social workers engaged in the Revitalisation Plan, and they often referred to Oasis as a pivotal institution for the sense of belonging in Trigeparken. Two focus group respondents put it in the following terms:

Woman I (49 years): Something is being done ... to avoid crime and to strengthen residents. The Oasis has a lot of events and activities ... which make it a good place to live. Also since we are very multicultural out here, you meet a lot of people across [ethnicities]. I actually think it's an enriching factor, that you live in a place where there are so many different cultures and that they do something at The Oasis for you to meet across cultures.

Woman II (23 years): They try to establish a form of social cohesion. ... I don't know what it's like elsewhere, but one could imagine, that if you don't have these sorts of things, then it might become too segmented ... Instead, there's more of a community here.

Woman I: A lot of places you can get nervous if there's a group of young people with minority backgrounds hanging out. 'What are they up to?' But I'm not thinking of that when I'm here.

40 Hvidtfeldt, U. A., A. B. G. Hansen, M. Grøn bæk & J. S. Tolstrup "Alkoholforbrug i Danmark – Kvantificering og karakteristik af stoforbrugere og afhængige" (Alcohol consumption in Denmark—Quantification and characteristics of heavy consumers and addicts). Copenhagen: National Institute of Public Health at University of Southern Denmark, September 2008, at http://www.si-folkesundhed.dk/upload/alkoholforbrug_i_danmark_001.pdf, p. 15.

Woman II: That's funny—I don't do that either, but sometimes I do when I'm going [to other places around Aarhus] ... then sometimes I think, 'What will they do now?'

Woman I: I actually think that Trigeparken has created something unique ... Because we ... Because there has been established those activities around the Oasis ... A place like that is necessary; otherwise (...) it wouldn't be possible.

A few residents were quite sceptical about the Revitalisation Plan and the social work being carried out. A main point of criticism was that some residents did not know exactly what the Revitalisation Plan was and what the social workers did. Another criticism was related to the cost of the plan. Although none of the two housing departments had any direct costs related to the Revitalisation Plan, some respondents felt that the money spent could have been put to better use if managed differently. Yet almost everyone acknowledged that at least some of the activities initiated as a part of the Revitalisation Plan had positive effects on residents' social ties in the neighbourhood. The activities most often referred to were: a multicultural festival for children, a midsummer celebration, and trips for children to nearby theme parks and zoos. These events are very popular among many residents, since they establish a setting for the encounter between residents from different segments and cultures in Trigeparken. The most popular events are all centred on the children in Trige and Trigeparken. For the children's cultural festival, the school, library and the Revitalisation Plan are engaged in planning and carrying out the event, which means that residents from all over Trige are encouraged to participate. Initiatives like these play an important role in creating and maintaining a feeling of being connected to the neighbourhood among residents, and they also contribute to creating a sense of community in the town of Trige.

However, only some of the activities and associations initiated in Trigeparken have turned out to be successful. Often, events initiated within the framework of the Revitalisation Plan have very limited life spans, since only a few of the residents seem to be interested in participating. Quite a few focus group respondents also mentioned that although they found many of the activities interesting, they were not able to participate because most activities take place during working hours.

Some residents were obviously enthusiastic about the Revitalisation Plan and some were very sceptical, but most of the focus group participants had no clear awareness of what exactly the Revitalisation Plan is or how and why it was initiated. This is understandable since the underlying organisational structure is complex, involving both municipal and semi-public national elements. The need for and the effect of the Revitalisation Plan are not very clear. Some of the initiatives are very important to the sense of belonging among residents, but some aspects of the Plan seems to have no impact on residents' lives and their identification with their neighbourhood.

GOOD PRACTICE – CHILDREN’S CULTURAL FESTIVAL

Focus group respondents and stakeholders alike frequently highlighted the annual Children’s Cultural Festival as a cornerstone in the process of actively promoting social cohesion in Trigeparken, as well as in the whole community of Trige. The festival was introduced in 2009, and each year’s festival has its own thematic twist. The festival was initiated as a step in the Revitalisation Plan for revitalisation and has successfully and continuously engaged local institutions, associations, families and in particular children in a series of workshops and project days, culminating in a one-day festival with outside visitors and professional acts joining in. This is one of the most popular events, if not the most popular event, in Trige. The purpose is to boost cultural capital and introduce children and young people to various forms of cultural expression and production. The focal point is of course the children, and the festival is completely dependent on Trigeparken’s social workers’ close cooperation with the local day-care and kindergarten institutions as well as the local school. It is an example of how a wide range of stakeholders can work together in a community project which supports cohesion and interaction among children and families from very different backgrounds.

4.4 | A ZONE OF TRANSITION

Although most residents in the focus groups were content and rooted in Trigeparken, it should be emphasised that a large proportion of the residents only stay there briefly and are less involved in the community. Some only stay for a few months or a year until their situation changes and they can move to other areas of the city. This constant change among residents is a fact of life in Trigeparken, which affects the issues of belonging and identification and is a challenge to the cohesion of the community. With an annual turnover of households, most respondents found that it could be difficult to establish long-term relationships with other residents. One’s neighbour might move tomorrow, and this limits the possibilities of creating and maintaining social bonds. Also it takes a while to build relationships:

I’ve lived for seven years in my apartment up there (pointing), and half of the households in the stairway have had new residents three or four times. You know, where apartments have been emptied, new residents move in, emptied again and yet new residents moving in. This way you don’t get to build those kinds of relationships to your neighbours that you have (in other places). (Man, approx. 34)

This illustrates the adverse impact of high residential turnover on the possibilities for social bonds between people. Some degree of continuity in an apartment block is required for residents to become good neighbours, particularly where opportunities

for interaction are few. One of the rare situations that leads to interaction between residents is the subtle communication occurring in the parking lot:

And I feel like, when I drive in to Trige Parkvej (the address of one of the departments) up there, when I make the turn from the main road, well then I've come home. I park in my regular spot. We all have one, our own parking spot ... I park here, period, and he parks there. No one talks about it, that's just how it is ... Recently, I was asked by (a fellow resident) regarding (another resident): "Didn't he get himself a new car?" She had observed another specific car on his spot over six months. And he always puts his car on the same spot, and he always parks the same way. Things like that, right. So when you look at the parking lot: Oh, (resident) is home now. He's a bit late today. He's usually here a quarter past, but today it's twenty minutes past. I wonder what has happened. You keep an eye on each other. Especially those you live next to, those you talk to, and meet in the laundry room and so on. And it's nice. It's nice to come home, and then you meet (resident): "Oh hi, I see you got a haircut." And then you feel like you've come home. (Man, approx. 34)

This shows again the importance of time. Bonds are not created over night; they are based on trust and predictability. Knowing when and how a neighbour returns from work, what car he drives and how he parks his car creates a sense of connectedness. Moreover, sharing such information about the fellow resident with another neighbour creates a sense of belonging to a community.

Despite the heavy turnover rates, some respondents had forged strong social ties. This is supported by the 2009 residents' survey, which showed that 22 percent of the respondents had lived there for more than 20 years, and 15 percent had lived there between 11 and 20 years.⁴¹ While the length of stay was an important factor, social bonds were also created through participation in local associations and activities. A dominant idea among the residents with strong ties was that each individual had his or her own responsibility to establish relationships with the community:

If you move out here, and make the decision, that you don't want to talk to anybody and that it's not interesting to you, well then you automatically unsubscribe (to the community). (Man, approx. 34)

High levels of participation in local social life clearly affected residents' sense of belonging. Residents who stayed only for a short while were often unable or unwilling to establish social bonds in the area, and this group was almost completely absent

41 Ringgaarden Housing Association (Boligforeningen Ringgaarden). "Trivselsundersøgelse 2009 blandt beboerne i Trigeparken – Opstartsmåling for den boligsociale helhedsplan" (Survey on well-being among residents in Trigeparken 2009, initial measurement for the Revitalisation Plan), 2009. Page 9. At http://8380.dk/wp-content/uploads/images_8380/Trivselsu.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Trivselsundersøgelse 2009").

from the focus group interviews. While this selection bias makes intuitive sense, this group of people is most likely quite heterogeneous. Respondents claimed, however, that there were two very different groups with no or very loose social bonds. One is the group of people who live in Trigeparken in order to move elsewhere in the near future. They may rely on family and friends outside Trigeparken and have no desire to establish relationships with their neighbours in Trigeparken. The other group consists of individuals with serious personal problems such as alcoholism, substance abuse or psychological illness, who would tend to be more isolated and have limited interactions with other residents.

4.5 | BAD NEIGHBOURHOOD SYNDROME: INTERNAL DIVIDING LINES

Because Trigeparken has a rather bad reputation in other parts of Aarhus, residents are often confronted with scepticism from relatives or friends from outside. Some respondents even said that family members would avoid visiting them for fear of theft or vandalism. A common reaction from outsiders who were told where respondents lived was “So you live in the ghetto?” referring to Trigeparken’s inclusion in the ghetto list. (The impact of the media on this reputation is explored in more depth in Chapter 11.) However, the effect on identification and belonging is substantial. Many feel that they are looked down upon by outsiders, and a few even felt that Trigeparken served as a dump for the municipality:

Man (approx. 34): Trigeparken is a dump, sorry to say so, but a dump for, it sounds horrible, but for social losers in Aarhus, and single mothers.

Woman 1 (approx. 55): Especially at Parkvej.

Man: And then we didn't mention the junkies that are being dumped out here by City Hall.

Woman 2 (approx. 40): Junkies and alcoholics. Or substance abusers in general.

Such strong sentiments were only expressed by a few, but the experience of living in a place which had less value was common. Another example concerned a planned industrial area just next to Trigeparken:

That demolition company that was going to be built out there on the field in front of the blocks. It's easy just to throw it out here to Trige, because not many out here can complain like if it was built in Viby or somewhere else. (Woman approx. 40)

This respondent thought that Trige was insignificant for the decision-makers in Aarhus. Whereas in both these cases, the issue was the relationship between Trige and Trigeparken on the one hand, and an outside entity on the other, remarkable

dividing lines also exist internally in Trige. Hence, a recurrent theme in the focus group discussions was the opposition between residents at Trigeparken and residents in other areas of Trige, mainly the neighbourhoods with privately owned single-family properties:

Some people from some of the older neighbourhoods with private property try to make it seem that they have got something on us. They feel, to be frank, like they're in a higher position than us up here. (Woman, approx. 40)

This division has existed for decades, possibly since the construction of Trigeparken,⁴² and social cohesion and community in the town of Trige have been discussed since then. Except for some respondents' high valuation of ethnic heterogeneity (in the housing block area), positive identification with the neighbourhood very often related to Trige instead of Trigeparken narrowly. By contrast, most negative identification related specifically to Trigeparken, not Trige, and this was concerned with crime, people's socio-economic background and the outside world's views of the place. The positive associations of a self-contained and well-functioning village community, on the other hand, most often related to the town of Trige as a whole, or at least connected with its various services and advantages. Some respondents attributed these arguments to the dichotomy in ownership and non-ownership and to the fact that public housing in general has a certain stigma attached to it, because of overrepresentations of unemployed, low-income families, immigrants and low educational levels, but most respondents just viewed it as something that had been like that forever. The division between Trige and Trigeparken became evident in 2010, when an institution for criminal adolescents was planned to be built in Trige. The idea was abandoned as many residents in Trige protested against it. The main argument was that Trige was already struggling with the social problems in Trigeparken.⁴³

4.6 | THE GHETTO STIGMA

As has already been noted, Trigeparken is included in Denmark's ghetto list (from 2014 re-labelled as "at-risk neighbourhoods") which is a list of around 30 neighbourhoods seen to be at risk of becoming parallel societies, based on a handful of statistical indicators related to income, education, and the numbers of immigrants and criminals.

Whether or not the list has served a useful purpose in focusing political and administrative attention on these areas—an issue that remains disputed—inclusion on the list has clearly become an important source of the stigma which characterises

42 Kofoed, A. and K. Weidmann. *På tværs: Trige – et lokalområde* (Across: Trige—a local community), Magistratens 4. afd., Fritids- og Kulturforvaltningen (The administrative unit of Culture and Leisure Administration). Aarhus: Culture and Leisure Administration, November 1985, (hereafter Kofoed and Weidmann, *På tværs*).

43 *Jyllands-Posten Aarhus*, "En enTrige", ("A hot topic related to Trige") 5 May 2010, p. 18.

Trigeparken. Almost all of the focus group participants reported that they had at some point felt offended at being linked to the social problems, crime and ethnic segregation associated with the term. Even so, many respondents expressed acceptance that Trigeparken did have some ghetto characteristics. A very small group of respondents fell outside these categories by simply not being aware of the ghetto list, let alone knowing that Trigeparken was on it. One respondent suddenly exclaimed:

Can I say something? I've lived here for a year, and it's actually only now that I realise that I live in a ghetto. I actually didn't know. All the immigrants I've met while I've stayed here are Greenlanders, and they are really nice. They greet me and they're always kind and sweet. So I had no clue I lived in a place like that.

(Man, approx. 60)

What is interesting here is how this man's own perception of the place in which he lives changes when he is confronted with Trigeparken's official status as a ghetto. He internalises the stigma. As a citizen in a regular neighbourhood he suddenly discovers that he has lived in a ghetto all the time. This is the core dynamic of a territorial stigma.

Most respondents, however, were well aware of Trigeparken's ghetto status. When asked what it did to one's opinion of the place one belongs to, another group of respondents reacted like this:

Woman 1 (approx. 55): I think it's very annoying.

Man (approx. 34): It's sad.

Woman 1: It's a shame.

Woman 2 (approx. 40): I'm just as happy to live here now as I was before we got that ghetto stamp.

Man: Yes, precisely.

Woman 1: We just can't have it deleted.

Woman 3 (approx. 70): It's unfortunate to get that stamp, I think. It's like others look down upon Trige.

Man: It's like it loses value.

On the one hand, many respondents had reactions similar to Woman 2's. On the other hand, most residents were at some level affected by the ghetto issue. It is not only an unpleasant label with which residents are confronted in their everyday interactions with people from outside. It is also a negative stamp in the sense that neighbourhoods on the ghetto list are publicly and authoritatively labelled inferior by the Danish state. The list becomes a warning sign for whoever considers entering the area or indeed contemplates interacting with residents.

Strictly speaking, the appropriateness of describing Trigeparken as a ghetto is questionable, given the usual connotations of this term. In particular, Trigeparken, like other similar areas, is not in fact ethnically segregated, but rather a multicultural neighbourhood with many relations with the outside world. To be sure, the ghetto list is not the only factor which feeds Trigeparken's bad reputation, but it greatly exacerbates the negative images with which the public social housing sector is struggling.

In fact, the general appropriateness of using the term "ghetto" to describe a neighbourhood was not typically questioned explicitly by respondents. The main emphasis was on Trigeparken's position relative to other places. There might be other ghettos, but Trigeparken was not one of them. Behind this strategy of reasoning one may find, as suggested by one social worker in the area, a simple wish to live in a non-labelled, regular housing estate. Referring to a similar debate about the stigma of living in nearby Gjellerupparken, he described one participant who had remarked that it would have been nice if his neighbourhood had been more like Harlev (another residential area outside the city, with a neutral reputation), that is, a place where one simply lived, as anybody else did.

4.7 | COPING WITH STIGMA

The residents deal with the stigma by many different strategies. A common technique to dismantle the ghetto status was irony and laughter. Both residents and social workers found it ridiculous to define Trigeparken as a ghetto and they often used the term to make jokes. Another approach was to explain what life is really like in Trigeparken and thereby counteracting the negative impact of the list, for example by pointing to the idyllic and tranquil properties of Trige and Trigeparken, by emphasising that crime had gone down significantly, that the area was safe, not run-down.

A third category of techniques used to cope with the ghetto status was more subtle and relied on distancing and dis-identification. At one level, residents would often compare Trigeparken as a whole with other infamous neighbourhoods: Trigeparken was not nearly as bad as the two other Aarhus neighbourhoods on the ghetto list:

Man (32): You almost never see the cops out here. I remember when I lived in Bispehaven .. I saw them at least once a day, I heard the siren every day. We had a container fire at least once a week.

Woman (48): Have we even had a fire in a container out here?

The principle of challenging the notion of Trigeparken as a particularly bad neighbourhood is to create a distance from what you do not like to be identified with. This not only works at the level of comparing neighbourhoods, but it also works in

Trigeparken, where it becomes a source of disunity between the two departments. This was first encountered when ringing the doorbells to recruit focus group respondents. In conversations with residents about the research project on Trigeparken one person refused to participate, explaining that he lived on Trige Centervej and not Trige Parkvej, even though both addresses are part of Trigeparken. This distancing characterised many residents' relations with their neighbourhood. It is partially based on Trigeparken being divided into two departments, no. 19 and no. 20. The first and oldest one is department no. 19, which is also the better functioning of the two, financially speaking at least, in the sense that the turnover of residents is lower, the department's economy is better and the buildings are in a better condition. (These aspects are further explored in Chapter 7 on Housing.)

The division between the two departments is a significant focus of residents' identity construction. The two departments are situated just next to each other, but have two different addresses, separate finances and even look different nowadays, because of the recent renovation of department no. 19. Department no. 20 is consistently viewed as the poor department, whereas no. 19 is the rich one. This division and the unbalanced relationship has become naturalised to such an extent that some respondents think that nothing or very little can be done about it. The Revitalisation Plan, which ran until the end of 2013, addressed the issue by suggesting a merger of the two departments. However, no agreement was made. The new plan does not suggest a merger. The rich department, no. 19, opposed this, which one of the residents explains as follows:

Well you can say, that you can understand those from Centervej (department no. 19), that they don't want anything to do with us. Because, if we were to merge these two departments, they will be the ones having to shoulder the deficit that we have up here. That's probably one of the problems here today. Yes, the rent is more or less similar, but Parkvej (department no. 20) has on the other hand not been renovated. So if there's anybody wanting to move in out here, where do they want to go then? Centervej or Parkvej? And this is how Parkvej has entered in a downward spiral. We can't really get stable tenants because why would they want to move in here, if they can get in down there and have a newly renovated apartment? (Man, 29)

The main explanations here are the differences in the financial situation and the building quality of the two departments. Other respondents see the financial instability of Department no. 20 as self-inflicted by the department's board. The idea that Department no. 20 is responsible for its own instability also serves as an explanation why they should not be merged. In another interview, the distance between the two departments was illustrated by two respondents clashing in a humorous way:

Man 1 (approx. 50): We've asked for that (merger) for years now. It's because they are too rich. Then they think that they will lose all the money if they do that.

Man 2 (approx. 65): No, it has nothing to do with that. It's simply a question of economy. We can't merge these two departments, because first off, they have a big...

Man 1: That can easily be solved.

Man 2: No you can't. Forget it, you can't do that.

Man 1: Then how can two companies merge..? They are not equally rich.

Man 2: No, but they are approximately at the same level.

Man 1: No, it's always the rich buying out the poor.

(Laughter)

Man 2: Then we will tear it down so that we can have a little more space. No, you can't do that these days.

The exchange illustrates how the dichotomy of rich and poor plays an important role in residents' identities. It is a skewed relationship where one part has the power to save the other part from its self-inflicted misery. The relationship between the two departments is often the subject of jokes and generally talked about in a cheerful manner. However, the discussion reflects a distance between the departments which has existed for several years, always with money issues as a crucial divide. In addition to financial differences, Trigeparken's problems with crime, vandalism, burglaries, alcohol and substance abuse are also commonly more linked to the poor department at Trige Parkvej rather than to Trigeparken as a whole. Among residents, Department no. 20 is often considered the most vulnerable and the least attractive of the two. On the other hand, the differences between the two departments are also often toned down, especially when relating Trigeparken to the rest of Trige or to neighbourhoods in other areas of Aarhus.

The relationship can be seen as a struggle for a valuable identity. On the one hand, the well-functioning and financially stable department is interested in creating a certain distance from the other department, thus losing some of its negative symbolic value. Another element worth noticing is a tendency to consensus. Residents at Department no. 20, the poor department, will often accept and enforce the representation of their department as the most deprived and difficult. The circumstances that originally caused the difference between two departments, such as funding type, loan conditions and inauguration year, are rarely considered by residents. They speak of how it has always been like this, or how one department made wrong financial decisions in the past, whereas the other did not, introducing an element of moral responsibility. To some extent the imbalance between the two departments becomes natural and taken for granted. This split and its justification is an important element in residents' identities, and is arguably further accentuated by attempts to avoid the damage of general territorial stigma.

5.

EDUCATION

The Danish public school system has compulsory education for nine years of all children from age seven. A publicly financed pre-school kindergarten year (class 0) is an integrated preparation for the school system. Some children do an optional 10th grade year, often at another school in the area or at one of the popular post-elementary boarding schools, which have different teaching and course content profiles and parents pay part of the cost. After this the secondary-school system has a three-year period of general high school or different types of vocational teaching. The typical number of years at school is thus 13–14, counting the pre-school year and depending on the optional 10th year. This school structure is the same all over Denmark. Aarhus's school district has some 50 primary and secondary schools including special needs schools, of which Bakkegårdsskolen in Trige parken is one. There are 16 independent schools, called private schools, which are heavily subsidised (about 90 percent) by the state, none of them in Trige.

A high and increasing number of pupils opt for the general (non-vocational) high-school track, and the vocational schools and vocational training, otherwise traditionally strong in Denmark, have been suffering. This is partly because an increasing general emphasis on academics has rendered these schools less prestigious, in part because apprenticeship placement has become very uncertain, but also very much because the pupils are less motivated and less academically prepared, with high, close to 50 percent dropout rates.⁴⁴ Whereas immigrant descendants, particularly boys, are disproportionately represented in these statistics, white working class children in some areas and schools (again, boys more than girls) are also much more likely to not only leave the educational system early and without formal vocational qualification, but also without such minimal functional reading and writing skills which might get them back on track at a later stage, let alone keep them out of chronic risk of unemployment, welfare dependency or even early disability.⁴⁵

5.1 | PISA INDICATORS AND THE SCHOOL REFORM

Since the beginning of the millennium these issues have become increasingly tied in public and political debates to Denmark's mediocre performance, in natural science and Danish language (reading) especially, where it was below or on the OECD average

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- 44 L. Andersen, "Uddannelse i Danmark: Nye Tal viser stort frafald på erhvervsuddannelserne" (Education in Denmark: New numbers show high dropout rates in vocational training), Economic Council of the Labour Movement, August 2011, at http://ae.dk/files/dokumenter/analyse/ae_nye-tal-viser-stort-fracald-paa-erhvervsuddannelserne.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014); official completion statistics from the Ministry of Education, at <http://statweb.uni-c.dk/Databanken/uvmDataWeb/ShowReport.aspx?report=EAK-ffpct-uddannelse> (accessed 11 September 2014). See also K. K. Rysgaard, *Unge dropper uddannelsen* (Young people dropping education), *Ugebrevet A4* 35, 2011.
- 45 S. Lex and P. Mouritsen, "Approaches to Cultural Diversity in the Danish Education System: The case of public schools", Report for the European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship: Legal, Political and Educational Challenges (EMILIE) Project. Athens: ELIAMEP, 2007, at http://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/en/2008/10/migration_related_educational_challenges_denmark.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).

among the 65 measured countries in the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) statistics at the first round of tests in 2000. Results in natural science have since then (2012 tests) improved, with reading stagnating and math worsening.⁴⁶ The results have been particularly disturbing in light of the very expensive school system in Denmark, which, despite the welfare state, has had limited success (and significantly less than most other Scandinavian countries) in reducing the class bias in school-leaver achievement levels and educational mobility. Students from less privileged backgrounds are even more likely to underperform if they attend schools in predominantly low-income and socially deprived areas, whereas class size appears to have no statistical impact.⁴⁷ With much political attention, the introduction of national tests in 2005–2006 increased the individual monitoring of students and some improvements were seen in achievement at the early and middle-school levels of immigrant children, but there are disturbing recent signs that the school results of ethnic-majority children from less privileged backgrounds are deteriorating even further,⁴⁸ in Aarhus schools as elsewhere.

These are the factors that lie behind the school reforms that were initiated by the centre-left government in 2013, which increased the number of taught lessons and overall time spent at school, introducing mandatory homework cafés and improving teacher training. The reforms also reflected continuing public concern with the generally acknowledged problems of discipline and noisy classrooms, as well as the more ideologically fraught questioning of prevailing educational philosophies. Danish primary and secondary school teaching is characterised by limited central steering of curricula, high degrees of local, institutional and teacher autonomy, little marking and formal evaluation, and teaching methods that are very much oriented towards project and group work, which seek to develop student independence and cooperative skills.

Some commentators have argued that this philosophy, with its open and unclear standards and its requirement of a high degree of student responsibility, benefits middle-class children, placing students from non-academic backgrounds, particularly boys, at a disadvantage,⁴⁹ and recent research has emphasised the importance of improved classroom management and teacher authority as conducive to better

46 N. Egelund, "PISA 2012-undersøgelsen: En sammenfatning" (PISA 2012: A summary), KORA, Copenhagen, 2013, at <http://www.uvm.dk/~media/UVM/Filer/Udd/Folke/PDF13/Dec/131203%20PISA%20PIXI%20Sammenfatning.ashx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

47 Egelund, N., C. P. Nielsen and B. S. Rangvid. "PISA Ethnic 2009: Etniske og danske unges resultater i PISA 2009" (Pisa Ethnic 2009: Results for ethnic minority and Danish majority young people). Copenhagen: Institute of Local Government Studies (*Anvendt KommunalForskning*, AKF), 2011. At http://edu.au.dk/fileadmin/www.dpu.dk/viden/Pisa_etnisk_2009.pdf (accessed 2nd of October 2014).

48 V. T. Christensen, N. Egelund and C. P. Nielsen, "PISA København 2010: Kompetencer hos elever i 9. klasse i København" (PISA Copenhagen 2010: Competencies among 9th-grade students in Copenhagen), Institute of Local Government Studies (*Anvendt KommunalForskning*, AKF), 2011, at http://edu.au.dk/fileadmin/www.dpu.dk/centerfor-grundskoleforskning/internationaleundersoegelser/andreundersoegelser/pisa/5068_PISA_kbh_2010.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014). The report is about the situation in Copenhagen, which was marginally worse than Aarhus.

49 L. Olsen, *Den sociale smeltedige* (The social melting pot), Sohn, Copenhagen, 2009.

learning environments.⁵⁰ Other commentators, including educationalists and teachers, continue to stress the value of a Danish model, which emphasises the development of self-esteem, social skills and education for life as a precondition for the acquirement of formal skills and also as an important benefit in its own right.⁵¹

5.2 | CHALLENGES FOR THE DANISH MODEL

The Danish school system is very decentralised and community-centred. Many aspects of school policy, including class size, number of lessons, after-school facilities and approaches to minority accommodation, are decided by the local council and school administration, which also sets financial priorities and makes decisions on the renovation of buildings, hiring staff and allocation of funds to classes for children with special needs, as well as other functions. Whereas such fiscal decentralisation takes place in an overall system of allocation of central funds, significant budgetary inequalities between more or less affluent city councils ensue. At the same time, each school has its separate elected school board with parent representatives as well as more informal parent committees for each class group, and schools traditionally encourage parents to take an active part in the life of the school.

Local school policies must meet structural challenges besides those mentioned above. One of these is the rising cost of special education for children with learning disorders or psychological disorders, which most recently has led to a general policy of increased inclusion. Some have argued that this is a euphemism for cutting down the number of special classes for the children with special educational needs and teaching them in regular classes, although some research does suggest that, whatever the impact on the rest of the class, special school education does not in all cases benefit the children who are taken out⁵² (5.6 percent of all children receive special education either in special classes or designated schools for children with special needs). As part of the ongoing school reforms the government aims to reduce the number to 4 percent (this is equivalent to the inclusion of 10,000 children, or one additional child in every three classrooms), amidst widespread worry in the school sector about resources for classroom support or the ability of teachers to cope without further training.⁵³

50 Winter, S. C. and V. Lehmann Nielsen (eds). "Lærere, undervisning og elevpræstationer i folkeskolen" (Teachers, education, and student performance in primary schools). Copenhagen: National Institute for Social Research, 2013, at <http://www.sfi.dk/Files/Filer/SFI/Pdf/Rapporter/2013/1309-folkeskoleanalyse.pdf> (accessed 2nd of October 2014).

51 P. Mouritsen, *Det moderne medborgerskab* (Modern citizenship), Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 2015, Chapter 16.

52 J. Andersen (ed.) *Den rummelige skole: Et fælles ansvar* (The spacious school. A common responsibility), Kroghs Forlag, Copenhagen, 2006.

53 Schjerbeck, R. H., A. Isfeldt and J. Ø. Busk. "Strategi for Ressourcecenter for Inklusion og Specialundervisning" (Strategy for the Resource Center for Inclusion and Special Needs Education), Ministry of Education, 2013. At http://inklusionsudvikling.dk/Service/~media/Inklusion/Filer/PDF/ReIS/RelSper-cent20-per-cent20Strategi_151312_WEB.ashx (accessed 11 September 2014).

Another key problem is school segregation. Disadvantaged suburbs with social housing estates and few private properties will have more children with social or learning difficulties. In Denmark this tendency is reinforced by several factors: segregated housing markets; white flight from areas with large immigrant populations; a state policy of free school choice, which makes it easier to send your children to more attractive schools in neighbouring districts (an option which middle-class parents are much more likely to use), and the Danish system of very heavy state subsidy of private schools.

5.3 | THE AARHUS SCHOOL SYSTEM AND THE LOCAL SCHOOL (BAKKEGÅRDSSKOLEN)

In Aarhus, school development at the city's approximately 50 public schools receives much attention from the authorities. The city council regularly monitors parental satisfaction and school performance. There are mandatory school auto-evaluations on a number of performance indicators, as well as targeted policies and initiatives for bullying, discrimination, citizenship and tolerance, early monitoring of Danish-language and reading ability, cooperation between schools, social workers and police,⁵⁴ teachers' mutual observation and inspiration schemes to promote knowledge about inclusive education⁵⁵ and minimise the number of school-leavers who do not have functional reading abilities and do not proceed to further education or training. The city council in 2011 adopted the government's official ambitious 95 percent strategy aimed to reduce the proportion of school-leavers who do not proceed to further education to 5 percent⁵⁶ measured after 25 years – a figure which is currently only at 87 percent in Aarhus (70 percent measured five years after 9th grade), which is a little below the national average.⁵⁷ Researchers have voiced concerns not only about the lack of realism of the official targets, but also about the need to have alternative tracks

54 The SSP cooperation, is a country-wide system to monitor and counter the early development of criminal behaviour. SSP is an acronym for School, Social Services and Police (cooperation).

55 S. Claesen, *Kompetenceprojektet Folkeskolens Fællesskaber* ((Cohesion in the public primary school), unpublished note to Aarhus City Council, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/MBU/PPR/FFA/FF/Beskrivelse-af-kompetenceprojektet-Folkeskolens-Faellesskaber.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

56 Aarhus Municipality. "Sammen om uddannelse til alle unge: Aarhus Kommunes Handlingsplan for 95% målsætningen" (Education for all young people – Aarhus' strategy for the implementation of the 95%- targets for secondary and tertiary education), 2011. At <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/MBU/V1/95-pct-maalsaetningen/Arbejdsseminar/Handlingsplan-95-maal-kort.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014); N. Katznelson, S. Murning and M. Pless, *Vejen mod de 95 %: en erfaringsopsamling fra Ungdomsuddannelse til alle projektet* (Towards the 95% of youths going to secondary education: experiences from the Secondary Education for All project), Local Government Denmark (*Kommunernes Landsforening*), 2009, at http://www.kl.dk/ImageVault/Images/id_39259/ImageVaultHandler.aspx (accessed 11 September 2014).

57 For statistics at <https://statistik.uni-c.dk/Profilmodel> (accessed 11 September 2014).

for those young people who lack motivation and basic academic skills and/or have learning disorders impeding regular education or training.⁵⁸

Many resources are used for the PPR pedagogic-psychological counselling ('Pædagogisk-Psykologisk Rådgivning') institution, which is an instrument, found in all Danish municipal councils, including Aarhus, referring to the Ministry of Education. This institution helps schools with children who have special learning disabilities or behavioural problems. Parents in focus groups agreed that it is difficult and time-consuming to have a child observed and tested for difficulties, and even more to reach a decision which imposes costs on the local council. Schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods with predominantly social housing have higher numbers of these children and may face greater challenges with drop outs, crime, classroom discipline, socially disadvantaged children and teacher fatigue. Historically, one such school has been Bakkegårdsskolen in Trige, although actually some schools in other disadvantaged areas of Aarhus appear to have bigger problems. Bakkegårdsskolen is the only school in Trige, nearby schools in neighbouring districts in this part of the northern suburbs of Aarhus being Hårup, Lisjerg and Elev, all schools with 0–9th grade classes.

Although the Bakkegårdsskolen school is situated right next to Trigeparken and is the default choice of all the parents there, it also services the more affluent rest of Trige and some villages and countryside areas nearby (particularly the village of Spørring), which are part of the same school district. This makes it a diverse school in terms of housing, mix of town and country, income group and ethnicity. Its 448 pupils (2011), out of which 60 percent are from the greater Trige area, make it relatively small. According to the school's own website there are students from 15 national backgrounds represented at the school, and children of ethnic-minority backgrounds make up 27 percent of the

GOOD PRACTICE – ALTERNATIVE SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

The school offers a set of activities which are alternatives to the regular academic activities. One of these activities is a cycling team, The Winner Team, consisting of students aged 12–15. By focusing on team-based physical training, the project aims to make students discover personal qualities and to build confidence by achieving goals that are not directly related to regular schoolwork. The students will leave primary school within a few years, so the success of the students in secondary education is important. This particular project is co-funded by Aarhus Municipality and local firms sponsoring training equipment.

student population. This is not a high percentage compared with schools in socially deprived areas closer to central Aarhus, like Ellekærskolen, servicing the largest social housing area, Gjellerupparken, which has above 90 percent ethnic-minority children.

58 K. Nielsen et al., "Slutrapport: Fastholdelse og frafald i det danske erhvervsskolesystem" (Concluding report to the Danish Strategic Research Council on achievement and dropout in vocational training), Department of Psychology, Aarhus University, 6 April 2013.

With its two tracks (two classes per year), its three pre-school classes, its single class for special needs children, the SFO after-school activities⁵⁹ an integrated school library (which also services the community) and good sports facilities, Bakkegårdsskolen is a self-contained unit, which structures a large part of the daily life of Trigeparken, of course not least given its relative isolation 12 km from the city centre.

Bakkegårdsskolen, it is evident from several focus group participants, is generally a popular and valued institution and a natural centre of gravity and integration, socially as well as culturally, at Trigeparken. Parents emphasise the convenience of a school within walking distance, the comfort of knowing many of the teachers, a few even from their own school days and the advantages of easily available playmates in the neighbourhood and good sports facilities. Impressions from the focus group on education were confirmed by the parent satisfaction survey carried out at the school in 2011. Here 76 percent of the respondents were either “very satisfied” or “satisfied” with the school, a result which almost exactly reflected the average level at all Aarhus schools, and which had not changed since a previous survey in 2009. The general satisfaction was mirrored across a range of indicators (teacher–parent cooperation, reception of new children, children’s social and academic development).⁶⁰

5.4 | FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS: SATISFACTION AMONG PARENTS

One aspect that stood out in the focus group discussions was the great enthusiasm for the ethnic diversity of the school, as well as the way that this diversity was considered as a strength and value in and around the school by parents, teachers and staff alike, also reflecting the general positive views of diversity noted in the previous chapter. Although, as at other Aarhus schools, parents were somewhat less satisfied with their school’s “consultations with parents regarding questions about the space for diversity”, respondents emphasised the value of having the right mix: not too many children of foreign background,⁶¹ but a balance which enabled the children (and the parents) to encounter different cultural backgrounds and lifestyles and become more open-minded in the process. An exchange with three parents, which also echoes findings from other focus groups on identity and belonging, exemplifies this well:

59 SFO is an acronym for ‘Skole-fritids-ordning’, which translates to “After-school institution. It is a regular feature of Danish schools to have after-school care for schoolchildren up to 6th grade. While subsidised in a similar way, kindergarten parents—except low-income households—pay a part of the cost.

60 Aarhus Municipality, “Forældretilfredshed, Bakkegårdsskolen” (Satisfaction among parents at Bakkegårdsskolen), 2011, Official report on parent satisfaction at Aarhus schools, at <http://ean2.aarhuskommune.dk/tilfredshed/1861.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Aarhus Municipality, “Forældretilfredshed”).

61 Here, respondents compared Trige favourably with schools in other council estate areas, such as Gjellerupparken and Bispehaven, where the ethnic mix is more skewed against the Danish ethnic-majority population.

Moderator: What do you think is the significance of the broad ethnic composition of the school?

Woman 1 (approx. 42): I think it's fantastic.

Woman 2 (approx. 25): They are taught to make room for each other, for other individuals.

Moderator: Aren't you supposed to say that?

Woman 3 (approx. 50): Oh no, really I would never have hesitated to move my children, had it been otherwise.

Woman 1: I mean it from my heart. I moved here in '87, and the first thing I did was getting a Lebanese friend who taught me to say "I love you" in Kurdish (sic) ... I think it is fantastic that my children can choose themselves which part of the world they want to learn about, merely by walking up to another child at school and talk to her. I really believe that. I am a great fan of the world becoming smaller that way.

Moderator: Do they do that then, the children?

Woman 1: Yes, my children do not see the colours.

Woman 3: In all my photographs, of all my children, you see some that are yellow, some are black, and this one is white.

Woman 4 (approx. 45): That's how it is with all the class photos too.

Woman 1: None of the best friends of my children are Danish, I mean ethnically Danish.

According to the same respondents, the school also bridged the social divide between Trigeparken and the rest of Trige, which would still to some degree separate the parents. The children, as one parent said, "did not think about these things".

There was somewhat less satisfaction with the physical aspects, the buildings as well as surroundings, of the school. Originally built back in 1966–1967, with additions in 1978, comments from respondents reflected that some classrooms and designated rooms for science teaching, despite some repairs and changes, were in need of renovation, and also that resources spent on some earlier renovations (particularly a glass structure that made private talks with individual students impossible) might have been employed in better ways. Correspondingly, the parent satisfaction surveys show considerably less satisfaction with indoor and much lower satisfaction with outdoor facilities than the Aarhus average.

Some basic statistics of students' school achievement for each Danish school are collected, compared and published by the Danish Ministry of Education.⁶² The grand GPA in 2011 at Bakkegårdsskolen was below the national average, but in line with the average score of schools with similar socio-economic background indicators (particularly in Danish and math, less well in natural sciences), and showed some improvement from previous years.⁶³ These differences are not all statistically significant and should be read with caution. The data for the school do not stand out, comparatively, to suggest that it is one with unusually serious achievement problems, but in some of the interviews the school was described as having a reputation for lacking academic ambition, at least compared with the nearby Lisbjerg school and the school in the much more affluent Risskov suburb.

Despite the school's poor academic reputation, few parents opt for private schools in the area (which, it should be noted, would involve a long journey), and few children are taken out of the school during the course of a school year.⁶⁴ Although parents expressed high general satisfaction with the school, they felt that it does not provide sufficient academic challenges more or less in line with other schools in Aarhus.⁶⁵ The school is socially committed and has a flexible school start date, so that the children most ready to start school are placed in designated "owl" classes (so called, because owls are thoughtful and good at sitting still), which progress faster, a scheme which received mixed evaluations from the parents interviewed.

Absence rates are a bit higher for particular groups of students, for instance among pupils coming from Trigeparken's Department no. 20.⁶⁶ Bakkegårdsskolen's problems with school-leavers who do not carry on immediately after 9th grade (or after the optional 10th grade at another school) are the same as similar schools elsewhere.⁶⁷ It has tried to solve this in a number of ways, such as an after-school homework café (with paid homework helpers), more systematic evaluation and academic feedback to students, and more active prevention tactics for high levels of school absence

62 This practice has been politically disputed. The ambition of the Liberal-Conservative government which left office in 2011 was to have a national ranking of schools, whereas the present Centre-Left government merely publishes the results, accompanied by an indication of how the school is placed relative to an average score of schools with the same socio-economic background factors.

63 See statistics in the school's Quality Report, "Kvalitetsrapport 2011 Bakkegårdsskolen" (Quality evaluation 2011 for Bakkegårdsskolen), 2011. At <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/MBU/VI/Statistik/Kvalitetsrapporter-2011/Skole/654-Baggrundsrapport-Bakkegaardsskolen.pdf>. The GPA in 2011 was 6.2, compared with a GPA of schools with similar socio-economic background factors of 6.1 and an overall average of 6.7 for state schools. The average score in natural sciences (where, possibly significantly, fewer teachers had special teacher training, *linjefag*, in the relevant subjects) was quite low, at 4.1, a full point below the socio-economically weighted average.

64 Interview with head of the Bakkegårdsskolen, Preben Sørensen, 15 May 2013.

65 23 percent neither satisfied nor unsatisfied, 13 percent not satisfied, 2 percent very unsatisfied: Aarhus Municipality, "Forældretilfredshed", p. 8.

66 Compared with the overall average in all Aarhus schools of 5.4 percent, the figure is 7.3 percent in Department no. 19 and 9.4 percent in Department no. 20.

67 We have not been able to obtain data on the percentage of school-leavers who do not finish further education afterwards. Most of those who have not will have left Trigeparken, e.g. to live in the city of Aarhus.

by early monitoring and visits with parents. The school also claims to have seen a positive impact of two specific initiatives. One of these is a “professional” bicycle team for 6th–8th graders⁶⁸ which teaches older boys in particular about self-discipline and long-term planning. This initiative has been running successfully for three consecutive years, and plans are under way for similar initiatives with other types of activities at the school. In a similar vein the after-school care facility, the SFO, has started a run-for-fun scheme, where participants use professional equipment and have clear training objectives, which has been very popular among pupils and has been supported by parents. Another important initiative is the organisation 6–7 months after graduation of a reunion session with school-leavers, with both teachers and school managers participating.⁶⁹

The school aims in other ways to reduce some of the problems with socially disadvantaged Trige parken children at earlier stages of their school careers. Hence, parents in the focus groups were generally happy with a scheme where designated support teachers (AKT teachers)⁷⁰ collected children who had difficulties getting started in the morning from their homes, and gave them breakfast and a one-to-one chat when they arrived at school. One of these teachers, who participated in a focus group, regretted that there was not more time and more resources for early, pre-emptive initiatives and not just for trying to fix what had already gone wrong.

GOOD PRACTICE – BASIC SUPPORT FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

The local school in Trige, Bakkegårdsskolen, located right next to Trige parken, has established an outreach for children in low-resource families. The children in difficult situations at home or with disorganised everyday lives, for example because of ill parents or tight household budgets, are (with the permission of the parents) offered to be picked up in the morning or invited for a one-to-one chat or breakfast with dedicated personnel before school starts. This way, otherwise absent children get to class, and have a peaceful start to the day despite a confusing or chaotic life at home. This is of course possible to carry through because Trige parken is on the doorstep of the school, but it is without doubt an effective means to get in contact with underprivileged children and improve engagement and attendance rates for those who need it the most.

One experienced teacher identified some of the challenges faced by schools:

We have to include more and more kids with diagnoses, who were previously put in special classes. Classes get bigger and bigger, and they still have to include

68 Denmark is a big bicycling nation, where athletes competing in the Tour de France receive a lot of media coverage.

69 Aarhus Municipality, “Kvalitetsrapport 2011 Bakkegårdsskolen” (Quality evaluation 2011 for Bakkegårdsskolen), 2011, pp. 3–5, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/MBU/VI/Statistik/Kvalitetsrapporter-2011/Skole/654-Baggrundsrapport-Bakkegaardsskolen.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

70 The AKT teachers: *adfærd* (behaviour), *kontakt* (contact), *trivsel* (well-being).

all those kids. I think it is important that as a teacher you get out and get some education about this field, so that that you are able to help and support these children, who actually sit in the classes. And that does not quite happen. Of course it's a political thing that they have to be sent out into the classes.

It was important for this AKT teacher,

that the council should offer some more resources so that one's work is not just being the ambulance and fire-extinguisher, but that you can start early, already in kindergarden classes, and give them some tools to know how you work with each other, up through the years.⁷¹

The issue of what happens to school-leavers, while a general concern, remains acute in areas such as Trige parken. A smaller number of the pupils do not have the requisite skills, including social skills and psychological stamina, to enter post-secondary education, including vocational training, and many of these drop out. And for those who do not, further difficulties await them, like the lack of security from having no internship or apprenticeship. Trige parken children, it appeared from interviews and focus groups, are somewhat less vulnerable to these contingencies now than in the past, where a higher proportion of the school-leavers were alienated from the very idea of being able to succeed in the educational system. In a focus group with young boys we were told that it was now more accepted and normal to have a serious identity as someone who wished to do one's homework and succeed also after leaving school than it had been in the past, when petty crime and disturbance were more widespread. It is likely that a more sustained culture of academic evaluation and feedback goes some way towards explaining this fact. While significant reform of the vocational school system remains a key hope for schools such as Bakkegårdsskolen, the school's own work to facilitate a positive culture of accomplishment based on mutual respect and support of vulnerable students must also remain a top priority.

One social worker expressed a hope that the new government reforms of the public school system, with its (eventually compulsory) homework cafés, cooperation between schools and after-school care staff to help academically challenged children, and longer school days with more time for both academic subjects and sports, would be a step forward for the older children at Trige, depending on the way it was implemented, and which resources were provided. At the time of writing these reforms have still to be implemented, and have become quite controversial, not least among those working in schools, where they are associated with cutbacks, higher demands for the same money, and lack of appropriate work facilities at the schools for teachers who are now expected to remain at the school in the afternoons after teaching to prepare for the next day and be available for meetings and consultation.

5.5 | CHALLENGES FOR THE LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL (BAKKEGÅRDSSKOLEN)

Although the general picture of Bakkegårdsskolen, in terms of its integrative functions in the area and parent and student satisfaction, is positive, some key challenges did stand out in the focus groups and interviews with the teaching staff and management. Prominent among them were concerns with the inclusion agenda and gradual tightening of availability of places for special needs children. The percentage of children receiving such education in segregated classes has already gone down from 0.9 percent to 3.8 percent, which is high compared with the overall Aarhus average of only 2.8 percent, which in turn is significantly below the national average (5.4 percent).⁷²

Although parents appreciated the value of other children learning to cope with special needs classmates, and of the latter not feeling left out, they voiced strong frustrations, mirroring those of the teacher already quoted, about an enforced integration of some children whose impairments and conditions were particularly difficult, even more so, because neither the other children nor the teachers had been given the tools and training to do so. To this, some respondents noted, one might add the difficulty of getting efficient and early help and action from the Aarhus PPR authorities (pedagogic-psychological counselling) and the local child psychiatry institutions.

Another concern was class size and the limited use of second teachers, which in Denmark are not teaching assistants but regular teachers. Although class sizes are not higher than the Aarhus average, they occasionally hit the ceiling (a maximum of 28 students), as with the 2011 9th-grade school-leavers, where apparently two classes had been merged into a single one with 28 pupils. There was a feeling in the focus group that well above 20 students in one classroom was often too much for one teacher, particularly if the class, as was often the case, contained one or more difficult pupils. There was a hope, but little belief, that the pending school reforms would at least match the inclusion agenda with a more systematic use of second teachers.⁷³

A final cause for some concern, which did not however come out too strongly in the focus group, is the low level of job satisfaction reported by teachers at Bakkegårdsskolen relative to other schools at Aarhus, and the slightly higher than average number of staff absence days.

72 Statistics at the Ministry for Education's website at <http://uvm.dk/Service/Statistik/Statistik-om-folkeskolen-og-friesskoler/Statistik-om-elever-i-folkeskolen-og-frie-skoler/~media/UVM/Filer/Stat/PDF13/130320%20Specialundervisning%20og%20segregeringsgrad%20i%20grundskolen.ashx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

73 Experiments in this area, prompted by the ministry, are in fact taking place, as well as at Aarhus: see <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/nyheder/2012/Oktober/Elever-faar-tolaererordning-for-seks-millioner.aspx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

6.

EMPLOYMENT

As in other European countries, the recent economic crisis has had significant adverse effects on Danish labour markets. The drop in labour demand has hit hardest in socially deprived areas, where unemployment was already high, and where the labour-market power, including skills, of citizens was already weak. In this situation, government labour-market activation policies and new restrictions concerning citizens' eligibility for income transfers, including a recent tightening of the public unemployment security system, have put significant stress on unemployed citizens, particularly the most vulnerable, that is, young people, people with low educational levels, the long-term unemployed, low income groups and people with immigrant backgrounds.

6.1 | LABOUR-MARKET POLICIES IN AN ADVANCED WELFARE STATE

The labour market plays an important role in the advanced welfare state, because taxes on labour finance a sizeable part of welfare services and provisions and because access to social income transfers is conditioned on the nature of the beneficiary's labour-market position. Denmark has moved towards a welfare regime, which requires citizens to participate in, or make themselves available, for the labour market, to be eligible for income support. In fact, the basic normative principle of such requirements may be traced all the way back to the constitution of 1849,⁷⁴ whereby those unable to take a job or provide for themselves only have the right to financial support if they submit to certain undefined conditions given by the state. This element of obligation has been strengthened since the mid-1990s.

Another feature of the labour market is its "flexicurity"⁷⁵. This refers to the comprehensive system of employment regulations and practices aimed at improving labour mobility through increased social security for the work force, flexible hiring and firing conditions for employers, and activation policies forcing the unemployed to constantly engage in free of charge and easily available job training or skill upgrading activities, so as to be able to get a new job.⁷⁶ By allowing workers to swiftly move

74 Which states that:

§75: (1) In order to advance the public interest, efforts shall be made to guarantee work for every able-bodied citizen on terms that will secure his existence.

(2) Any person unable to support himself or his dependants shall, where no other person is responsible for his or their maintenance, be entitled to receive public assistance, provided that he shall comply with the obligations imposed by statute in such respect. See Parliament of Denmark, *The Constitution of Denmark*, Copenhagen, at <http://www.eu-oplysningen.dk/upload/application/pdf/0172b719/Constitution%20of%20Denmark.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

75 Ministry of Employment, "Flexicurity—Udfordringer for den danske model" (Flexicurity—Challenges to the Danish model), Copenhagen, 2005, at http://bm.dk/Aktuelt/Publikationer/Arkiv/2005/06/~/_media/BEM/Files/Dokumenter/Publikationer/2005/Flexicurity_juni_2005.ashx (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Ministry of Employment, "Flexicurity").

76 Ministry of Employment, "Flexicurity".

from job to job without major concerns about loss of income, personal economic risk is reduced, and productivity and efficiency gains are achieved,⁷⁷ for example by minimising the impact of mismatching and by increasing the volume of knowledge diffusion prompted by employees' transitions. Easy access to training and skill upgrades further increases the human capital of the population and strengthens labour-market attachment, secures higher wages, increases job mobility and reduces absences among workers.⁷⁸

6.2 | INSURANCE PROVISIONS

Eligibility for income transfers is conditioned on one's relation to the labour market. Apart from disability-related welfare transfers, pensions and a few other exceptions, the basic and lowest welfare transfer (*Kontanthjælp*) is given to anyone not able to support themselves, on condition that a person does not possess considerable convertible assets and remains at the disposal of the labour market, that is, is willing to take a job. Other income supplements, conditioned on the beneficiary's age and the composition of the household, add an element of needs-based redistribution. Eligibility for the basic transfer until recently was contingent on citizenship, which meant that many unemployed immigrants received considerably smaller amounts.

From 1 January 2014, the basic income transfer was reformed, but not in favour of those affected. The stated aim is to upgrade the skill levels in the population and to increase labour supply. For recipients younger than 30 without vocational training or higher education, the size of the transfer is reduced approximately 50 percent as an incentive to get back to school. The reform also introduces a reciprocal obligation for not only married but also co-habiting couples to support each other.⁷⁹ In practice, this means that the eligibility and size of the income transfer depend on one's partner's income. This step not only changes the dynamic between couples by significantly reducing individual independence within households, it also forces couples and

77 Bredgaard, T., H. Jørgensen, P. K. Madsen & S. Rasmussen: *Dansk Arbejdsmarkedspolitik* (Danish labour market policy). Gylling: DJØF Publishing, 2011.

78 J. E. Søgaard, *Sammenhængen mellem uddannelse og erhvervsdeltagelse* (The relationship between education and labour market participation), Working Paper no. 24, Ministry of Finance, 2011, at http://www.fm.dk/publikationer/arbejdspapirer/2011/sammenhaengen-mellem-uddannelse-og-erhvervsdeltagelse/~media/Publikationer/arbejdspapirer/2011/Arbejdspapir_Uddannelse_og_erhvervsdeltagelse.aspx (accessed 11 September 2014); Juul, J. S., M. Baadsgaard, M. D. Pihl, S. E. Sabiers, A. M., H. R. L. Wandsøe & S. N. Amini, "Uddannelse skal styrkes gennem hele livet—Fordeling og Levevilkår 2012" (Education should be strengthened throughout life—Distribution and life conditions 2012), Economic Council of the Labour Movement, 2012, at <http://www.ae.dk/files/dokumenter/publikation/ae-fl12.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014); N. Kristensen and L. Skipper, *Effektanalyser af voksefteruddannelse – Analyse af individeffekter samt cost-benefit-analyse* (Effect analysis of education for adults – Individual effects and cost-benefit analysis), Institute of Local Government Studies (Anvendt Kommunal Forskning, AKF), Copenhagen, 2009.

79 Ministry of Employment, "Aftale om en reform af kontanthjælpsystemet—flere i uddannelse og job" (Reform of the basic welfare transfers—strengthening education and employment), 2013, at http://bm.dk/~media/BEM/Files/Dokumenter/Pressemeddelelser/2013/Kontanthjaelp_april/Aftaletekst_kontanthjaelsreform%20pdf.aspx (accessed 11 September 2014).

families, to split up into lower-quality housing in order to make ends meet in their everyday lives. The practical implementation also involves the difficulty of determining the exact nature of the household. Is it a couple or are they just friends? What differentiates a friendship from a relationship?

The widespread non-compulsory unemployment insurance system (Dagpenge) also characterises the labour market. Around 79 percent of the unemployed are covered by this supplementary insurance,⁸⁰ financed in part by the state and in part by participants' flat-rate contributions. This income transfer varies somewhat with wage levels prior to the layoff, and has higher replacement rates than the basic social security transfer (for lower to middle incomes).⁸¹ Since the early 1990s, access to the two types of income transfer has been restricted and the range of sanctions has been expanded. Activation of the unemployed insurance has become increasingly important to both categories of recipients, following the Active Social Policy Act of 1998.

6.3 | FROM WELFARE TO WORKFARE

Since the labour-market reforms of the 1990s the security aspect of the flexicurity system has gradually weakened, while the focus on workers' obligations has increased. Since 1994 the policy of activation, with enforced job training, active job-seeking and economic sanctions for non-compliance, has become increasingly tough. For example, the maximum proportion that may be cut from non-compliant citizen income substituting transfers was first raised from 20 percent to 30 percent and then completely removed in 2009. This was combined with more administrative discretion (as opposed to rigid rules), giving increased responsibility for case workers to estimate the impact and need for sanctioning, so that cuts in welfare transfers are only made if it seems likely that it will lead to the citizen entering the labour market and not just to further marginalisation. Furthermore, since 1998, welfare beneficiaries who on top of their unemployment suffer from mental or physical disability, homelessness, addiction or other issues reaching beyond job loss, have been subject to the risk of sanctioning.⁸²

80 P. K. Madsen, "Activation Policy in Denmark", paper for presentation at conference on activation policy, Korea Labour Institute, Seoul, 4 November 2009, at http://vbn.aau.dk/ws/files/18792428/Madsen_Danish_Activation_Policy_Seoul_091009_v2.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).

81 This public unemployment insurance system is regulated by the state with regard to rates, duration and eligibility conditions, but it is administered by approximately 30 non-governmental funds which are segmented according to branch and union membership. Despite this scattered organisation and relationship to the unions, no substantial differences in members' coverage ensue, since income transfers are regulated centrally. As in the case with the basic income transfer, the right to this unemployment benefit is closely related to one's labour-market attachment.

82 Caswell, D., H. L. Andersen, M. Høybye-Mortensen, A. M. Markussen & S. L. Thuesen *Når kassen smækkes i: Analyser af økonomiske sanktioner over for kontanthjælpsmodtager* (When funds run out: Analyses of financial sanction of welfare recipients). Copenhagen: Institute of Local Government Studies (Anvendt KommunalForskning, AKF), 2011., pp. 86–90 (hereafter, Caswell et al., *Når kassen smækkes i*).

Activation, training and rehabilitation measures for citizens with various social, psychological or other health problems can have significant positive effects. Indeed, a great many of those inhabitants of Trigeperken who are employed have been the recipients of various special measures, including wage-support schemes, short- or long-term “flex-jobs” with special conditions and protected job schemes. And many of the unemployed are undergoing training. All of these measures, too numerous and complicated to recount here, may improve vulnerable citizens’ social participation, get them out of their homes and in contact with others, and in some cases increase the possibility of long-term employment and hence their social and economic standing. During an economic boom, those individuals who need a push or an offer they cannot refuse to get off income support may enter the society of tax-contributing wage-earners and receive the social esteem which is so intimately tied to work in a country such as Denmark.

On the other hand, a flexicurity economy may be harder on the very vulnerable in times of crisis, particularly when the social security element (income replacement periods) is reduced. While individuals may find it easier to get a job when the economy is growing, it is also easier to terminate such employment, and as a consequence individuals depend more on long income replacement periods, because they have more difficulty securing the next job. They may be less susceptible to re-training, and hence less flexible, due to learning difficulties, low self-confidence or a poor educational record. Yet, the very ethos of the system is based on the internalisation of the social expectation that every individual must make a sustained effort; that unemployment is to some degree one’s own responsibility. In a recession, particularly when activation policies are employed across the board to target virtually all citizens, including the very vulnerable, an active labour-market policy may be extremely stressful. Each individual is constantly monitored and asked to make an effort, yet such efforts, like participating in training programmes teaching a person to write effective job applications, may appear futile. A local social worker involved with residents’ labour-market attachments was concerned about the practical application of activation policies, their incentive structures and the amount of bureaucracy involved:

The biggest hurdle we have is actually the municipality and the job centres. They are under pressure from above. They send people into internships and courses on how to write a CV and how to write applications. I've had people who were sent to courses five times learning how to write a CV. How hard can it be? But that's because when they activate them, the state is satisfied, and then the municipality get their refund. It doesn't do anything for those trying to enter the labour market. It's a waste of time. And when you find out you're stuck, then they send you to a secondary service provider where they put you into three month internships. Once again—same system: when they've been interning, then the secondary service providers get their refund from the municipality because they have activated someone, and then the citizen basically starts all over again.

I went with someone to a secondary service provider, because she received a letter stating she had to go for a meeting with this service provider. We went out there, and the first thing we meet is 10–12 pages of paper to fill out by hand with trivial information already available in her file. Then the meeting was just information about her rights and duties, stuff she has already heard 30 times. That's how it goes. Then it would start out with three months internship, and then maybe a temporary subsidised job ... Imagine a citizen who has experienced this a thousand times and has had just as many rejections; imagine the motivation of that citizen. It's just devastating ... People need to experience that they actually do a job and make their own money. (social worker, male)

In focus group discussions about unemployment, similar stories from participants confirmed this description of an activation system in which considerable efforts are made without reasonable attempts to match people with jobs. Yet these problems may be difficult to avoid: a balanced welfare state needs high labour-market participation rates, since unemployment means both an increase in expenditure on income transfers and a loss of taxable income.⁸³ The constant challenge is thus to ensure sufficient work incentives. The good coverage and high replacement rates of welfare transfers have decommodification effects:⁸⁴ almost all are secured an income, with or without a job. Thus, with high though decreasing replacement rates in Denmark, particularly in the lower income brackets,⁸⁵ the purely economic gains of employment over unemployment may be limited. Part of the solution is an active labour-market policy which pushes unemployed into new jobs, while also taking away leisure time to be spent on activation obligations. Heavy activation policies are meant to reduce the attractiveness of unemployment compared with employment, particularly for those in the (more rewarding) non-compulsory unemployment insurance system. Scholars agree that this incentive effect explains how high degrees of social insurance and redistribution may be combined with high labour-market participation rates.⁸⁶

There are some humiliating aspects of activation schemes, which, while really a waste of time, are arguably meant to be unpleasant.⁸⁷ For instance until recently the unemployed were required to do the same basic job search course several times and provide detailed accounts of their job search activities once a week to avoid financial

83 T. M. Andersen, "The Scandinavian model—prospects and challenges", *International Tax and Public Finance* 15 (1) (2008), pp. 45–66 (hereafter, Andersen, "The Scandinavian model").

84 The concept of decommodification refers to the situation in a welfare state when labour loses its commodity-like properties, i.e. whereby a worker or employee becomes less dependent on selling his hours of work as a commodity, in order to survive.

85 Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO), *Dagpengesystemet – En analyse af dagpengesystemets dækning*, January 2006. See http://www.lo.dk/upload/LO/Documents/D/dagpengedaek_analyse_3284.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).

86 Andersen, "The Scandinavian model"; M. Svarer, "Gode råd i arbejdsmarkedspolitikken" (Good advice regarding labour market policy), in *Jubilæumsskrift – De Økonomiske Råd 1962–2012* (Jubilee Publication – Danish Economic Council). Copenhagen: Danish Economic Council, 2012, p. 79.

87 Andersen, "The Scandinavian model".

sanctions. Apart from the personal frustrations, loss of status, identity and social relations, these administrative features all have incentive effects which are thought to increase labour supply.⁸⁸

Being unemployed produces significant stress symptoms, mainly because of financial insecurity,⁸⁹ which has increased with the drastic cut from four to two years in the maximum period of unemployment insurance based on income transfers, effective since the beginning of 2013. After two years the unemployed must now turn to basic government income transfers, for which citizens are only eligible if they have no personal savings or cash-convertible assets. The prospect for an increasing number of unfortunates, in a recession where jobs are scarce, is to start selling property and cars or lose one's income. The persistent attempt to increase labour supply, for example, by reducing the period of unemployment support, seems harsh in a time of crisis. However, the purpose of increasing the labour supply is also to dampen wage increases and hence strengthen productivity and competitiveness in the economy. This purpose is rarely stated explicitly by politicians.

6.4 | THE LEAST WELL OFF: LIVING ON THE MARGIN

These aspects of Danish labour-market policy have profound implications for the configuration of the welfare state, whose very point is to shelter its citizens from loss of income due to unforeseen life events and circumstances, of which unemployment is one of the most important. Income replacements are still quite high at least for the less well off, just as many important services (above all child care) are either free for all or subject to means testing, which still renders them much cheaper for low-income groups, particularly single parents (of which there are many in Trigeperken). Even so, marginalisation in relation to the labour market broadly overlaps with socio-economic marginalisation and with suffering adverse welfare effects. When eligibility for income-substituting transfers depends on labour-market participation, unemployment is a step towards marginalisation, particularly when the period of unemployment is prolonged or permanent, and above all when accompanied by other problems, such as physical or mental illness, disability, or substance abuse.

For a minority of Danish citizens, the chronic lack of labour-market attachment, combined with serious social and health-related problems, leads to a permanently marginalised position, not only in income but also in overall well-being and participation in everyday social activities. For this group, which is most likely over-

88 J. G. Andersen, "Grænser for incitamentter på beskæftigelsesområdet" (Limits to incentives in the area of employment), *Samfundøkonomen*, 5 November 2010 (hereafter, Andersen, "Grænser").

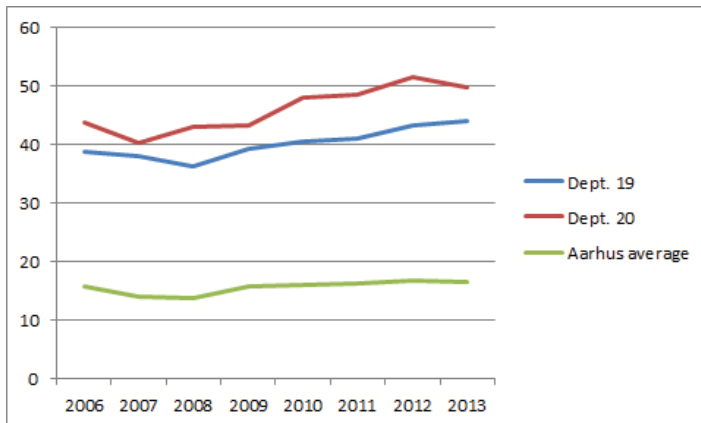
89 *Ugebrevet A4, Halvdelen af de ledige er stressede—Stop for dagpenge gør ledige syge* (Half of unemployed are stressed—Cuts in income transfers make unemployed ill), 2012, at http://www.ugebreveta4.dk/stop-for-dagpenge-goer-ledige-syge_14391.aspx (accessed 11 September 2014).

represented in Trigeparken relative to the whole population, the activation policies of the welfare state have very little impact, either because most of the available activation schemes are not relevant, or because the financial sanctions and threats have little effect. In fact, the extensive use of incentives and sanctions exacerbates the marginalisation of these long-term unemployed groups, who also may suffer physical or mental disability or significantly reduced work capacity, drug addiction or alcoholism.⁹⁰

6.5 | UNEMPLOYMENT IN TRIGEPARKEN

Trigeparken is one of the areas in Aarhus with the lowest rates of labour-market participation: 46.3 percent of the residents aged between 18 and 64 are outside the labour market. As the economic downturn since 2008 particularly affected those whose labour-market positions were weak, i.e. those with unskilled jobs and little formal education or training at the low end of the income bracket, the impact of the crisis is very visible when looking at unemployment rates in Trigeparken.

FIGURE 3. PROPORTION OF RESIDENTS AGED 18–64 OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT (% OF TOTAL POPULATION), 2006–2013



Source: BoSocData. 2013 only account for the period January-June

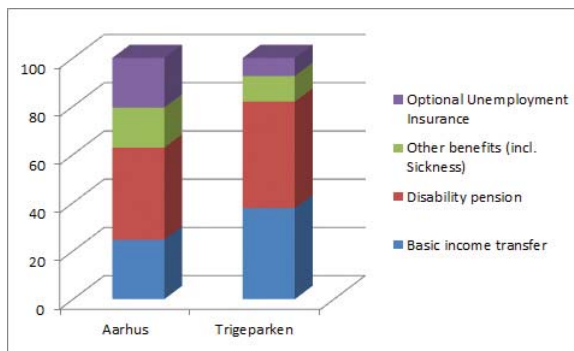
Note: Numbers include unemployed, those receiving disability pensions, sickness benefits, etc.

Figure 3 shows the change in the proportion of residents outside employment in Trigeparken and in Aarhus as a whole since 2006. It shows that whereas the number of Aarhus citizens in general on income replacement only marginally increased after the financial collapse of 2008, residents of Trigeparken have increasingly felt the drop

in labour demand since then, particularly Department no. 20, where the proportion of adults outside employment reached 51.6 percent in 2012.

Yet unemployment and loose labour-market attachment have always characterised Trigeperken. A case study from 1985 found 47.5 percent of residents above 18 were outside the labour market, with a considerable number of these being unemployed because of disability.⁹¹ Now, as then, a quite large group of residents receive pensions and other more or less permanent income transfers related to physical and mental illness or disability. The high rate of residents detached from the labour market is thus to some extent a question of a structural concentration of unemployment in the public housing sector; including Trigeperken. Even without a recession, the proportion of residents outside the labour market would still be high in Trigeperken (see Chapter 7 for this form of segregation). A distinct trait of labour-market detachment in Trigeperken is the high proportion of people with disability pensions and the high number of people on the basic income transfer. Figure 4 compares the composition of different types of income transfers among those who receive some form of substitute for labour income in Trigeperken and Aarhus as a whole, respectively. The proportion of people receiving the basic, low income transfer is much higher in Trigeperken than in the whole of Aarhus, while the proportion of unemployed covered by the optional insurance scheme is much lower in Trigeperken, indicating weaker labour-market ties.

FIGURE 4. PREVALENCE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF INCOME TRANSFERS (%): COMPARISON OF AARHUS AND TRIGEPARKEN, 2013



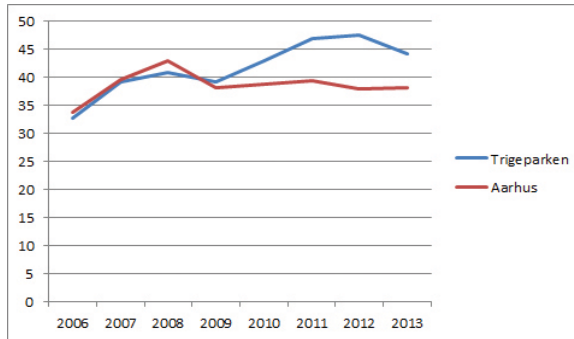
Source: BoSocData July 2013

Trigeperken has seen a growing proportion of residents on disability pensions during the economic crisis. Figure 5 shows how the proportion of receivers of disability pensions has increased in Trigeperken in relation to other types of income transfers.

91 Kofoed and Weidmann, *På tværs*, pp. 6, 115.

For Aarhus, the proportion of people on disability pensions has stayed relatively stable since 2009. In 2012 the proportion of disability pensions accounted for just around 47 percent of all income transfers in Trigeperken. For Aarhus, the proportion was in 2012 and 2013 just around 38 percent.

FIGURE 5. PROPORTION OF PEOPLE ON DISABILITY PENSIONS RELATIVE TO OTHER ALTERNATIVE INCOME TRANSFERS, %, 2013



Source: BoSocData July 2013

As a response, the municipal administration in Aarhus and the Central Secretariat of Housing Associations in Aarhus has initiated a decentralised employment scheme. A consultant is employed in Trigeperken to help those residents who are willing and able to enter the labour market to get a job. This initiative has had a certain limited success, getting several residents into part- or fulltime employment, primarily in manual jobs. This is an uphill struggle. First of all, the local labour market in Trige only provides a limited number of jobs, so most residents have to seek employment outside the community, in greater Aarhus or to the north in Randers. This has been an obstacle in some cases, since public transport is inadequate for long commutes.

6.6 | BEING A WELFARE BENEFICIARY IN TRIGEPARKEN

The data from the focus group on employment were meagre. Mainly because of the taboo attached to unemployment and the stigma of being unemployed, it was quite difficult to discuss these topics. Discussions would start with the obvious and almost immediately drift to other matters. One example from a focus group discussion illustrates the reason why unemployment and labour-market participation are difficult subjects to talk about, and it is also an example of how the stigmatisation of the unemployed can be expressed in everyday interaction. Whereas the quote is unusual in its overt expression of sympathies and frustrations, the value universe that it represents was not untypical:

Man 1 (approx. 34): Nine people in my building could, in my view, have had a job, but only two of us have jobs. And I think that is tough. I'm not going to complain or anything, but I get up at 6 a.m. drive to work, and I'm home again around 6–7 p.m. sometimes ... The government, state and municipality have told us that those who work should be good examples for others, so they can see, that, "Hey it's worth it." I have a new car for instance, I can afford it. But it's annoying to go to work knowing that there is someone in my block just chilling out doing nothing. When I work hard and make money ... There are so many (unemployed) out here, but I have to confess ... it's very few that I talk to, who don't have a job. I can't relate to them. You see yourself in others, and I can see myself in those who have a job. There you have something in common.

Man 2 (42): It's hard to make conversation with someone who hasn't got a job.

Man 1: Yeah, "So, you've watched the news channel all day, well congratulations."

After this dialogue about unemployed residents in Trigeparken took place, one of the respondents told the others that she was personally very offended by what they were saying. She was permanently outside the labour market, living on an income transfer of some kind, but she maintained that she too was contributing to the community despite her plight. One of the participants retracted his statement and agreed that there were many ways to be active, and that she most likely did a larger share locally than he was capable of. The reaction of the unemployed participant is likely to reflect the thoughts of many other focus group participants without jobs and helps explain why unemployment is a difficult topic to explore in focus group discussions. It highlights the potentially stigmatising effects of the dominant work ethic. People without jobs are looked down on, even in a place where unemployment might be considered much closer to the norms than elsewhere.

Thus, it is important to notice in the quote above the perception of unemployed residents and the narratives used to describe both the unemployed and the working residents. The unemployed are considered generically lazy by default, and not willing to contribute. They live off other people's incomes, even if indirectly. And they do nothing other than sit around at home watching television. On the other side, the employed males are close to the stereotypical depiction of the hardworking, male breadwinner who provides for the family and the community. There is also a strong element of disidentification on the part of the employed man in the extract above. He prefers not to talk too much to the unemployed, and describes himself as unable to relate to the unemployed and to identify with the imagined lifestyle of the unemployed. In addition, he identifies with and accepts that authorities and institutions encourage working people to be good examples and show the unemployed how nice it is to have a job.

This situation and the opinions expressed here correspond roughly to the dominant national, macro-level attitudes towards those who are unemployed and welfare beneficiaries. In comparison with some other countries around the world, the Danish population has a very strong work ethic; an estimation based on data from the 2005 ISSP Module on Work Orientation suggests that around 75 percent of Danes would work even if they did not have a financial need to work.⁹² This is a much higher rate than most other countries. The flipside of this strong work ethic is that people who do not work are sometimes considered deviant, lazy or even a threat to the well-being of the community.

This pattern is also reflected in mainstream media representation and discussion of the unemployed. In late 2012, for example, media debates on the size of the basic income transfer were dominated by the discussion of two spectacular cases. One, “Poor Karina”, a single mother who had always been unemployed turned out to receive more money and have a higher disposable income than other single mothers with jobs. Her case was highlighted by one left-wing politician, Özlem Cekic, in the national media. The other prominent example was referred to as “Lazy Robert”, an individual who was seen as someone who systematically refused or sabotaged job offers. Both cases were widely reported and discussed as examples of welfare cheques being too high and the activation system too sloppy. They caused public attitudes and the general discourse to shift so that at least in the short term perceptions of the unemployed and welfare beneficiaries became much more negative, and support of cuts of income transfers grew.⁹³

In a context of high unemployment and continuing low economic activity, the views expressed by the focus group respondents, whereby unemployment was a status largely chosen by the unemployed, is a sign of a heavy stigmatisation. The loss of a job or the status as unemployed translates into a loss of status and mistrust from working people. Although being unemployed in Trigeperken is statistically normal, and although the status in everyday life in the area is hardly frowned upon, residents there are just as susceptible to the general framing of unemployment as Danish citizens generally.

92 Andersen, “Grænser”. Page 35.

93 *Ugebrevet A4*, “Fattig-Carina fik danskerne op af stolen” (Poor Carina woke up the Danes), 2012, at http://www.ugebreveta4.dk/fattig-carina-fik-danskerne-op-af-stolen_14183.aspx (accessed 11 September 2014).

7.

HOUSING

As in other similar welfare states, primarily in Scandinavia,⁹⁴ the state assumes much of the responsibility for the provision of reasonably priced housing, that is, making sure that housing is available even for those who are not able to obtain housing through the private housing market. In addition, the public housing sector in Denmark aims at providing housing which is attractive to the general population, not just to those unable to enter the private housing market.⁹⁵ In practice, substantial structural differences characterise the housing markets. These differences play an important role in the socio-economic and ethnic segregation that is so central to contemporary marginality.

7.1 | PUBLIC HOUSING IN DENMARK

Since the early 20th century public housing has been regulated by the government, and forms an important and very distinct sector within the housing market. Housing units are organised as departments within housing associations and every department has its own budget. Rents reflect costs in the department, but rents are to some extent regulated by subsidies from the National Building Fund. Each department has its own board, consisting of and elected by its residents. The board makes decisions for the department, and each board is represented in the housing association's board by one member. In total, the public housing sector encompasses around 550,000 apartment units, which makes up approximately one-fifth of all Danish households.

Public housing projects are financed in part by the local municipality (7–14 percent), and residents (2 percent of the construction costs is covered by future residents' deposits); approximately 80 percent comes from mortgage loans with interest rate stabilisation. Initially there is finance from the National Building Fund,⁹⁶ which is a self-governing institution providing funding for public housing projects, including the renovation and construction of new dwellings. In addition, governmental Revitalisation Plans play a part here, not related to the physical structure of the buildings, but rather aiming at improving the social climate of housing projects through local social work promoting engagement among residents and supporting residents with ideas for activities or volunteer work. These Revitalisation Plans are a form of intervention in neighbourhoods in a marginalised position or at risk of becoming marginalised. The plans are implemented by local social workers through specific initiatives falling under seven themes: children, youth and family; education, employment and jobs; residents' associations, participation and democracy; health; marginalised groups, culture and

94 H. S. Andersen, *Housing policy in the Nordic countries and its implication for the housing of immigrants*, National Building Research Institute (Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut, SBI), Copenhagen, 2012.

95 Ministry of Welfare, *Den almene boligsektors finansiering*, p. 81.

96 Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, "The Danish social housing sector".

leisure; image and communication.⁹⁷ Funding for Revitalisation Plans is forthcoming, for instance, when too many flats are empty, when crime is high in an area, when proportions of residents with immigrant background rise, or when the residential turnover is high.

7.2 | REDISTRIBUTION THROUGH THE NATIONAL BUILDING FUND

Since the mid-1960s, the National Building Fund has been the centre of administration of funding for the public housing sector, dealing with different aspects of public housing (renovation, new constructions, revitalisation, rent regulation, etc.). All housing departments are obliged to contribute to the Fund, which also contributes money to Revitalisation Plans. Thus the public housing sector is largely and increasingly self-sufficient, and does not depend on the government for funding. Since the second world war, the public housing sector has sought to meet the housing needs of that part of the population that cannot afford the private market. The original challenge was to construct enough housing units to cover the need for housing in the 1960s and 1970s, in particular in the cities.

Later, the central aim of public housing became the improvement and upgrading of existing housing. Two important effects of this are worth noticing. First, the public housing sector developed a strong internal redistributive dynamic whereby a proportion of rent from some departments is transferred through the National Building Fund to other departments or to new constructions. The National Building Fund thus is a huge redistributive organism whereby rich departments help the poor departments. This mainly occurs because financially secure departments that have paid off the money borrowed for building their properties do not lower rents after the mortgage loans have been paid off. Instead, excess income from rent is transferred to different areas to support new housing projects or to renovate existing, financially unstable housing (also through Revitalisation Plans). This way, an old, financially stable department would not, ideally speaking, get a competitive advantage over newer housing projects, even though loan conditions and interest rates change. The other effect is a consequence of the first, and may be expressed as a normalisation of rents. Through increasing redistribution within the sector and the establishment of budget constraints for new constructions, the rent levels in public housing have become more homogeneous, corresponding roughly to demand. The main objective has been to increase mobility on the housing market.⁹⁸

97 National Building Fund (Landsbyggefonden), "Regulativ om tilskud til boligsocial indsats i udsatte almene boligafdelinger" (Regulation on subsidies for revitalisation schemes in deprived neighbourhoods), 22 March 2011, at <http://www.lbf.dk/Dokumenter/Regulativer/~media/lbf/LBF%20orienterer/Regulativ%20og%20vejledning%20til%20boligsocial%20indsats.ashx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

98 Ministry of Welfare, *Den almene boligsektors finansiering*, Chapter 5.

7.3 | THE TROUBLED PUBLIC HOUSING SECTOR

The purpose of public housing is to provide housing at affordable rents for anyone in need and for those not able to afford housing on the private housing market. However, the differences between the public and private housing sectors are remarkable and has strongly segregating effects. One is subject to a free market (except that tax regulations in Denmark historically have favoured owners over tenants), and the other is regulated by the government and the National Building Fund. They have very different resident groups. The proportion of residents with immigrant backgrounds in the public housing sector is high and rising,⁹⁹ as is the number of residents experiencing different forms of marginalisation, such as labour-market detachment, low income and low educational levels. For instance, the average personal income for residents (15–64 years) in the public housing sector in 2009 was DKK 188,284 (€25,292), but the national average income was DKK 275,851 (€37,051).¹⁰⁰ The number of residents considered poor, according to official definitions, is also much higher in the public housing sector than elsewhere.¹⁰¹ Other overrepresented categories in public sector housing include women, single-parent families (single mothers in particular), elderly (50+, and particularly 64+), children and young people (below 25 years).^{102, 103} The number of residents in the public housing sector with immigrant backgrounds and an educational gap compared with the rest of Denmark's population has grown substantially over the last 30 years, and the public housing sector has become less attractive to people who have a choice between the public and private market.¹⁰⁴

Labour-market participation rates are generally lower in areas with public housing and have also been falling compared with the population as a whole. This gap has widened during the recent economic crisis.¹⁰⁵ In general terms, public housing is subject to a concentration of ethnic minorities, low-income families, the unemployed and residents with educational levels. This process of segregation has gained significance on the political agenda since the early 2000s, when the government launched the 'ghetto strategy' to fight the apparent formation of parallel societies in some disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

99 Schultz and Højbjerg, *Beboere*.

100 National Building Fund (Landsbyggefonden). "Statistik—Beboere i den almene boligsektor 2011" (Statistics on residents in the public housing sector, 2011), June 2012, at <http://www.lbf.dk/Analyse/~media/lbf/Almen%20Analyse/Statistikker%20og%20analyser/Beboerstatistik%202011%2012062012.ashx> (accessed 2nd of October 2014) (hereafter, National Building Fund, "Statistik").

101 Juul, J. S. and M. Baadsgaard. *Den sociale arv tynger Danmark—Fordeling og levevilkår 2011* (Social heritage is a burden in Denmark – Distribution and life conditions 2011). Copenhagen: Economic Council of the Labour Movement, 2011.

102 National Building Fund, "Statistik".

103 Ministry of Welfare, *Den almene boligsektors finansiering*, Chapter 5.

104 H. Kristensen and H. S. Andersen, "Befolkningens boligønsker" (People's demand for housing), Centre for Housing and Welfare (Center for Bolig og Velfærd), August 2009, p. 28, at <http://boligforskning.dk/sites/default/files/Rapport.hsa-als%28%29.doc.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

105 Schultz and Højbjerg, *Beboere*.

7.4 | HOUSING IN AARHUS

As the second biggest city in Denmark, urbanisation and people's search for employment and education are exerting pressure on housing facilities in Aarhus. The market for private property is heated despite the recent breakdown in 2008, not least because many parents buy apartments as an investment, to sublet to their children. One housing agency, Home, reports that parents wanting to sublet to their children account for 50 percent of apartment sales in Aarhus,¹⁰⁶ a much higher rate than elsewhere in Denmark. The high demand and prices in the private housing market are reflected in the public housing sector. Waiting lists grow longer in Trigeparken as elsewhere, where some years ago there were always empty flats ready for new residents.

7.5 | TRIGEPARKEN

Trigeparken consists of two departments in one major local housing association, Ringgaarden. The construction type is typical of public housing of the 1960s and 1970s, with three floors, a basement and three or four staircases in each block. It is one of the first precast constructions introduced in Denmark, and it was widely used around most of the western part of Denmark, with approx. 24,000 identical apartment units in total.¹⁰⁷ Thus Trigeparken is closely related to a range of similar public housing projects across the country. The functionalist design of the apartments is generally considered to be good, even today, but the geographical planning has not been a success everywhere. The projects have been criticised for being too big, for having a low aesthetic architectural quality, and not least for being inadequately integrated into surrounding urban areas. Most of these projects have later turned out to be problem areas. The design of the buildings was inspired by 1930s functionalism, and the construction was fuelled by the housing deficit in the 1950s and 1960s and by the construction sector's drive for efficiency and increased productivity.¹⁰⁸

The housing type was very similar in the two departments of Trigeparken when they were built, but since the last department was finished, the two have become somewhat different in looks and quality. The first department recently went through substantial renovation of the façades, bathrooms and kitchens, whereas the second department looks worn from the outside and has some problems over indoor temperature and old, run-down facilities.

106 Simonsen, P. "Købelystne forældre kan ryste boligmarkedet" (Parents willing to buy can shake the housing market), *Morgenavisen Jyllands Posten*, 18 September 2013, at <http://jyllands-posten.dk/aarhus/ECE5964579/koebelystne-forael-dre-kan-ryste-boligmarkedet> (accessed 11 September 2014).

107 Nygaard, *Tag over hovedet*, p. 137.

108 Nygaard, *Tag over hovedet*, p. 146.

7.5.1 | COMPARISON BETWEEN DEPARTMENTS NOS. 19 AND 20

When weighted by type of flat, the average rent per square metre is 18.8 percent higher in Department no. 20 than in Department no. 19,¹⁰⁹ despite the fact that flats in the latter are newly renovated and have better-quality kitchens, bathrooms and better indoor temperature and insulation. This imbalance relates to a difference in loan conditions and construction timing for the two projects. Department no. 19 was built around 1974, whereas Department no. 20 was delayed until 1981. The macroeconomic conditions had then changed, along with lending regulations. This made Department no. 20 more expensive than initially planned. The construction costs per square metre in Department no. 20 were more than twice as high as Department no. 19.¹¹⁰ Department no. 20 was financed mainly through inconvertible loans, whereas Department no. 19 was given access to the conversion of mortgage loans by the National Building Fund. This way the financing was cheaper than for Department no. 20,¹¹¹ and Department no. 20 is on stuck with loans that cannot easily be converted and subsequently a rent level that cannot easily be lowered.

In the context of the surrounding housing market, Department no. 20 is rarely the first choice. The rent is around 4 percent higher than average in the public housing sector in Aarhus,¹¹² and apartments are of a poorer quality than most other housing projects in Aarhus. In addition, it is far from the city centre. The price in Trigeparken simply does not correspond to its market value. This explains both the short waiting list and also the high rate of people moving out after a short while.

According to a staff member from the National Building Fund, the type of loan financing Department no. 20 has only been open to remortgaging on one special occasion. Today, rent levels can only be lowered when loans are paid off or by ad hoc cash subsidies from the National Building Fund, which are scarce. The staff member from the National Building Fund put it in the following terms: "The money we have right now for such purposes is very limited, it doesn't reach all the housing estates in need."¹¹³ The inadequacy of funding for rent adjustments in the public housing sector is clearly a question of national priorities, as the National Building Fund comes under the government.

109 According to our own calculation based on 2012 data from the National Building Fund's database.

110 Authors' calculation based on 2012 data from the National Building Fund's database.

111 According to one representative from the National Building Fund and one from Ringgaarden Housing Association.

112 Authors' calculation based on 2012 data from the National Building Fund's database.

113 Interview with Birger Kristensen, Landsbyggefonden.

7.5.2 | RESIDENTS' THOUGHTS ON HOUSING IN TRIGEPARKEN

The residents were well aware of the relationship between cost and quality. During a focus group interview, one young respondent talked about her considerations on moving out. As a young mother and student at Aarhus University, she was challenged in her everyday life by the high rents in Trigeparken, the distance from Trigeparken to Aarhus city centre and by the opening hours of the kindergarten:

Considering the costs, it's really bad quality out here. Because you can have some completely newly renovated apartments in Viby for DKK 1,000 less and in Lystrup as well. Same types of apartments. Sometimes I find that a bit ... odd. It's odd that you have to pay so much more, that's also one of the reasons I consider moving somewhere else [...] If I can save a couple of 1000 crowns [DKK], that's a lot of money if you don't have a lot in the first place .. And when you need to spend a lot of additional time on transportation. ... I'm often stressed if I have a lecture going on until 4 p.m. then I have to go before it ends to be able to pick up [her son attending kindergarten] at 5 p.m. I think that's really uncool. Today, I had a break where I had to first go home and pick him up, and then go back to have a lecture with him because it lasted until 5 p.m. I needed that lecture for the classes in next week. If I lived closer to the city , [...] then I might have been able to only skip the last 15 minutes of that lecture.
(Woman, 23)

Her considerations highlight important aspects of housing in Trigeparken. From an economic point of view, the housing package offered in Trigeparken is simply not worth the costs in rent and time spent travelling back and forth. Earlier in the interview, she explained how she chose Trigeparken, because she needed something to stay in fast, because of the studies and her little son. But in the long run, she is clearly better off moving somewhere else. In another interview the respondents talked about the relationship between the two departments and the differences in price and quality:

Woman (approx. 40): But the square metre price is somewhat higher, and the apartments have a lower quality. That's why we've have had a higher residential turnover rate in our department.

Moderator: So you don't get enough for the money?

Woman: No, the quality of the apartments is ...

Man (approx. 34): There's a draught from the windows ...

Woman: Kitchens are from 1980, there is no money to have them renewed before it collapses.

Moderator: But is this something that is related more or less only to department 20?

Several respondents: Yes!

Woman: But it's because we have separate budgets. We are two separate departments and have two different economies.

Residents said that contrast in housing quality between the departments was because the two departments had separate budgets. But only a few participants complained about this state of affairs. Some seemed to accept the differences as just or natural, given the financial situations of the two departments today that is, given the less favourable patterns of residential turnover and social backgrounds of the residents in no. 20. Fewer respondents would link the difference in housing quality and costs now with past construction conditions and timing, macroeconomic developments or lack of rent regulation.

7.6 | THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

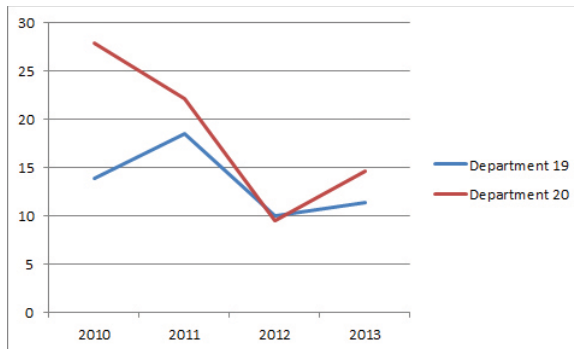
The departments' financial situation, the physical quality of the blocks and flats and the residential turnover are closely related. When the financial situation of a department is deteriorating to the point that the rent becomes uncompetitive, residents will stay for a shorter time and residential turnover goes up. With a higher turnover, costs related to empty units and refurbishment increase, translating into more strain on the department's finances, which impedes necessary renovations, leading to less attractive apartments with higher rents. This is a vicious circle, difficult to break. An attempt to alleviate suffering departments has just recently been made. In March 2013, Parliament enacted a law requiring housing associations to pay a part of each department's potential loss inflicted by former tenants' unpaid rent or by tenants' not meeting their responsibility to refurbish the apartment when moving out.¹¹⁴ Similar regulations have also been passed in earlier years; in 2007 losses inflicted by empty flats were no longer the responsibility of each department on its own, but of the housing association as a whole. However, because rent levels depend so much on initial construction costs, these regulations appear to have had insufficient effect. It should also be noted that these steps have not brought funding into the public housing sector as such, they have just changed the way financial deficits are distributed within the sector, that is, from housing department to housing association.

114 § 41 in Bekendtgørelse om ændring af bekendtgørelse om drift af almene boliger m.v. [Act on Changes in Act on Operation of Public Housing]. BEK ('Bekendtgørelse') 332 of 25 March 2013.

7.7 | CONSTRUCTION, TURNOVER RATES AND FINANCIAL STABILITY

The causality between changes in residential turnover, construction quality and the departments' economic stability is neither clear nor simple. In the case of Trigeiparken, no factor can be singled out to explain why one department is perceived as relatively and substantively worse than the other, but residential turnover and economic strain are important factors, and so is the problematical perception and reputation of Trigeiparken as a deprived and unattractive neighbourhood. Figure 6 shows the residential turnover for the two departments making up Trigeiparken. Department no. 20 suffered from very high turnover rates particularly in 2010 when 27.9 percent of the apartments had new residents. In 2012 and 2013, the turnover rate seems to have reached a more acceptable level. This is also the case with Department no. 19, which in general has lower turnover rates than Department no. 20.

FIGURE 6. RESIDENTIAL TURNOVER IN TRIGEIPARKEN (%), 2010–2013



Source: BoSocData July 2013

Two very important factors influencing turnover came out in the survey from 2009 previously mentioned, where the two highest ranked reasons for moving out were the high rents and the location of the dwellings.¹¹⁵ If these might seem like generic answers from any tenant anywhere, they appear particularly relevant and significant for the residents in Department no. 20. The square metre price there is higher than the average for public housing in the municipality of Aarhus, even though the blocks are quite far from the city centre. Also considering the physical condition of the department and the stigma related to living in Trigeiparken, the rent seems a great deal higher than normal, unless you are desperate. The high turnover rate is a consequence of this.

115 Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Trivselsundersøgelse 2009", p. 15.

Participants in the focus group discussions also argued that people moved out because it is expensive to live there, especially in Department no. 20, and because of the distance to the city centre. One respondent puts it succinctly:

I've bought a terrace house down in Trige. The reason why I moved is, that the rent is getting too expensive. I can settle in a house for 2,100 (DKK) a month (the interest paid on a loan without instalments), compared with the 7,000 I pay to live here. That was what did it. (Man, approx. 65)

For some residents, buying one's own house is a real option, and often, as in this case, the private sector is financially a much more attractive option in the medium and long run. The idea of seeing your dwelling as an investment is an important reason to move into your own house.¹¹⁶ While the respondent quoted above could save a lot of money by moving to a house a few hundred metres from Trigeparken, other people resented the idea of moving out to a privately owned house:

Woman 1 (approx. 65): I get the impression, that some people use this place as a stepping stone until they can have something new and better ..

Woman 2 (approx. 40): By buying their own house.

Woman 1: Yes.

The main factor is a difference in resources. Those who can only dream of clearance for a mortgage loan or assembling the down payment feel less compelled to move out. Perceptions of deprived neighbourhoods are in general worse among those who actually have the opportunity to move than those with limited options.¹¹⁷

7.8 | HOUSING AS AN ASYMMETRICAL MARKET

The problems in Trigeparken, where one department is suffering economically and is considered less attractive than the other, are connected with the regulation of the housing sector, including the private housing market. A high turnover indicates a discrepancy between supply and demand, with more flats in a neighbourhood than

¹¹⁶ H. S. Andersen, H. Vestergaard, G. Gottschalk, D. O. Pedersen, N. Groes, H. Christoffersen & K. B. Larsen, *Det danske boligmarked – udvikling i boligforsyning og boligønsker* (The Danish housing market – developments in supply and demand), National Building Research Centre (Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut, SBI) and Institute of Local Government Studies (Anvendt KommunalForskning, AKF), Copenhagen, 2001.

¹¹⁷ Andersen, "Why do residents want to leave deprived neighbourhoods?"

potential dwellers are willing to pay for at current prices. T. S. Larsen's analysis^{118, 119} of the public housing sector after the second world war suggests that an increasingly asymmetrical dual housing market since the end of the 1950s has been a major reason that public housing projects experience a greater concentration of social problems and territorial stigma.

The most important element is political regulation, which has consistently operated in favour of the private housing market and private landlords. Property owners have experienced better conditions and economic advantages (tax deductions on renovation and interest payments, substantial increases in the real value of private property, debts being eaten away by high inflation in the 1970s and 1980s), whereas the public housing sector has been neglected, for instance in the lack of available funding for levelling out the rents in Trigeparken. An example given by Larsen was that the value of interest tax deductions for private property owners grew from almost DKK0 to DKK12 billion per year from 1960 to 1980, amounting to around DKK 100 billion during this period.¹²⁰ This has been an important driver in the division between the public and private housing sectors.

At the same time, the public housing sector has seen financial cuts and inadequate regulation and rent adjustments. In addition, the role of the state in supporting public housing has been reduced.¹²¹ This has happened gradually at least since the late 1950s, when the state went from providing loans to providing security for loans, which led to high rent increases in the public sector.¹²² Changes in housing and tax policies, for instance the freeze of taxes on private property in 2002, affected the competitiveness of public housing negatively.^{123, 124} In addition, increased demand for property in the private sector has led to higher construction costs for public housing estates.¹²⁵

Although some of these changes occurred decades ago, they still have an important influence on inequality in the housing markets, with public housing having difficulties competing, and they remain important background causes for the concentration of

118 T. S. Larsen, *De forsømte: Skitse til en socialvidenskabelig analyse om relationerne mellem produktionen af forsømte boligområder, de sociale kampe om det boligsociale integrationsarbejde og den boligsociale integration* (The neglected: A draft for a social scientific analysis of the relationship between the production of neglected neighbourhoods, social fights about integration initiatives and the social integration), Department of Society and Globalisation, Roskilde University, 2009, pp. 122–126 (hereafter, Larsen, *De forsømte*).

119 Larsen, T. S. "Med Bourdieu i felten – almene boligområders storhed og forsømmelse" (With Bourdieu in the field—Glory and neglect in public housing estates). In J. Andersen, M. Freudendal-Pedersen, L. Koefoed & J. Larsen (ed.) *Byen i bevægelse: Mobilitet – Politik – Performativitet* (The city on the move: Mobility—Politics—Performativity). Roskilde: Roskilde University Press, 2012 (hereafter, Larsen, "Med Bourdieu i felten").

120 Larsen, "Med Bourdieu i felten", p. 206.

121 Ministry of Welfare, *Den almene boligsektors finansiering*, p. 425.

122 Larsen, *De forsømte*, pp. 122–124.

123 Economic Council of the Labour Movement (AE-Rådet), "Fordeling og levevilkår 2006" (Distribution and life conditions 2006), Report, Copenhagen, 2006, pp. 48–51.

124 Ministry of Welfare, *Den almene boligsektors finansiering*, p. 161.

125 Ministry of Welfare, *Den almene boligsektors finansiering*, pp. 161–162.

deprivation in the public housing sector. The private housing market overall simply represents a more attractive package than public housing, especially the possibilities of private property as an investment.

7.9 | THE BROADER NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CASE OF TRIGEPARKEN

Trigeparken as a case has some features that make it comparable with many other more or less marginalised communities. As mentioned, the type of construction is very similar, if not identical, to other housing estates around Denmark, principally in Jutland. Moreover, many medium-sized provincial cities have a neighbourhood like Trige has Trigeparken. These neighbourhoods always consist of public housing estates, often isolated from the rest of the city, and generally they are socially underprivileged neighbourhoods with considerable territorial stigma associated with them. Many of them are or have been on the ghetto list. Gullestrup in Herning, Aalborg Øst in Aalborg, Sundparken in Horsens, Høje Kolstrup in Aabenraa, Byparken/Skovparken in Svendborg, Korskærparken in Fredericia and Varbergparken in Haderslev are all residential areas with high concentrations of social problems and many minorities, where many residents stay only for a short while. These areas also have a social position relative to the main city which resembles Trigeparken's position relative to Trige and Aarhus: for most outsiders, they are considered as unattractive, but for dwellers who stay on, they are often seen as quite well-functioning residential areas despite occasional problems with crime and disturbances. The neighbourhoods in other parts of Denmark mentioned here have similar problems to Trige: high turnover rates, empty flats and rents exceeding what potential residents are willing to pay.

In a recommendation in the economic survey of Denmark of 2006, the OECD argued that the Danish government should “Let tenants in social housing pay rents that better reflect differences in quality, location and demand.”¹²⁶ The now closed Ministry of Welfare recognised the same discrepancies in rents in the public housing sector, and explains the bad adaptation to housing demand as a consequence of variation of funding over the years.¹²⁷

126 Erlandsen, Espen, Jens Lundsgaard & Felix Huefner, “The Danish housing market: less subsidy and more flexibility. Working paper no. 513 from OECD Economics Department. 2006. At <http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/publicdisplaydocumentpdf/?doclanguage=en&cote=ECO/WKP%282006%2941> (accessed 7 October 2014).

127 Ministry of Welfare, *Den almene boligsektors finansiering*.



HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

The question of local access to health services and social protection is tightly bound to the national system. Like education, basic health care is a universal welfare service provided free of charge for all residents, but dental care, special treatments and prescription medicine are only subsidised by the state. The total expenses related to health-care services amounts to around 11 percent of GDP, which is slightly higher than most other western European countries.¹²⁸ Private health insurance schemes are rare, which means the vast majority of Danes rely exclusively on the public health-care sector. The good coverage of the public health system and the slightly higher-than-average funding (compared to other similar countries) does not, however, translate fully into correspondingly high observable indicators of good health.

The average life expectancy rate was 79.3 in Denmark in 2010, just below the average for OECD countries and lower than in all other western European countries. All other Scandinavian countries have higher life expectancy rates than Denmark and have all made bigger increases in life expectancy since 1960.¹²⁹

In Denmark there are significant systematic differences in health depending primarily on educational level, income, employment status, gender, geography, ethnicity and lifestyle. Unskilled male workers who are 30 years old are, for example, expected to have 44.9 years left to live in, whereas 30-year-old males with a university degree can expect to live for another 52.2 years, a difference of over seven years.¹³⁰ For both women and men the education health gap has widened since the mid-1980s. As regards income, the top 25 percent male earners have almost 10 years more to live in than the bottom quartile.¹³¹ The difference among women is less significant. The effects of income and education on health of course to some extent overlap with unemployment, but long-term unemployment has particularly significant negative effects on health, especially mental health. Although this sometimes is a case of reversed causality, there is evidence that being unemployed equates with a higher risk of depression, suicide and alcoholism.¹³² If unemployment status with other critical life events such as divorce or if job losses is frequently repeated, the negative effects

128 World Bank, World Development Indicators, Table 2.15, 2013, at <http://wdi.worldbank.org/table/2.15> (accessed 11 September 2014).

129 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), "Health outcomes and expenditures", in "Government at a Glance 2011", OECD Publishing 2011, p. 189, at http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/gov_glance-2011-63-en (accessed 11 September 2014).

130 Juul, J, S., M. Baadsgaard & A. M. Det danske klassesamfund—Sundhed i de sociale klasser" (The Danish class society—Health in social strata), Economic Council of the Labour Movement, 2012. At http://www.ae.dk/files/dokumenter/analyse/ae_sundhed-i-de-sociale-klasser.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).

131 M. Baadsgaard and H. Brønnum-Hansen, "Social ulighed i levetiden" (Social inequality in life span), Economic Council of the Labour Movement, 2012, at http://ae.dk/files/dokumenter/analyse/ae_social-ulighed-i-levetid_o.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).

132 Diderichsen, F., I. Andersen & C. Manuel "Ulighed i sundhed—Årsager og indsatser" (Inequality in health—causes and initiatives), Danish Health and Medicines Authority, 2011. At http://www.sst.dk/publ/Publ2011/SURA/Ulighed_i_sundhed/UlighedSundhedAarsagerIndsatser.pdf, pp. 74–75, at http://www.sst.dk/publ/Publ2011/SURA/Ulighed_i_sundhed/UlighedSundhedAarsagerIndsatser.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014).

are aggravated. For men, especially for those in the high productive age, the negative impact is also stronger than for women.¹³³

8.1 | HEALTH IN TRIGEPARKEN

The health-service infrastructure available in Trige seems adequate, and there are enough dentists and general practitioners to cover demand. The hospitals and specialised clinics of Aarhus are easily reached by public transport or taxis.

There is no precise information on the general health of the residents of Trigeparken, since the data are not accessible for the public. In the light of the statistics summarised above, it is reasonable to assume that residents are more affected by health problems than the average. Local stakeholders and city council officials know this, which is why an outreach initiative was established in 2010 to deal with the health problems in some of the underprivileged neighbourhoods in Aarhus. In an attempt to improve the health of residents, housing associations in five Aarhus areas have cooperated with the municipality to establish the Health Café, a mobile health service for residents, which is usually attended by a nurse and an assistant.

The Health Café visits each neighbourhood approximately once a week (in Trigeparken slightly less often because of limited demand) to offer residents a basic health check, for example blood pressure, BMI, blood sugar, and to discuss health concerns. Health is here understood both as physical and mental health, as well as habits affecting health, like eating, drinking, smoking and drug use. The purpose is not only to check people's physical condition, but also to reach out to those who would otherwise not deal adequately with their health problems, and to encourage residents to change their lifestyle and unhealthy habits through events and activities such as talks by health professionals or events focusing on healthy food habits.

Of those who visited the Health Café in Trigeparken during 2011 and the beginning of 2012, 19 percent rated their own health as poor.¹³⁴ This is slightly more than the regional average of 14 percent,¹³⁵ but remarkably lower than among those visiting the Health Café in four other parts of Aarhus, where the proportion of users rating their own health condition as poor ranged from 33 percent to 43 percent. This suggests that health is not a major concern in Trigeparken, or that many of those who should

¹³³ Larsen, F. B., P. V. Ankersen, S. Poulsen, D. Søb & S. M. Christensen *Hvordan har du det?* 2010—Sundhedsprofil for region og kommuner (How are you feeling? 2010 – Health profile for region and municipalities), Centre for Public Health (Center for Folkesundhed), Central Denmark Region, 2011. Page 30. At http://www.cfk.rm.dk/files/Sundhed/CFK/Projekter/HHDD%20-%20sundhedsprofil/HVORDAN%20HAR%20DU%20DET_2010/Rapporter%20-%20sundhedsprofil%202010/Hvordan%20ohar%20du%20det%202010_hovedrapport_samlet_til%20CFF.pdf (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Larsen et al., “Hvordan har du det?”).

¹³⁴ Data provided by the Health Café.

¹³⁵ Larsen et al., “Hvordan har du det?”, p. 29.

visit, do not. Trigeparken had higher proportions of visitors discussing smoking and drinking habits, but this might also reflect greater willingness to make a change or just the fact that Trigeparken has a low proportion of Muslims who usually do not drink alcohol. Although the number of people visiting the Health Café is decreasing, it seems to have had some impact. Around one-third of the visitors are returning visitors, and for several of them visiting the Health Café has been the first step towards improved health, for example by following a programme to stop smoking or by making an appointment with their regular doctor.¹³⁶ The residents are nonetheless hard to reach, and males especially are difficult to engage in health matters.

MOBILE HEALTH CAFÉ

As an initiative coming from the housing associations and the city administration in Aarhus, the Mobile Health Café is a rather successful attempt at addressing health issues in some of the underprivileged neighbourhoods of Aarhus, one of them being Trigeparken. The health service offers basic health-care services and advice at regular intervals in these neighbourhoods, but the café also gives residents an opportunity to have an informal conversation about aspects of health and well-being beyond high blood pressure and back-aches. Lifestyle choices are addressed, and visitors also have a place to share and reflect on intimate personal issues that cannot so easily be taken to the traditional medical institutions. Although the number of visitors in Trigeparken fluctuates, the Mobile Health Café is an important tool for securing residents' chances to address health issues in a wide sense.

8.2 | ADDRESSING HEALTH LOCALLY: TABOO AND WELL-BEING

These health problems were readily acknowledged among the stakeholders. An interviewee involved in health work in Trigeparken explained how the health of male residents and the difficulties in establishing contact with them was a challenge:

It's not like all men are not healthy, but the basic knowledge about health is not something that all men possess ... It's typically those who used to be skilled workers, who believe that they are healthy enough. "It's not something for me, I go to the doctor every third month." It might be a male thing that it can be difficult to ask for help. (Woman, approx. 45)

The interviewee emphasised the anonymous and uncomplicated access to the Health Café's services as an important reason why it is an alternative to other health-care services:

¹³⁶ According to data provided by the Health Café.

The difference is that (traditional services) work within formal frameworks, whereas we work in an informal setting ... You don't need (to show your ID) to us. If someone tells us: "I don't want you to register my gender, my birthday, or my name", then we respect that. Of course, we try to tell them that it's for anonymous statistical data collection, but we respect them. (Woman, approx. 45)

The advantage of the informal approach to health was explained in more detail in the same interview:

We actually try to listen to what are the obstacles in people's lives. It's not only focusing on diagnoses. You can have your blood pressure and blood sugar measured, and that's because we know a lot of people walk around not knowing that they have too high values, but also because we know it can ... legitimise a visit: "I just need to have my blood pressure measured." At some point, a visitor wanted to talk about that, but then she started to talk about sexual health, and it turned out she was stressed because she had exams and didn't feel she was acknowledged in school; she was bullied. Then a whole string of issues emerged. But her approach was that she wanted to have her blood pressure measured. I could actually see that she had it measured a week ago, where it was normal, so I thought, "What is this thing?", and then you open up your ears. (Woman, approx. 45)

Informal access to the Health Café's services can be an occasion to talk about issues that are important for residents' well-being and health in a much broader way than what the traditional health-care sector can provide.

8.3 | CHALLENGES FOR THE MOBILE HEALTH SERVICE

The informal nature of the Health Café is rare among initiatives directed towards deprived neighbourhoods, since the process of fundraising and establishing a project like this often takes a long time and involves several different organisations. This is also the case in its day-to-day operation, which has to take account of various stakeholders, sometimes even within the same organisation. The Health Café project has gone through various organisational configurations. At first it was administered centrally by the People's Health division of the municipality administration, but then it was transferred to local health centres. Now the Health Café cooperates with a range of actors across several of the municipality administration's units. This is a constant challenge to its operation and to the stability of the service. In order for people to use the service, they need to know that it will be there on certain days, but due to disorganisation the opening hours of the service have changed several times. One interviewee suggested that some of the instability is caused by divisions in the municipal administration, which have been carried over to the Health Café. This has

led to some confusion among the regular visitors, and most likely also for those considering going there, and may also partly explain the drop in numbers of visitors.

8.4 | FOCUS GROUPS ON HEALTH

Personal health was only discussed on a few occasions in the focus group discussions. Participants briefly talked about their conditions, mostly in relation to minor physical disabilities or age-related disabilities. Only one mentioned a psychological disorder. But participants confirmed that there are many residents with both physical and mental disabilities living in Trigeparken. Health issues are no doubt difficult to talk to strangers about, and this may have impeded discussion. Only a few made references to the Health Café, and never from a personal point of view. Residents with mental and physical disabilities did not want to participate or did not show up for focus groups. When making initial contact in face-to-face interaction at the doorstep, some residents declined to take part because either age-related impediments or discomfort with interaction in groups because of mental disorder. It was decided not to invite some people because of obvious mental disorders that could affect focus group interaction. In later telephone conversations with residents who initially had wanted to participate, some declined because of new health problems and disabilities. All this added up to a significant bias in the interview material but also underlines the fact that health problems adversely affected many residents' lives.

9.

POLICING AND SECURITY

A key element in the social problematic and discourse on marginalised communities in Danish council estates has been the higher rates of crime and perceived insecurity. Crime levels, measured as the percentage of adult convictions,¹³⁷ make up one of the indicators which decide whether an area is classified as a ghetto. One of the chief aims of the “anti-ghettoisation” policies of consecutive governments and local councils, including Aarhus, has been to bring down crime levels through a range of strategies. The police force also aims to reduce people’s perception of insecurity, experiences of vulnerability, anxiety and discomfort, which rarely correlate with actual crime rates and vary considerably between different groups of the population in (as well as outside) these areas. Whereas young men in their 20s are those most likely to be the actual victims of violent crime, the elderly, young women and families with children also want to feel safe.

Beyond actual criminal offences, insecurity¹³⁸ is associated with the experiences of unpleasant neighbourhood phenomena such as antisocial, menacing behavior, shouting at by-passers, groups of noisy roaming youngsters, sleeping alcoholics and drug addicts, and with the physical effects, such as vandalised property, graffiti, burned out car tyres and garbage containers, and used syringes in basement shafts.

9.1 | CRIME LEVELS, ACTUAL AND PERCEIVED

Crime levels in Denmark have been going down in recent years, both generally and in socially marginalised areas—in some of the latter very much. Research shows that self-reported crime among the very young (10–17) started to drop significantly in the 1980s,¹³⁹ and a recent Ministry of Justice report indicates a dramatic decline (as in almost all other Western countries) in child and youth crime from 2001–2012, particularly since 2006 (by 60 percent among 10–14-year-olds and by 43 percent among 15–17-year-olds).¹⁴⁰ Children and young people seem more likely to be driven by informal norm pressures not to commit petty crimes, to think that doing so is not normally done and may jeopardise their future.¹⁴¹ The decline is seen for all types of crime, with shoplifting less than violence and vandalism, and it is much more pronounced for boys than girls, causing the traditional gender gap in crime to diminish somewhat. These figures were broken down to the local level and show

137 Although discussions and local monitoring very much concern youth and school-age crime, e.g., the age group 12–18.

138 Meaning insecurity related to the perceived danger of crime, not other insecurities (e.g., fear of unemployment, loss of welfare).

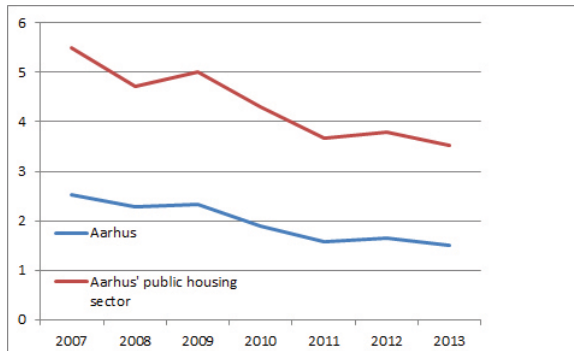
139 F. Balvig, *Lovlydig Ungdom* (Lawful Youth), Crime Prevention Council, Glostrup, 2011, at <http://www.dkr.dk/sites/default/files/lovlydig-ungdom.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, Balvig, *Lovlydig Ungdom*).

140 Ministry of Justice Research Unit (Justitsministeriets Forskningskontor), “Udviklingen i børne – og ungdomskriminaliteten 2001–2012” (Developments in youth crime 2001–2012), Ministry of Justice, 2013, pp. 6–8, at <http://justitsministeriet.dk/sites/default/files/media/Pressemeddelelser/pdf/2013/unge-%202012.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

141 Balvig, *Lovlydig Ungdom*, pp. 128–144.

that Aarhus is doing well in this respect and also as regards more serious crime and recidivism.¹⁴²

FIGURE 7. PROPORTION OF CHILDREN AND YOUNGSTERS AGED 10–17 SUSPECTED OF CRIMES: TOTAL AARHUS COMPARED WITH THE PUBLIC HOUSING SECTOR IN AARHUS, 2007–2013, %



Source: BoSocData July 2013.

These figures match a broader, if less dramatic, general tendency in Denmark. There has been a significant 20 percent decline (particularly since 2007) in simple (that is, less dangerous) violence,¹⁴³ with records showing the lowest overall levels of reported crime in 30 years (down 6.1 percent from 2011–2012).¹⁴⁴ The personal statistical risk of being subjected to violence has gone down from 2 percent to 1.5 percent.¹⁴⁵ There has also been a significant fall to 10 percent in the proportion of people who say that they often or always worry about being a victim of crime. There is still cause for concern about more serious violence, although this too has gone down most recently in many areas, including Aarhus, and about rises in some specific areas in theft and home robberies (much of it apparently crossborder crimes committed by Eastern Europeans). There are also worries about the social polarisation of criminal behaviour, in which a small fraction of the population (including youngsters) are much more likely also to be school dropouts, unhappy about going to school and poor academic

142 Aarhus Municipality and East Jutland Police. "Lokalråd for SSP-indsatsen i Aarhus, Årsrapport 2011, Afrapportering af kriminalitetstal" (Summary report for crime statistics in Aarhus 2011, SSP Aarhus), 2011. At <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/omkommunen/nyheder/2013/April/Faerre-unge-begaar-alvorlig-kriminalitet.aspx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

143 Statistics Denmark. "Nyt fra Danmarks Statistik, no. 133, 'Kriminalitet 2012'" (News from Statistics Denmark, no. 133, 'Crime 2012'), 2013. At <http://www.dst.dk/pukora/epub/Nyt/2013/NR133.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

144 Lilmoes, S. P. "Rekordlav kriminalitet i Danmark", Jyske Vestkysten ("Record-low crime rates in Denmark" in the Newspaper "Jutland's Westcoast"), 8 January 2013. At <http://www.jv.dk/artikel/1515254:Krimi--Rekordlav-kriminalitet-i-Danmark> (accessed 11 September 2014).

145 F. Balvig, B. Kyvsgaard and A. J. B. Pedersen, "Udsathed for vold og andre former for kriminalitet—Offerundersøgelserne 2005–2011 samt registrerede ofre 2001–2009" (Vulnerability to violence and other crimes—Victim Study 2005–2011 and registered victims 2001–2009), p. 5, at <http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/sites/default/files/media/Arbejdsomraader/Forskning/Forskningsrapporter/2012/Offerrapport%202012.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

performers, socially deprived, and immigrants or descendants of immigrants account for most of the crimes committed.¹⁴⁶

There have been many debates in recent years about the increasing incidence of violent, drug-related crimes committed by hardcore criminal street gangs with disproportionately high numbers of immigrant and descendant of immigrant members, including a steep rise in drive-by shootings, the recruitment of young teenagers and patrolling the streets, etc.,. Although these are mainly centred in and around Copenhagen, they are associated in the popular imagination with ghettos. The concern is that prolific youth crimes in socially exposed suburbs may harden further, as has happened around Copenhagen. However, the good news is that reported crime rates in 22 out of 36 monitored especially vulnerable residential areas (*særligt udsatte boligområder*), including Trigeparken, went down more than twice as much (12.7 percent) as the general national average in 2012 compared with 2009–2011,^{147, 148} in some cases to even below the national average. This coincides with new government measures and an agreement with the national police authorities to substantially increase their preventative and investigative efforts in these areas in 2012–2015.

Recent surveys of the subjective sense of security in the especially vulnerable residential areas also show some improvements, although the population here, to some extent with good reason, is rather more likely not to feel safe in their daily lives. Subjective security, research shows, has to do with many other things besides either personally experienced crime, experience of unpleasantly disruptive behaviour, or the visible effects of crime. Apart from the factors of age and gender, where women and the old feel more unsafe, people feel safer if they know that something is being done about crime (policing, information about preventive initiatives), if physical aspects of the neighbourhood are improved (lighting, cutting down trees, more traffic and activity in pedestrian areas at night), if they have a wider and better social network, if they perceive the other inhabitants of the area to have fewer resources, if neighbours talk, interact and go outside their flats, rather than live isolated lives, and particularly if different ethnic groups interact, and if there is experience of collective local empowerment and participation (many volunteers, well-functioning associations).¹⁴⁹ All of this was demonstrated in the focus group discussions.

¹⁴⁶ Balvig, *Lovlydig Ungdom*.

¹⁴⁷ C. Klement, B. Kyvsgaard and A. J. B. Pedersen, "Rockere, bander og risikofaktorer" (Bikers, gangs and risk factors), Ministry of Justice Research Unit, 2010, at <http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/sites/default/files/media/Arbejdsomraader/Forskning/Forskningsrapporter/2011/Rockere%20og%20bander%202011.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

¹⁴⁸ National Police (Rigspolitiet), "Resultatopfølgning på indsatsen i SUB-områder for 2012" (Results from the police work in deprived neighbourhoods, 2012), Nøgletalsanalyse (Ratio Analysis), 2013, at <https://www.politi.dk/NR/rdonlyres/23CBE7C8-1050-4876-8340-3B42D1DE37C5/0/N%C3%B8gletalsanalyse2012Sigtelsesprocentogangemeldelser.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014) (hereafter, National Police, "Resultatopfølgning").

¹⁴⁹ Centre for Urban Regeneration and Community Development (*Center for Boligsocial Udvikling*), *Tryghed i udsatte boligområder* (Safety in deprived neighbourhoods), Copenhagen, 2012.

These favourable developments, which are less evident overall in Aarhus,¹⁵⁰ although youth crime has fallen drastically,¹⁵¹ are important to explain. The significant variations between different housing estates suggest that intervention, local policy and institutions have had an impact.

The situation in Trige can only be described as positive. Trigeparken earned its dubious ghetto status in part because of high crime rates. In line with the general trend in Denmark, the scale of youth delinquency has also gone down a lot since 2009; so that the number of officially recorded criminal charges against 10–17-year-old youngsters is zero.¹⁵² Another indicator has been a big drop in the money spent, by the tenants' associations and the school on vandalism repairs.¹⁵³ There was a consensus in all interviews, e.g. with school personnel, social workers and police representatives, that these statistics represent a lasting, positive development, which, according to a frontline crime prevention consultant working with youngsters in the area, had to do with an overall change in the identity of the area: that those living there, particularly the young, no longer (as had been the case in the past) saw Trigeparken as a rough place with bad boys and gangsters, but as a regular place where young people would spend their time going to school, sports and leisure activities, where doing one's homework and proceeding to high school or beyond was not so uncool.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, creating and maintaining a good image in Trigeparken and outside remained essential.¹⁵⁵

9.2 | FOCUS GROUPS ON POLICE AND CRIME

These developments were revealed in the focus group comments. Clearly, it is not the case that crime does not occur at Trigeparken, nor is everything that takes place presumably reported. But crime and insecurity arising from the experience or apprehension of crime, according to interviewees, is considerably less of a problem than it used to be.

The first general impression from all the focus groups was that people did not consider Trigeparken to be a dangerous place, a place unfit for children or for raising families. Also those who recognised continuing problems, or who had misgivings

150 There was a steep general rise in reported Aarhus crime in 2010–2011, followed by a smaller decline. Two big areas, Gjellerupparken and Bispehaven, both saw steep increases after 2009, but although the negative development appears to have been reversed in Gjellerupparken in 2012, this has not yet happened in nearby Bispehaven; National Police, "Resultatopfølgning".

151 Aarhus Municipality and East Jutland Police. "Handlingsplan 2012 for en sammenhængende indsats i forhold til ungdomskriminaliteten i Aarhus Kommune" (Action Plan 2012 regarding a coherent initiative against youth crime in Aarhus), 2012. At <https://www.politi.dk/NR/rdonlyres/56142B58-ABDF-405D-BB3D-537534F31DCC/0/Handlingsplan2013.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

152 Statistics provided by BoSocData, the central database concerning marginalised neighborhoods in Aarhus.

153 H. L. Jørgensen, "It goes well in Trigeparken", *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 1 November, 2010, p. 9.

154 Interview with Poul Seier Petersen, police officer, 28 September, 2013.

155 Interview with Bent Nielsen, Director of the HotSpotCenter, 13th of May 2013.

about the number of drug addicts and the incidence of nightly house trouble in some families, would still maintain that living in Trigeparken was safe, a place where you could walk home in the evening without fear, or have your children play outside alone. There might be some unpleasantness, such as the inconvenience of noise and disruption—particularly if you were unlucky with the people the council placed in your building—but not danger or anxiety, only annoyance and irritation, because of the economic costs to the local community.

Yet almost everybody had firsthand experience of crime, particularly theft and breaking in. One person had had a car stolen, two the tyres of their cars, another their car's number plates, another had witnessed shoplifting in the local supermarket. Several respondents had witnessed or overheard domestic violence and police officers dealing with it. One had had to call the police to arrest a man who had a knife, another to help a mentally disturbed drug-abusing neighbour. Seeing drug abuse and vandalism near one's home was commonplace, and everybody could recount similar second-hand stories from others, but not much in the way of hard violence.¹⁵⁶

It was generally agreed that many of the more serious problems were in the past and that Trigeparken had become a much safer and peaceful place, indeed that it was safer than both other similar areas and the city centre. "I experience it as very peaceful and quiet" and "This is not a ghetto" were typical statements, as was the complaint that outsiders, including friends and relatives, had exaggerated notions about the danger of living there.¹⁵⁷ But reactions also indicated a degree of defiance or tendency to play down the crime that did take place, even to be ignorant of it. A Night Raven, one of the adult volunteers who patrol the local area in small groups at night, pointed out that an area of footpaths that other members of one focus group considered safe had in fact been recently plagued by outdoor robberies.¹⁵⁸ Some noted that not all crime was reported, and one suggested that some drug dealing and vandalism was so plain for anyone to see who looked out of the window, that the criminals presumably knew they were unlikely to be reported, or that people might even be afraid of repercussions if they did, or if they had to bear witness in court.

Above all almost everybody, including newcomers, seemed to appreciate that things were much better now than a few years previously in terms of crime, what the local authorities as well as the tenants' association had done to counter it and the actions of the police. Above all, crime levels and the severity of the unrest had gone down. There was still a small group of youngsters with mixed ethnic composition, including Danes, hanging out in the streets, but those regarded as particularly problematic had grown older and were now either in jail or had mended their ways, with their younger siblings

156 Focus group on police and crime.

157 Similar reactions were noted in the news reporting from Trigeparken, in connection with its receipt of the ghetto stamp in 2010: *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 1 November, 2010, p. 8.

158 Focus group on police and crime.

apparently not following in their footsteps. Many believed that outsiders were now committing much of the crime.

Man 1 (approx. 40): It is supposed to have been much worse 10–15 years ago.

Man 2 (approx. 60): Yes, you only need to go back 6–7 years.¹⁵⁹ It was crazy out here at that time

Woman (approx. 40): Especially, what I have noticed is, them there gangs (“kliker”), they were somewhat tougher.

Man 2: They were much tougher, those gangs. We do not see them much today.

In another focus group:

Woman (approx. 50): “Those troublemakers who were here then, and those gangs, they have grown up now. And their younger siblings have not followed them in the way that you usually see happening. Of course they are there, but not to the same degree as then. At one point they were all-dominating. My kids would not even dare go outside the door.

Many respondents had personal experiences with calling the police to report crime. While it was noted that the police would clearly prioritise their resources, and while one or two criticised the police for expecting people to take risks (for instance, to go down into a basement to check what was happening), it was felt that the police came out quickly and in sufficient numbers when needed, that they often came by the area, and that this was better than in the past, a point confirmed by police informants. Many praised the new surveillance cameras in the hallways and basements, the automatic front-door locks and the steel doors in some basements, all of which were introduced by the housing association in recent years.¹⁶⁰ Physical changes like cutting down trees and clearing areas were acknowledged as improvements. Also, although people had unclear notions about such arrangements, it was felt that the police, the school, the youth club and the social authorities between them were taking useful initiatives to counter early delinquency.

One respondent also pointed out the importance of everybody assuming responsibility of keeping an eye on the young, and of keeping up good neighbourhood contacts to ensure a sense of well-being and safety:

It is really annoying when the trouble comes back from time to time. But we have to keep an eye on each other. And after all we know quite well a bit about ... they are not God’s best children. So this is the group that we should really keep an eye on right now. We also have a responsibility ourselves... Also a

159 Elsewhere in the interview, Poul, a Night Raven, says it was between four and five years ago.

160 Surveillance cameras have yet to be installed in Department no. 20.

responsibility that we should ourselves be prepared to do some things. Positive everyday things, which it is to other people, that it's a nice place to be here. Do some things for the neighbours. This here good neighbourliness, of meeting each other, whoever we are and how old we are. (Woman, approx. 40)

9.3 | CAUSES OF IMPROVED SECURITY

What accounts for the success in combating crime and increasing subjective security at Trigeparken? It is difficult to say. The improvement coincides with the general drop in crime, particularly juvenile crime, in Denmark, and in particular crime in socially marginalised neighbourhoods. While some of this no doubt is attributable to positive action (which explains why some city councils and local areas are doing better than others), some is because the new generation of adolescents are much less susceptible to crime, reflecting broader social factors.

An expert, F. Balvig, puts some of the decline in crime down to individualisation, which heightens young people's awareness of what is at stake in choosing or not choosing to experiment with delinquency. In a period in which the imaginable futures of youngsters are so open, the stakes have become higher and thus the social pressure is to be more responsible. However, the extent to which such self-steering is effective will depend on many factors, particularly exposure to street life, social pressures and monitoring in the local area, and above all experience of success or failure, comfort or alienation at school,¹⁶¹ some of which may be influenced by new social policies.

Presumably this is what has happened in Trigeparken, which fits the bigger picture of youth crime prevention strategies in Aarhus, where the policies include a variety of frameworks, institutions and initiatives. As in other major cities, formal cooperation exists between police authorities, schools and the local council. The social services authorities including the SSP¹⁶² deploy youth-responsible police officers as well as SSP representatives among school teaching staff, as at Bakkegårdsskolen. The SSP's work covers early crime prevention through monitoring and outreach to youngsters at risk up to 18 years old, preferably before legal sanctions are applied. This reflects municipal prevention strategies targeting young people, dividing them into groups with colours as markers, with corresponding social work policies, strategies and instruments.¹⁶³

In Aarhus this institutional cooperation has been extended to include the council's department catering for youngsters' after-school activities and recently an SSP+

161 F. Balvig, *Lovlydig Ungdom*.

162 The SSP cooperation is a country-wide system to monitor and counter the early development of criminal behaviour. SSP is an acronym for School, Social Services and Police (cooperation). For information on this initiative, which is placed under the City Hall's administrative unit ("Magistrate") for Families, Children and Young, see <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/borger/familie-boern-og-unge/Skole/SSP-Aarhus.aspx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

163 Interview with Søren Mide Andersen, Aarhus SSP-consultant, 13 September, 2013.

initiative to include young people up to the age of 25. Since 2003 it has been embedded in a broader cross-departmental and cross-institutional cooperation authority (*Det tværgående områdesamarbejde*, DTO), which facilitates cooperation between the numerous, at times overlapping, but to some degree organisationally dependent administrative areas under Aarhus City Council, and local state policies.¹⁶⁴

SSP/DTO representatives with knowledge of the area viewed Trigeparken as a positive example of close grassroots, concerted and coordinated monitoring and early outreach to youngsters. A frontline SSP officer was present several times a week on the school premises, talking to both school staff and children, using the school psychologist's office and working closely with the school managers. Perhaps most important, the SSP officer organised meetings every month with all the key stakeholders and resources staff of Trigeparken who have dealings with the young, like school and after-school youth club personnel, Hotspot representatives, the housing association's social workers, even people from the sports clubs. These meetings provided a space for informal exchanges for identifying young people having problems. The liaison took place ideally before meetings between social workers and police officers (§115 meetings, named after a law clause which permits the exchange of information pertaining to named individuals between police authorities and local social and school authorities), required when more official action had to be contemplated. According to this officer, the key to early effective outreach is the willingness to work closely together and share local knowledge from all the arenas and institutions encountered in the daily life of the young.

The fact was that young people needed to feel that well-meaning people not only cared, but kept an eye on them. Preventing school dropout and school marginalisation (isolation, not doing one's homework, not talking to teachers) were also essential, as was making sure that at least one responsible adult was concerned with the situation of any child. A further key element in the approach in Trigeparken was a focus on establishing contact with parents and gaining knowledge about a child's home situation.¹⁶⁵ Above all, a culture had to be created in the neighbourhood, particularly in the school and the youth club, that any adult who saw a young person who was not happy and thriving should feel a responsibility to do something about it.¹⁶⁶

Several respondents acknowledged that these efforts were probably easier to execute in a small and geographically secluded, self-contained place such as Trigeparken, but they should nevertheless be considered elsewhere. At Trigeparken, work had proceeded to the stage where, said the SSP outreach officer, they were able to spot and

164 Aarhus Municipality, "Handleplan 2011–2012, for Det Tværgående Områdesamarbejde Lokalråd SSP Aarhus" (Action Plan 2011–2012, for the Interdisciplinary Cooperation Local Council and SSP Aarhus), 2012, at <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/MBU/Kommunikation/Organisation/Job/SSP-konsulent/Det-Tvaergaaende-Omraadesamarbejde--handleplan-2011-2012.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

165 Interviews with Ane Justesen and Poul Seier Petersen, Police officers, assisting with SSP in Trige, 13 September 2013.

166 Interview with Poul Seier Petersen, Police officer, assisting with SSP in Trige 13 September 2013

help young people long before they got into serious, visible trouble, perhaps already when they belonged to the group of unhappy, silent outsiders in the school, whom experience and statistics showed were at risk.

Another important initiative is the HotSpotCenter, which is placed under the municipal department of Social Services and Employment, providing guidance, counselling and crime prevention services in specific neighbourhoods with a high incidence of crime and social problems, that is, hot spots. The idea behind the HotSpotCenters, which originated in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and were imported to Copenhagen, is to concentrate attention on a local area. It accepts that security is not merely a question of crime prevention and that a holistic approach must be adapted to the coordination between social workers and the police force, focusing on the reduction of visible signs of crime and subjectively experienced security.¹⁶⁷ According to the Aarhus director, the idea is to work directly with the community and help it solve its own problems, using local volunteers and resource personnel.¹⁶⁸

The key HotSpot initiative at Trigeparken has been the creation of Youth-4-Youth (*Unge-4-Unge*), where young people aged 15–25 years old serve as role models for younger kids aged 8–18, trying to affect their self-understanding and conception of living in a socially deprived area, above all any skewed conceptions of what is normal. Young people who have taken part in Youth-4-Youth activities may become team leaders themselves. The idea of Youth-4-Youth is to create positive images of success, that it is possible to get an education, even if one grows up in Trige, and positive norm enforcement. The young people selected for a soccer tournament outing may not be the best players, but rather those who show both on and off the field that they can behave themselves and treat others with respect.¹⁶⁹

In Trige and Trigeparken, the local division of Youth-4-Youth was established by a small number of young people from the area who wanted to create an association organise activities for young people in Trige. When fundraising, they approached the local social worker, who made the connection to the main Youth-4-Youth organisation. The collaboration makes fundraising and awareness campaigning easier for the young people in Trige, and the organisation can exchange experiences and develop the programme.

According to one of the chief local initiators, the age span provides a certain dynamic, in the sense that the younger members look up to the older role models. Nonetheless, an important part of the job for the older ones is to make sure that the positive values prevail:

167 An evaluation of the HotSpot model may be found at www.kk.dk/~media/19DBEF90A8CE41698C0909B5C580234B.ashx (accessed 1 October 2014).

168 Interview with Bent Nielsen, Hotspot director.

169 Interview with Bent Nielsen, Hotspot director.

You should always be aware of who you include in a network like this, but you can also change people's attitudes ... You easily sense if it goes in the wrong direction, then it becomes infiltrated by someone who maybe behaves in a bad way, and then you have to modify those mechanisms somehow ... We do that for instance by splitting people up and hand out tasks for them to solve. (Man 25)

Apart from this initiative, the Aarhus HotSpotCenter has decided to concentrate less on Trigeparken, giving up a planned project to create a local stand-by team (also because it was difficult to find volunteers), because it is currently doing comparatively well according to BoSocData¹⁷⁰ crime statistics.

Physical improvements, like removing trees and securing basements, in Trigeparken probably also played a role, because this sort of action not only enhances the subjective sense of security, but also reduce the risks of some petty forms of crime. Here, one important initiative of the housing association has been the practice of using private insurance company brokers as consultants, organising daytime and nighttime security walks through Trigeparken with various local stakeholders including people from the local tenants' association boards, explaining those parts of the area that were worrying.

One controversial issue concerns the eviction of a very small number of problem tenants, including disturbed and dysfunctional families, where the children have had several criminal convictions. The observation was often made in interviews and focus groups that young and poorly functioning families were often responsible for most of the crime, and that the removal of tenants had been very effective in decreasing crime. Conversely, moving problem families from other areas such as the infamous Gjellerup Park in western Aarhus into Trigeparken was blamed by several respondents for causing crime to rise. Respondents generally, whether social workers or police personnel, were not keen on using eviction, and even in the larger developments west of Aarhus, this remains very much a last-resort solution, used only in a handful of instances. It was felt that in most cases this course of action would simply move the problem somewhere else, and also complicate information-sharing and coordination.

One factor mentioned by almost everybody, and a key condition for the success of other initiatives, was the existence of a good, well-managed school. The way to avoid crime is having a good school life, not only in terms of academic achievement and realising one's potential and proceeding to further education, but also in terms of making friends, learning to behave and having meaningful relationships with adults and other children. The school, one informant said, was a power centre, simply because this was where so much of the daily contact with the young was facilitated, but also where so many parents and other adults in the area would be accustomed to

¹⁷⁰ BoSocData is the municipal statistics service working with data from the vulnerable public housing districts and with national databases with individual level data.

turn. The responsiveness and willingness to initiate, support and partake in projects at Bakkegårdsskolen was favourably noted by many respondents in this regard, as was its atmosphere and teachers' culture. The school was a forerunner, aware of its own importance and responsibility in facilitating cooperation between the various actors in the area, for instance as host for meetings in the local district.

The importance of school in early crime prevention, as in social work with youngsters, is reflected in other Aarhus City Council initiatives including an experiment with "Social Mirroring" (*Social Pejling*), a set of didactic practices which aim to confront the negative, distorted self-conceptions of youth with the opinions and conceptions of their better-functioning peer groups, and with actual states of affairs and statistics for instance concerning alcohol consumption, homework, satisfaction with going to school and delinquency. As in the other measures noted, the key mechanism is positive norm reinforcement.

Aarhus City Council's administration invests many resources, including manpower, in monitoring and outreach actions in socially marginalised areas, including Trigeparken, particularly for children and young people, based on its strategies for at-risk behaviour monitoring, prevention and contingency planning, which involve including stakeholders, ensuring clear allocations of responsibility and involving the local community. There is a problem that services are organised across several administrative areas, sub-areas and offices, which may compete with each other, and which may be difficult to navigate for personnel. These problems have been recognised and efforts are made to solve them.

The focus group discussions heard about the frustrations about the way that administrative reforms were slowing down or blocking efforts on the ground. One fear was that the new school reforms (see Chapter 5) would swallow up so much time and so many resources in the schools that preventative work might suffer and new initiatives would not get started.

Another problem arises from the emphasis on cross-disciplinary approaches of different professional groups. It was very important, said one informant, to stop the different professionals, be they teachers, social workers or police officers, insisting on doing only what they were specialised to do and be unwilling to share problems. Everybody had to keep speaking to each other, and compartmentalised thinking must be avoided.

10.

**CIVIC AND POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION**

Participation is conceptually linked to citizenship in a number of ways that are relevant in a context such as Trigeperken. Increasing the participation of marginalised people facilitates political equality and autonomy.¹⁷¹ Individuals and groups may enhance their citizenship in the sense of being able to further their rights and interests and influence their own situations, including the rules and regulations that structure their daily lives, whether nationally or locally, right down to the layout of playgrounds for the children or the decision of which satellite-TV provider to have in an apartment block. Beyond such tangible empowerment, participatory citizenship promotes self-esteem, a civic identity, and experiences of competence and inclusion, although such indirect benefits often depend on the experienced success of the participatory process.¹⁷²

10.1 | ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AS A NEW POLICY CONCEPT

Active citizenship has become an influential policy idea in Western Europe: societies need good citizens to function well. Here active citizenship does not only mean traditional political participation, but rather the willingness to do volunteer work in local civil society, help the welfare state function and above all—a new twist on T.H. Marshall's social citizenship¹⁷³, which emphasises duties over rights—be self-supporting, though this approach might be considered condescending or disciplinary.¹⁷⁴

This approach is present in Aarhus City Council's policies, which are influenced by new local administration philosophies, where the fiscal squeeze and high demand for services leads to an emphasis on “co-creation and the involvement of citizens (*borgerinddragelse*) at early stages of budgetary and planning processes, in order to enhance the citizens' sense of ownership and being co-responsible for public goods and institutions and to reduce attitudes of welfare-state consumerism. In 2004 the council announced the “Aarhus Model for Citizens' Involvement”, which emphasised the mandatory participation of citizens' interests at all stages of any new project or service, from planning to implementation.¹⁷⁵ From 2007 the council has also used citizenship as an element of its integration policy,¹⁷⁶ along with the traditional goals of education, employment and housing, with an emphasis not only on civic integration values, parental responsibility and employment (self-support), but also

171 R. Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1989.

172 D. Heater, *Citizenship: The Civic Ideal in World History, Politics and Education*, 3rd edn, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2004.

173 Marshall, T.H. *Citizenship and Social Class: And Other Essays*. Cambridge University Press, 1950.

174 P. Mouritsen, “The resilience of national citizenship traditions”, *Ethnicities* 13 (1) (2013), pp. 86–109; P. Mouritsen, “Beyond Postnational Citizenship: Access, Consequence, Conditionality”, in Anna Triandafyllidou, Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer (eds), *European Multiculturalisms*, Edinburgh University Press, London, 2012, pp. 88–115.

175 See <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/Teknik-og-Miljoe/Ledelsessekretariatet/Modellen-for-borgerinddragelse/Aarhusmodel-for-borgerinddragelse.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

176 See <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/Dokumenter/Borgmesterens-Afdeling/Kommunikation/Politikker/Integrations-politik.ashx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

on the council's duty to ensure equal access to services and equal opportunities for participation.

In 2013, the council initiated a comprehensive active citizenship policy, to be developed in 2013–2015 in a citizenship committee. Over and above the traditional hearing of citizens,¹⁷⁷ the aim is to capitalise better on the resources, work and voluntary commitment of citizens across the entire range of policies from social policy, to education, the elderly and urban space development as part of a broader welfare state policy strategy.

The most important concepts are co-creation (citizens' and corporations' contributing to the provision of public services and welfare), user-driven innovation, participatory budgeting, everyday rehabilitation and other forms of innovative welfare technology. Not for profit businesses and organisation where voluntary entrepreneurs create activities for the vulnerable and marginalised, such as the mentally handicapped, homeless or substance abusers, also play an important role. Rather than a rigid focus on rights, the council pledged to engage with local stakeholders at very early stages in very transparent and continuous modes, with a clear allocation of responsibilities, in order to localise resources, and ensure real decision- and solution-oriented participation. The focus on active citizenship and the involvement of voluntary groups should also be seen as part of a broader strategy for the city to be future-oriented, liveable and open, engaging its localities, a "DemocraCity",¹⁷⁸ as one recent policy terms it, which is committed to an ethos of diversity-friendly urban cosmopolitanism, as evidenced in the annual "Diversity Day" (*mangfoldighedens dag*), which is one of the projects in the city's citizenship policy.

The move towards active citizenship is also framed in a context of equal opportunities for all as "active citizenship is about community and inclusion, so that also marginalised groups and minorities will have real equal opportunities to act in concrete manners and become involved in concrete actions", as a note from the Social Democratic mayor Jacob Bundsgaard to the city council put it.¹⁷⁹ The results of these ambitious policy commitments, including more specifically the consequences of policy change as felt in parts of the city like Trigeparken, are difficult to predict at this stage.¹⁸⁰

177 Hearings are occasions where the opinions of affected citizens about political changes and initiatives are heard by decision-makers.

178 See <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/aarhus/FremtidensAarhus1/DemokraCity-Aarhus.aspx> (accessed 11 September 2014).

179 See the recommendation to the city council on from Mayor Jacob Bundsgaard on the formation of an active citizenship policy, 26 September 2013, <http://www.aarhus.dk/~media/eDoc/9/6/8/968004-1237345-21-pdf.pdf> (accessed 7 October 2014).

180 See <http://www.medborgerskabi aarhus.dk/~media/Subsites/Medborgerskab-I-Aarhus/Dokumenter/Indstilling-om-aktivt-medborgerskab.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2014).

10.2 | A DANISH TRADITION FOR PARTICIPATION

An account of approaches to active citizenship and participation in a deprived Danish suburb such as Trigeparken requires some national context. At least since the second world war, Denmark has been characterised by a strong ideology and civic self-imagery of participatory democracy, which is shared across the entire political spectrum. The assumption, a strong part of Danish national identity,¹⁸¹ is that its brand of consensual and informal conversational democracy—problem-solving over the coffee table, as a recent prime minister put it—is superior to what is found elsewhere. And indeed the country does have an institutionally and culturally embedded tradition of participatory decision-making as a way of life, taught in schools, local sports clubs and associations, voluntary work and associations as well as social movements, and further enforced by a highly egalitarian social political culture. At the national political level it entails a less confrontational, more consensual form of parliamentary democracy. Locally, it emphasises consultation and engagement with citizens.¹⁸² Moreover, despite claims that democratic participation is in crisis, as elsewhere in the world, on many dimensions participation rates remain good in Denmark.

Electoral participation also remains high in Denmark, compared with most countries. While most other countries have seen marked declines, national voting participation has remained around or above 85 percent since 2000.¹⁸³ As elsewhere, young people have somewhat lower participation rates, particularly at local elections (though starting to rise),¹⁸⁴ and Danes show an increasing interest in politics, particularly at election times and in national politics. Women participate as much as men. Research indicates that the experience of being able to understand and follow politics, indeed the expectation that one might be able to influence it, is greater than in most other countries and growing.¹⁸⁵ Unless politics concerns the faraway European Union (which Danes are more likely to identify with and associate with good things than they were 20 years ago),¹⁸⁶ the experience of what political scientists call power distance (the experience distance between e.g. political leaders and citizens) is low.¹⁸⁷ Rather similar results concerning citizens' sense of political efficacy, self-reported ability to

181 P. Mouritsen, "The Particular Universalism of a Nordic Civic Nation", in Tariq Modood, Anna Triandafyllidou, Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: A European Approach*, Routledge, London 2006, pp. 70–93.

182 O. Korsgaard, *Kampen om Folket* (The battle over the people), Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 2004.

183 J. G. Andersen, *Et ganske levende demokrati* ((A vibrant democracy), Aarhus University Press, 2004, pp. 78–79 (hereafter, Andersen, *Et ganske levende demokrati*): 86.6 percent at the national election in 2007. In the local elections, which always have a lower turnout than national ones, but have recently been falling, turnout was down to 65.8 percent in 2009.

184 Bhatti and Hansen, "Valgdeltagelsen blandt danske unge".

185 Andersen, *Et ganske levende demokrati*, Chapters 3–4.

186 J. G. Andersen, "Evide skeptikere, men bedre europæere. EU-modstanden i Danmark 1972–2002" (Eternal sceptics, but better Europeans: Objections against the EU 1972–2002), Foreign Ministry Festschrift: Denmark, 30 years in the EU), Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 2003.

187 Andersen, *Et ganske levende demokrati*, Chapter 4.

understand political and societal issues, and trust in authorities, were found in a 2012 Aarhus local council survey of its integration and citizenship policy.¹⁸⁸

Although party membership has steadily declined along with other forms of traditional associational participation, Danes (including young people) are likely to do voluntary work. More citizens are volunteering to take part in parent-teacher associations, sports activities and cultural activities in their neighbourhood, and also more than previously for social work, like assisting at a hospice, visiting lonely elderly people or supporting young kids as mentors, homework helpers, or as a grown-up friend (*voksenven*) for a vulnerable teenager.¹⁸⁹ Nowadays volunteer work tends to be less long-term, more ad-hoc and project-related, particularly among the young.

It is typical of people in unskilled jobs, with low education or on benefits to see themselves as less politically competent, more passive and more alienated than those with higher education, but differences are smaller than might be expected.¹⁹⁰ The evidence suggests that an effective distributive welfare state, rather than pacifying individuals and creating an amoral underclass, provides people with resources to participate more than they might otherwise have done, both politically and in the associational life of civil society.¹⁹¹ A more economically equal society does not make its citizens equal in social and political power or capacity to influence their own life circumstances, but it does enhance their feeling of political and social competence and their ability to participate.

10.3 | PARTICIPATION IN TRIGEPARKEN

In Trigeparken, a useful distinction may be made between different types of participation. However, focus group interviews did not provide any hard data, so it is necessary to either extrapolate from other sources or interpret indirectly. The focus groups did not discuss traditional electoral political participation. One might expect here that the socio-economic composition of the area, with so many unemployed and otherwise marginalised, would lead to lower rates of electoral participation. Measuring this would require a local survey carried out at the same time as the regular Danish election surveys. We do not have such data. However, there is circumstantial evidence

188 See the statistics and graphs at <http://www.aarhus.dk/da/politik/Politikker-og-planer/Mangfoldighed/Integrations-politik/Integrationsbarometer/Medborgerskab.aspx>, indicators 3-5 (accessed 11 September 2014).

189 Centre for Volunteering (Center for Frivilligt Arbejde), *Den frivillige sociale indsats—Frivilligrapport 2012* (Report on voluntary social work 2012), Ministry of Social Affairs, 2012.

190 Andersen, *Et ganske levende demokrati*, pp. 69–73, 85.

191 J. G. Andersen, *Over-Danmark og Under-Danmark* (Upper Denmark and Lower Denmark), Aarhus University Press, 2003, Chapter 8.

that participation rates in national elections at Trigeparken among its Danish-origin majority population were not much lower than average.¹⁹²

The focus group on participation in particular dealt with tenants' democracy and representation, as well as with the willingness to participate in various voluntary activities in and around Trigeparken, including the difficulty of finding enough people to take on leading roles in initiating and organising new activities.

Leaders from both local branches of the tenants' organisation readily admitted that participation, for instance in the biannual tenants' meetings, was quite low (even if higher than at other branches of the Ringgaarden Housing Association, of which Trigeparken is a part). As one leader put it:

when we have tenants' meeting, and you consider how many tenants that we have, not many bother to participate. Really, there is not. Infinitely few, to put it bluntly. We are at around 60 out of 289 flats, and that is in fact good, one hears from others, also from the other branches. But when you consider it, this is not where you see the democracy in fact. Of course a tenants' board gets elected, but ...

Democracy, according to this interviewee, was more informal. He said that everybody knew who he was and would come up and talk to him, so that it could sometimes take him over two hours to walk down to the supermarket. The other department, according to its leader, saw similar rates of participation. Moreover, many respondents agreed that the actual continuous participation in the issues was shared by a much smaller group of maybe 20 of the same people.¹⁹³ Although regular participation was quite low, and this was regrettable, the leaders did not see this problem as too severe, as long as people turned out in reasonable numbers when real grievances were at stake. As another leader put it:

In principle it does not matter much, although it is a bit disappointing. When we have 289 flats and we maybe have people from 30 of them. That is really too little. But you can turn it around and say: it is probably because they are satisfied enough with what we are doing.

This claim was supported by one of the more active tenants:

192 Trige is the centre of a small election district with some 2,500 registered voters, where, in the 2009 national election, the voting participation rate was as high as 86 percent, which was very close to the national average. With an estimated 600 voters in Trigeparken, even a 10 percent lower participation rate there would have lowered the district rate by approximately 2.5 percent.

193 The Danish expression "Tordenskjolds soldater" (soldiers of Tordenskjold) came up again and again. Originally these formed a small regiment of footmen that a famous Danish general instructed to rush ahead to the next post during the enemy's inspection of each section of a city, so as to create the impression that a small number of soldiers was really much larger.

That's it. As long as it is just the ordinary issues, there is nothing. But if an extraordinary issue pops up, many people will come. Generally speaking people are satisfied, until a big issue arises which really make people upset.

All agreed that people would only turn out in larger numbers when more serious issues were at stake, and this was broadly confirmed in other focus groups. These included problems of garbage disposal, choice of TV and internet provider, and whether tenants should be permitted to have cats in the apartments,¹⁹⁴ as well as important concerns about renovation (where Department no. 20 lags behind Department no. 19), which will get the tenants to come to meetings. Larger controversies at Trigeparken are put to a general vote, with each flat having two votes. It was reported that on such occasions the participation rate, measured as the percentage of votes cast, would often rise to around 50 percent.

Ethnic minorities would come to these meetings, representing the views of their own ethnic communities. It is notable that apart from the example of voting on controversial problems, tenants' democracy was, with one single exception some years back, exclusively a Danish affair, since only Danes were elected to the tenants' boards. This is also reflected in the way meetings are held in one department, where they were accompanied by beer and traditional Danish food. This might discourage tenants with different cultural backgrounds who want to participate. Focus group participants believed that minorities had less of a participation tradition in their countries of origin, that some minorities resisted the registration (participation lists) which was mandatory at the regular housing association meetings, and that incentives such as food were necessary to make them turn out.

Many people in the focus group discussions said that everybody should participate more, but few felt that they had either the desire or the time. However, most focus groups did not identify specific obstacles or alienation, or other things that caused people with majority origin to opt out of the tenants' democracy. Participants felt that the tenants' organisation boards were clearly run by an established, small elite of elderly men, who had been at the helm for a long time, had never been seriously challenged about their leadership and who took all the major decisions. They were generally content with the output legitimisation, that is, the kind of support which has more to do with the efficiency of policies than their procedural quality. These leaders were happy with their own ability to influence central decisions in Ringgården, secure decent services and generally not put up with things, and only protest when Trigeparken's interests were at stake. Trigeparken, according to one leader, was "among those that would shout the most", but it also had a reputation as a place where things function well, he said.

194 Permitted in one branch, but not in the other.

Many interviews with social workers and administrators as well as one focus group, which included individuals with long experience in Trigeparken, indicated a split between the two departments in terms of leadership style and participation rates, too clear not to be noted. The director of the tenants' board in the older and more affluent Department no. 19 had a much more confrontational and old-fashioned leadership style, was less accommodation of new ideas, particularly ideas originating from the local council and the Ringgaarden housing association, and was openly hostile to the Revitalisation Plan. Some interviewees in the municipal administration considered this style to be an obstacle to cooperation with central authorities, the facilitation of any new activities in Trigeparken, and above all cooperation with the poorer Department no. 20. Some said that this style might impede some tenants from participating in the regular tenants' work and pointed out that the number of participants in the recent local tenants' meetings had been much higher in Department no. 20 than in Department no. 19. The problem became apparent in a vote in early 2014 on whether a new Revitalisation Plan should be implemented. Contrary to all other stakeholders, the board in Department no. 19 recommended to their residents that they should reject the plan. However, the ordinary residents in Department no. 19 embraced the plan with 76 percent for and 24 percent against (126 for and 40 against in absolute numbers). This discrepancy between the opinion of the board and the opinion of the residents indicates that the board did not represent the broad interests of the department on a rather important issue.

The tenants' association at Trigeparken is not unique. The situation does underline, however, that for the unique Danish tenants' democracy system to succeed it needs sufficient numbers of tenants willing to participate, if only by giving their local leaders a clear mandate through votes and the annual general meetings. If local tenants' association leaders become unaccountable to local constituencies in everything but the most nominal sense, or if they only represent a fraction (e.g. older, long-term residents), local council authorities will begin to see them as blocking communication with the tenants themselves, and as obstacles to initiatives and solutions that are in the general interest of the area and the majority of its citizens. There were clear signs that the tenants' democracy system, particularly in Department no. 19, was seen as a nuisance to be sorted out or even bypassed by some central actors.

Participation in voluntary activities at Trigeparken is mixed, both in terms of the success rate of initiatives and the possibility of mobilising enough individuals with resources and commitment, in particular in the long term. Increasing the number of cultural, musical and sports activities in the neighbourhood and securing sustainable numbers of participants in each activity was a key issue in the Revitalisation Plan. Several initiatives have been taken by two social workers, in cooperation with local volunteers, the school and other institutions, while others are the results of existing efforts by the established voluntary associations in the wider community of Trige. One of the most successful initiatives is the Children's' Cultural Festival, which is held once a year with cooperation between mainly social workers and the school. This

event was one of the few that were able to engage a broad segment of the residents in Trigeparken, although residents without attachment to the school were possibly underrepresented. Other successful initiatives are the Girls Club, the Community Kitchen (two very engaged women cooking for the community every Thursday), the Homework Café (driven by volunteers), the Health Café (mentioned in Chapter 8), the Youth-4-Youth initiative (mentioned in Chapter 9) and the Garden Association, where those interested are given access to small strips of land to grow food plants and herbs. In addition, there are ethnic-minority associations and activities (Sri Lankans and Greenlanders) and clubs for railway modelling, dart players, dancers, billiard players, etc., These are all stable activities running at a regular frequency. Other initiatives are less successful and often quickly shut down.

10.4 | PARTICIPATION TROUBLES AND THE FEW HIGHLY ENGAGED RESIDENTS

Several issues recurred in the various focus groups. One was the familiar one of how to find enough new volunteers in the local community and how to ensure continuity of new activities. Everybody agreed that nothing was sustainable without a small committed group of two or three people. The number of available motivated community-spirited organisers was limited. It was a special problem that many of these were getting older, and that recruiting young people at Trigeparken was getting difficult, both because of its limited size and the fact that many young people were leaving the area completely or were away much of the day. Recruiting volunteers from elsewhere was quite difficult, because of the transport problem.

Another issue concerned the diversity of activities, whether all relevant groups were catered for. Some respondents noted that not enough activities existed for the young, but also some of the older participants in focus groups said they would like this or that activity, though one must question exactly how many more new activities were realistic given the sustained efforts of the housing associations' social workers and other actors. It would certainly be desirable to support active participation among more of the potentially lonely and isolated residents, but it was not apparent that there were any obvious unmet demands.

However, a few respondents thought it was a problem that many initiatives in the Revitalisation Plan ended around 4 p.m. and were always on weekdays, so that working people were unable to participate. Many felt that activities should be available for people who were not unemployed or who had various social problems, particularly given the stated ambition to get people with resources to stay. On the other hand, daytime activities are very suitable for single parents, the elderly and the unemployed, who together represent a considerable proportion of the tenants in Trigeparken.

A third issue concerned integration. Many respondents noted the absence in Trigeparken of ethnic minorities, including Greenlanders, in the various traditional sports and cultural clubs, which are run according to Danish associational rules with boards, formal membership and annual board assemblies. It was felt that the various ethnic minorities would meet in their own cultural and religious associations,¹⁹⁵ but that there was limited mixing. This was something which the Danish respondents generally regretted. They cited a number of reasons for the perceived lack of mixing by minority groups, including cultural traditions and gender issues, whether food was served and what kind, language problems and the acknowledged difficulty of getting close to Danes.

A fourth issue was the contested role played by the Revitalisation Plan and its two local professional social workers in enhancing social participation at Trigeparken. On the one hand, the staff take many initiatives and try out new schemes, sometimes because residents come up with the idea and at other times because they do. One of these is the annual Children's Cultural Festival, organised with the school, which has been a big success because it succeeds in gathering many residents from Trigeparken and the rest of Trige for a day of games and performances on the soccer field next to Trigeparken. The Girls' Club is also successful as it has continued to exist for almost three years.

On the other hand, there were signs of tension between the established local tenants' association branches and the local representatives of the too bureaucratic and remote Ringgaarden housing association. The policy of a Revitalisation Plan was frowned upon by some, because a significant part of the money allocated is used to pay the salaries of the two social workers and to cover administrative costs, so that there is not enough finance for new activities on a permanent basis (as is the case for all other similar plans in Denmark). People in the tenants' associations were not sure that this professionalisation was a step forward, because the social workers did not live at Trigeparken and went home when their working day was over, and also because the intervention of social workers meant that the previously completely voluntary work was being managed, which might scare off some of the older volunteers who cherished their autonomy. However, no concrete examples were found of the Revitalisation Plan's initiatives and the staff crowding out any voluntary initiatives, or of any volunteers being positively alienated.

What did come across was a general concern that the staff, who have their office in the Oasis (*Oasen*), the local community centre in the middle of Trigeparken, must take care to get out and be visible as much as possible, to talk to everybody and win their hearts and minds. The Revitalisation Plan clearly constitutes a democratic legitimisation difficulty. For areas such as Trige it is largely financed by the National Building Fund, with monies that originally come from part of the rent that tenants in the social,

195 However, they no longer use Trigeparken's various basement meeting rooms. Citing the Revitalisation Plan's goal of integration, the management of the two tenants' councils explained that a policy was now in place that did not allow the use of the common facilities for group activities that by their very nature excluded other ethnic or religious groups.

state-subsidised housing associations across the country pay. Whereas politicians and bureaucrats consider that the National Building Fund is a type of tax-funded public foundation, tenants' associations think that it is their money to spend. In any case, it is clear that tenants should be involved in and informed about the Plan's processes as much as possible, so as to ensure a degree of ownership, even if the initiative to get it financed must come from the Ringgaarden housing association and its staff.



ROLE OF THE MEDIA

This section looks at local media coverage of Trigeparken and at Trigeparken's reputation. It is obvious that Trigeparken and its residents carry a certain stigma, which leads to outsiders and residents themselves perceiving the area as a place characterised by social problems, crime and trouble. These representations are mediated by the mainstream press as well as through word of mouth, and they are strongly reinforced by political discourse on the government's ghetto strategy.

11.1 | TRIGEPARKEN IN THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA

Trigeparken is a small community of around 1,000 residents. This is rarely enough for large media channels to want to pick up on what is happening there, most of which is hardly seen as relevant outside Trige. One exception though, has been the recurring story of Trigeparken as a bad neighbourhood, and how social workers, local authorities, the housing association and residents struggle with social problems, crime and the area's negative reputation. In national media, the story is often related to the government's ghetto strategy or to local initiatives to prevent the development of ghettos or any further marginalisation of vulnerable neighbourhoods. In these contexts, Trigeparken is mentioned (with press articles such as "Crime creates more ghettos";¹⁹⁶ "New strategy will fight ghettos"¹⁹⁷) as one of the areas on the ghetto list, which means that it is being specifically and publicly monitored by national authorities.

In the local mainstream media, a similar pattern is dominant: news about Trigeparken relates almost exclusively to its status as marginalised or as a ghetto. However, the local media is slightly more nuanced when presenting news. Commonly, its stories focus on crime, unemployment and conflicts among residents or local institutions' opinions about the area ("Housing Association: It's unbearable";¹⁹⁸ "Job initiative in Trigeparken to be extended";¹⁹⁹ "The number of convicts rises in the ghettos"²⁰⁰). Another common pattern in local media coverage can be described as attempts to claim normality for the area. This is a kind of journalistic practice which aims to turn round the general opinion of Trigeparken by emphasising aspects of life there that can be acknowledged as normal. Examples include articles such as "It's going well in Trigeparken",²⁰¹ a news story about a recent reduction in expenses to repair damages caused by vandalism, "Trige is a true paradise",²⁰² a story about how the reputation of Trige is unjustly under pressure, and "Everyday life is not trouble and crime",²⁰³ a story

196 Article in *Jyllands-Posten*, 5 October 2011.

197 Article in *Berlingske*, 6 October 2011.

198 Article in *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 25 May 2003.

199 Article in *Jyllands-Posten Aarhus*, 5 October 2011.

200 Article in *Jyllands-Posten Aarhus*, 10 February 2012.

201 Article in *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 1 November 2010.

202 Article in *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 28 May 2010.

203 Article in *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 1 November 2010.

about how ghetto status does not correspond to residents' experiences. The common theme in these articles is their attempts to disprove some dominant perceptions of the neighbourhood, ghetto status again being the most prominent. Another recent example is the article "Horror in the Ghetto",²⁰⁴ a portrait of a resident in Trigeperken who is making a horror movie with Trigeperken as the setting. The article is ironic in its use of the word "ghetto", with a lead statement assuring the reader that Trigeperken is only scary in the movie, not in reality, an example of a joke strategy to cope with the stigma, where residents or other stakeholders joke with the description of Trigeperken as a ghetto.

11.2 | THE IMPACT OF MAINSTREAM MEDIA AND INFORMAL RUMOURS AMONG OUTSIDERS

In general the impact of mass media, both local and national media channels, is limited. This is both because of the limited coverage of Trigeperken because of its size, and because many residents apparently do not feel very affected by the media stories on Trigeperken and its status as a ghetto. This is supported by the survey from 2009,²⁰⁵ where only 5 percent of respondents regarded the media's description of the neighbourhood as a reason for Trigeperken's reputation. This was the same percentage as for residents considering traffic and parking conditions as important causes of the reputation.²⁰⁶ The same survey suggested a certain ambivalence in residents' perception of Trigeperken's portrayal in local mainstream media. While many see the coverage as negative, even more residents see it as positive. In the focus group dealing with the role of the media, a similar ambivalence was found; some respondents accused mainstream media of depicting Trigeperken in excessively negative terms and only going for the fear-feeding stories: But when asked about concrete examples, only few were given. This may not be because there are no negative stories, but perhaps because they do not have a significant impact in the residents' experience of life in Trigeperken. They might read the story, but it does not seem to much change their perception of their own neighbourhood. A local resident and social worker expressed it in the following words:

The media is very skilled in depicting the area in a very negative way, but you quickly realise, that it's not like that at all. The neighbourhood gets one negative label after another, but it's not deserved. (Man, 25)

In contrast to the low impact of mainstream media on the perceptions of Trigeperken, the research found evidence to suggest that rumours among residents and outsiders constitute an important channel for the maintenance of Trigeperken's bad reputation.

204 Article in *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, 28 August 2013.

205 Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Trivselsundersøgelse 2009".

206 Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Trivselsundersøgelse 2009", p. 26.

Respondents in the focus groups were well aware of the rumours and reputation of Trigeparken, and they had an impact on the residents' everyday lives and how they viewed their own neighbourhood. A small survey (n=166) was made in 2010 by Aarhus's housing associations to explore citizens' perceptions of different neighbourhoods in Aarhus. The survey estimated that only around 10 percent of residents outside Trigeparken viewed Trigeparken in "very positive/mostly positive" terms, and around 50 percent of people outside Trigeparken viewed the area in "very negative/mostly negative" terms; 40 percent had neutral attitudes.²⁰⁷ This rate of negative perceptions of Trigeparken was very similar to the perceptions held by people in two other disadvantaged areas of Aarhus, Gellerup and Bispehaven, and it also supports the general picture seen in expert and stakeholder interviews and focus group interviews with residents. Many outside Trigeparken view the area as a place to avoid, a place with crime, danger and severe social problems. Among the focus group respondents, this was often toned down, but several individuals explained how their relatives and friends were afraid of visiting them in Trigeparken, because they were afraid of going there or leaving their car in the parking lot. Many respondents were regularly confronted with Trigeparken's status as a ghetto when meeting other people from outside. This is supported by the 2009 survey results among residents in Trigeparken,²⁰⁸ which suggest that the main cause for the bad reputation of Trigeparken is "rumours/prejudice".

Despite its frayed status among outsiders, the vast majority of focus group participants expressed a positive view. They acknowledged that it might have some problems and that most outsiders viewed the area as an unattractive place to live, but considering their own experiences they were generally happy to live there. This is also supported by the 2009 resident survey, which indicated that 73 percent of residents in Trigeparken were "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with living in Trigeparken.²⁰⁹ Apparently perceptions were only negative for those who not really acquainted with the neighbourhood. Life in Trigeparken was what many of the respondents had chosen because they liked it, not because of urgent housing deficits or long waiting lists for other housing associations. And to the extent that people had not originally chosen the place voluntarily, it had tended to grow on them as time passed. Once again, it is important to emphasise the possible selection bias among the respondents: the research probably engaged with the most settled residents with a strong attachment to the area, whereas residents with weaker attachment, possibly with plans of moving out, skipped participating in the focus group interviews. The 2009 survey may suffer from the same bias. Basically, Trigeparken seems to have quite satisfied residents in comparison with other deprived neighbourhoods in Aarhus.

207 M. Jørgensen and S. B. Sørensen, *Informationsstrømme – Erfaringer fra tre udsatte boligområder i Aarhus* (Informational flows—experiences from three deprived neighbourhoods in Aarhus), Ministry of Children, Gender Equality, Integration and Social Affairs, 2011

208 Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Trivselsundersøgelse 2009".

209 Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Trivselsundersøgelse 2009", p. 12.

11.3 | POLITICAL AND LOCAL SOLUTIONS

The blemished reputation of Trigeperken is a central topic for residents, the housing associations, local social workers and other stakeholders. Since the housing associations and the municipality started to focus attention on social problems in Trigeperken through Revitalisation Plans and employing local social workers, awareness of the neighbourhood's image has become important. Improving the area's reputation among outsiders has become one of the key elements in initiatives aimed at making Trigeperken a better place to live in, with fewer social problems. The alarming turnover rate among residents is a cause for disquiet in this regard. Unstable residents have a bad impact on the two housing association departments' finances, because of unpaid costs of repairs when people move out. The high turnover may also signify low satisfaction among residents. But data do not substantiate the fact that residents typically move because of the area's bad reputation, or because of dissatisfaction with life there in and by itself, although there may be many reasons that other areas closer to the city which become accessible are seen as more desirable or convenient.

Even so, improving the neighbourhood's image both inside and outside Trigeperken is seen as an important step towards restoring the area's attractiveness for current and future residents. One of the three main themes of the Revitalisation Plan currently enacted for Trigeperken is concerned with the bad image of the area.²¹⁰ By providing alternative channels for covering the everyday life aspects of life in Trigeperken, the Revitalisation Plan attempts to reconfigure the general perception of Trigeperken as a neighbourhood, for instance by engaging residents in the online citizens' website 8380.dk to write positive stories. The site was created by the Revitalisation Plan, which also maintains it. Local residents and social workers provide the content.

Among the residents interviewed, only a few used 8380.dk regularly, and some did not even know it existed. The website is updated regularly with news stories, interviews and longer articles, and residents occasionally participate in the journalistic process. Some residents act as reporters, and have done a course on writing and working with news stories. In general, a lot of work is being done to try to reshape the media impressions of Trigeperken, but the task is difficult. It is an attempt to change the narrative around the neighbourhood to make it more attractive. However, the public's perception of deprived neighbourhoods is shaped by the national ghetto strategy and the discourses surrounding it.

210 Ringgaarden Housing Association, "Trivselsundersøgelse 2009", p. 19.

11.4 | RECONSTRUCTING THE NOTION OF A GHETTO

One major obstacle in the continuing media and other discourse concerning Trigeparken's reputation is the description of the neighbourhood as a ghetto, because this term denotes a wide range of connotations of poverty, lack of education, crime, etc., only some of which are accurate. The meaning of the term is constantly being renegotiated by actors and stakeholders—politicians, residents, social workers, public servants, neighbours, institutions, etc. Of course, the original notion of a ghetto is at least 500 years old and was traditionally used to describe secluded Jewish communities. Since then, the term has become strongly connected with urban housing projects in the United States that have a majority of Afro-American inhabitants or a mono-ethnic population of Afro-Americans. With the last 20 years' idolisation and import of American street culture into European mainstream youth culture, the concept of ghetto has become ambivalent in Denmark.

The use of the term is thus at best misleading. The original notion of a mono-ethnic ghetto with no relations to the surrounding society simply has no relevance in Denmark. Most deprived neighbourhoods are exactly the opposite: the residents are very ethnically and racially mixed, they tend to have short stays there, and various welfare state institutions are highly present. In Aarhus, this includes the HotSpotCenter, a division in the Social Services department located in Bispehaven, one of the three neighbourhoods in Aarhus on the ghetto list. As in all Denmark's deprived neighbourhoods, there are so many welfare service workers, authorities, social workers and outsiders' initiatives aiming to marginalised groups or individuals, that further stigmatisation is becoming a possibility. An informant in S. Q. Jensen's ethnographic work in Aalborg Øst²¹¹ put it in the following way:

As soon as they initiate some community projects, a lot of rumours are also created concerning Aalborg Øst (deprived neighbourhood in Aalborg). Because, how come, that—when Aalborg is so big—that it's only in Aalborg Øst such projects are initiated?

Apart from being misguided, the ghetto term of course has strong negative effects in the relevant neighbourhoods as well as in some neighbourhoods close to the threshold on one or more of the indicator criteria for the list. Trigeparken's status as ghetto has undoubtedly worsened the reputation of the neighbourhood among outsiders, if much less so among residents. To some extent, this is because of the discursive reshaping of the concept being undertaken by governmental authorities and politicians.

211 A. Christensen and S. Q. Jensen, *Stemmer fra en bydel* (Voices from a neighbourhood), Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2012, p. 84.

The then prime minister in his speech at the Parliament's opening in 2010, just before the ghetto strategy was launched, framed the neighbourhoods on the list in the following manner:

A type of holes in the map of Denmark has emerged; places where the Danish values obviously no longer prevail. When fire-fighters can only do their jobs when protected by the police; when schools and institutions are victims of vandalism; when respect is substituted by harassment and crime; when parallel systems emerge: then the values of trust, freedom and responsibility are non-existing. (Lars Løkke Rasmussen, 5 October 2010).

Here ghettos are constructed as cases of severe deviations from the rest of the Danish community. They are considered isolated, self-contained communities which are far away from the rest of Danish society. Most of Trigeparken's residents do not really care, because they obviously know better than the previous government's representatives and other politicians. But outsiders who consider moving to Trigeparken might think twice. Looking outside Trige and Aarhus, the notion of a ghetto as outlined above has nothing or very little to do with most underprivileged neighbourhoods in Denmark. The result of using this discourse could be further stigmatisation and isolation of these vulnerable but highly heterogeneous communities around the country.

12.

CONCLUSION

Trigeparken resembles many Danish housing estates. Built according to functionalist blueprints in the mid-1990s, it is an area where people typically live because they have few choices, even if many become quite content with what is a self-contained, safe, green and easily navigable area. It suffers from chronic high unemployment; more people are in poor health or have physical or mental impairments than in more privileged areas. More are substance abusers. More residents are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. More children and young people face psychological and learning difficulties, because their parents lack the resources of parents in more affluent areas. Yet neither Trigeparken's inhabitants nor those with professional dealings there consider it as bad as similar areas around Aarhus or elsewhere.

If Trigeparken is normal—it is difficult to imagine cities without transition zones and socio-spatial segregation (there always were such zones)—investigating it still highlights some structural constraints. Some of these are subject to long-term politic strategies. Others are more immediately amenable to alleviation.

Some local features give Trigeparken an edge: It is not so big. It is far from the city and other vulnerable areas and hence easier to monitor and manage, easier to turn around, easier to integrate with the help of institutional cooperation and face-to-face meetings. It sits in the wider village of Trige, from which it draws some prestige, although it also remains separated by social and psychological divides—not quite impenetrable, to be sure, for the young and the active—from the single-family properties there. It does not have that many immigrants, and the ethnic pluralism of Trigeparken, despite some specific problems, was counted as a value and strength by respondents. But being far away also means fewer bus connections and jobs, a longer distance away from the attention of bureaucrats and policymakers, less to keep new residents from moving away from this zone of transition.

Its place on the ghetto list is broadly condemned as an unnecessary reinforcement of social and territorial stigmas, which local actors are fighting hard and with some success to reverse, with particularly positive developments among school-leaving children and in the areas of community safety and crime prevention.

Where unemployment so strongly affects social marginality, a combination of industrial decline and outsourcing, high entry barriers to the labour market, few unskilled jobs and migrant competition makes a country's workforce vulnerable to recessions. But Denmark with its welfare state stabilisers was not hit as hard on employment as the rest of Europe, and Trigeparken's figures, though rising from 38 percent to 46 percent in five years, are higher. And although social workers at Trigeparken can do little to find more jobs, the high, individual-based income compensation rates make fewer families and individuals very poor. Although our selection methods put us in contact with the relatively resourceful, we were struck by how many people without proper jobs had materially decent, self-directed and active lives.

Even so, shorter unemployment benefit periods, tougher activation regimes (with a correspondingly tough work obligation rhetoric) and the tendency of overstretched universalistic welfare states to crowd out staff-intensive and institutionally expensive assistance to the truly vulnerable 2–3 percent will all hit harder in a place like Trigeperken, where fewer people have strong enough bootstraps to pull themselves up with.

Other external constraints are the structure of the housing market and residential segregation, where the effects of construction decisions in the past have been reinforced by a slowdown in new social housing developments and tax rules favouring owners over tenants. Despite national ambitions to even out rents, Trigeperken's best renovated Department, Department no. 19, has much lower rents than Department no. 20, where prices no longer correspond to market values and financial leeway for new initiatives is correspondingly low. This discrepancy created by history is unfair and illogical from the point of view of tenants. It also creates a vicious circle of high turnover and higher maintenance expenses. And it fuels rivalries, internal divisions and solidarity deficits between the departments, which may be aggravated by other issues, such as the fact that the community centre is owned by the richer department. Attempts to overcome these problems by a merger of the two departments have not been successful through the tenants' democracy system at Trigeperken. Indeed this very system may be more of an obstacle than a help here.

Two positive related developments in Trigeperken stand out. The first of these concerns security and crime prevention. Interviews and focus groups backed up the statistical impression that crime levels at Trigeperken have gone down, that the area generally speaking is considered safe, and that the fall in juvenile delinquency is connected to a series of cultural changes, whereby youngsters see themselves, not as potential bad boys on the fringe of society, but as capable of shaping their own futures in the educational system. Concerted on-the-ground outreach, norm enforcement and cooperation between different stakeholders, including social workers, school teachers, youth club personnel and police, appear to have played a key role.

Another is the school, which continues to be the central institution in Trigeperken. Some of the most serious social challenges in Trigeperken are concerned with the future of school-leavers, particularly those with low academic and social skills, and the school has taken a series of important initiatives, like maintaining contact with school-leavers and organising cycle teams as a way to increase the confidence and self-discipline of low academic achievers. The success of such initiatives and of Bakkegårdsskolen's ability to maintain and improve its reasonable academic track record, as well as its popularity as a community power centre, must remain a top priority for the local council and for the citizens of Trigeperken.

A final important challenge in Trigeperken, which is also a democratic and participatory challenge, is how to legitimise and communicate the new Revitalisation Plan for the

period of 2014–2018, which is currently being implemented. In Trigeparken's case the Plan is most of all a means to raise funds to pay the wages of the social workers, whose work all but the most hostile agree has been most useful and necessary. However, even more than the first application, and possibly in the very nature of things, it is quite a top-down process. Some respondents expressed a sense of alienation and lack of involvement, let alone ownership, while some members of the tenants' association were openly antagonistic. To some tenants it is not obvious that this way of spending their money is the right way. It may of course be discussed more generally if the very policy instrument of Revitalisation Plans (used all over Denmark in similar neighbourhoods) is optimal: are there other ways to reduce area-specific marginalization? In Trigeparken it seems important to keep explaining and demonstrating, by outreach and on the ground community presence, how the Revitalisation Plan translates to actions that are in everybody's interest.

13.

**KEY MESSAGES OF
THE REPORT**

1. Despite Trigeparken's ghetto status, poor reputation and its low score on key indicators of socio-economic marginalisation, it remains a peaceful and pleasant place to live, certainly when compared with similar areas elsewhere in Denmark and Europe.

The most general message of the Trigeparken study is really a positive one. Although objective indicators of the incidence of unemployment, income levels, physical and mental illness, and school achievement would define Trigeparken as a vulnerable or marginalised community in most Western European countries, what is most significant about the area is perhaps that it functions so well. Crime has gone down significantly, the school and local voluntary associations, particularly for sport, work well to integrate the community, and levels of social and political participation are not drastically lower than elsewhere. Trigeparken is an example that local policies, such as for youth crime prevention and school development, can actually work. But equally important, compared with situations described in other national reports of the At Home in Europe Project, it shows the importance of maintaining the quality of the rights and the material value of the services that make up the Danish social citizenship. Effects of the economic crisis are felt harder in Trigeparken than elsewhere. And the recent tightening of regulations for unemployment benefit eligibility periods, disability pension eligibility and the mutual responsibility of couples (married or unmarried) to support each other financially has further aggravated the plight of some of the most vulnerable groups, without thereby significantly increasing their chance of employment. Yet research still indicates, and the findings of this report confirm, that Denmark's distributive system of social benefits and services increases the possibility of otherwise marginalised groups leading meaningful lives and participating to a reasonable extent in the normal social, cultural and political activities and institutions of their society.

2. The public listing of socially marginalised neighbourhoods, which includes Trigeparken and which was recently published by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs for the sixth time, stigmatises and annoys residents and is universally criticised by stakeholders.

The ghetto list, which was an attempt to direct the government's attention to the most challenged neighbourhoods in Denmark, increases stigmatisation, is resented locally and is universally regarded by stakeholders as counterproductive. Although the name of the list has been altered (from 'Ghetto List' to 'List of Particularly Marginalised Housing Areas') and the criteria have been widened, despite good intentions it still singles out a small number of housing developments from the much longer list of vulnerable areas in Denmark. Its indicators can be seen as somewhat arbitrary, and it adds little to an already quite effective and fine-grained monitoring of all relevant dimensions of demographic change and social and economic marginalisation in areas such as Trigeparken, all at the disposal of local authorities and housing associations. It also systematically undercuts local attempts to increase community pride and improve the public image of the area. It feeds media stereotypes, rendering it more difficult for

residents to articulate and communicate “good stories” to the outside world, even in the local area of Trige, and the media certainly have a large share of the responsibility for this. It would be better to abandon the entire idea of publishing any such lists in the future. Instead efforts should be made to further encourage and share best practice for the collection of data and problem-monitoring, and to assist municipalities and local stakeholders to improve the lives of residents in these communities. A national strategy to reduce the marginalisation and isolation of certain neighbourhoods would also benefit from a cross-sectoral platform for stakeholders, social workers and policy officials to share knowledge and evidence of effective local practices.

3. In the focus groups and interviews, ethnic diversity was regarded as a positive feature of Trigeparken, even a source of pride. This wholesome attitude provides a foundation for improving immigrants’ participation in community life and overcoming language and other barriers.

Ethnic diversity in Trigeparken, although high, is somewhat lower than in similar developments elsewhere in the Aarhus area. While concern was voiced about some groups, particularly a number of very vulnerable Greenlanders, some of whom suffer problems with alcohol abuse, it was a striking feature of the focus groups and interviews that relationships between groups were seen as both peaceful and pleasant, and that many viewed the diversity of Trigeparken and its institutions as a resource, for example in terms of teaching children and young people the value of tolerance and mutual recognition. Whereas many would lament the low participation of immigrants in a number of voluntary activities, as well as in the structure of tenant democracy, the younger generation appeared to mix and have few conflicts. The automatic association in the ghetto list of ethnic diversity with crime and conflict resonated poorly with the conspicuous absence of any overt racism and indeed the widespread pride in diversity.

4. The quality of housing and the speed of renovation remain significantly lower in one of the departments of the housing association, yet the rents there are higher. Residents think this is unfair and it continues to divide the Trigeparken community. Measures to ensure that rents in Trigeparken reflect the market value of properties would help create a more stable, stronger community.

It was a big complaint among respondents that rents in Trigeparken do not reflect the market value of the properties. This discourages people from remaining in the area and contributes to the high residential turnover. A difference in financing structure, due to differences in interest rates and indexing of loans, continues to make one department (the oldest, no. 19) richer than the other one, a situation also found in other similar housing developments in Denmark. The ensuing higher turnover in the poorer department (no. 20) is an obstacle to building a strong community and reducing marginalisation. The difference is divisive, even stigmatising. It was experienced by focus group respondents as quite unfair, yet inevitable. Merging the two local housing associations has been proposed and rejected in the past, but steps

should be taken to facilitate this in the future. Public housing estates, which have high residential turnovers and rents, receive rent subsidies from the National Building Fund. However, the list of housing departments with unbalanced or rents that are above market level is long, so funding in many cases has long prospects (i.e. it will take long time before neighbourhoods in need are granted financial support). In the future, the structure of financing at the national level should be such as to encourage the equalisation of rents between different housing association departments in the same community. Consideration should be given to increasing redistributive measures and state support, which would allow housing associations to charge rents reflecting the market value of properties. In the case of Trigeparken this would make public housing an attractive choice for a wider segment of people looking for a place to settle down in the long term, not only people who need housing urgently.

5. The formation—and continued existence—of neighbourhoods such as Trigeparken, which has very high levels of unemployment, is largely a structural phenomenon, and was not caused by poor individual decisions.

The concentration of deprivation in the public housing sector generally is primarily a consequence of the imbalance between the private and public housing markets, with their concomitant advantageous and disadvantageous conditions. The imbalance reflects historic policies on, for example, tax and rent support, which have continued to make privately owned housing the first choice of the most resourceful, and to concentrate the unemployed, single parents, the permanently ill and the (mentally) handicapped in expensive rented flats. Residential segregation, aggravated by wrong planning decisions in the past, is intensified by the logic of cultural class and policies such as free school choice. The existence of some residential areas with higher incidences of various types of socio-economic deprivation is the natural outcome of the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities, even in an egalitarian society like Denmark. Both national and local policies, while aiming to empower individuals and communities in Trigeparken and elsewhere, should recognise these structural constraints. Politicians should avoid discourse about underclass culture, dependency and passivity, which inappropriately blames the most vulnerable citizens for their inability to find and hold down a job at a time when the economic situation makes this very difficult for these people in particular.

For many residents in Trigeparken marginalisation entered their lives before they moved there. Marginalisation is less an effect of poor access to education or skills upgrading in the area than the reason why people go there in the first place. Hence the potential for skills development may be more limited. However, and for the same reason, policymakers should consider whether traditional employment services aimed at matching existing skills to available jobs make the right approach in an area where there is less of both. Instead of short-term, ineffective activation efforts, it might be better to try harder to identify those who have the potential to improve their skills in the long term, while reserving more targeted social (as distinct from labour market-

oriented) policies for the less fortunate. In this regard the inflexible regulation of the obligations of social security recipients (as distinct from those on unemployment insurance) may be an obstacle.

6. The Trigeparken Revitalisation plan has initiated a wide range of activities to increase employment and strengthen the community by improving health, increasing security, enabling residents to highlight positive stories (i.e. by encouraging residents to write to the local online news platform 8380.dk), and increasing participation in volunteering and other activities. Evaluating the success of these initiatives and sustaining those which contribute to improving key indicators should be a priority in the implementation of the Revitalisation plan in 2014.

The recently completed Revitalisation plan appears to have been reasonably successful in generating an array of activities and involving residents. The success of the Plan in meeting its objectives and delivering improvements in key indicators is less well documented. It is a challenge for policymakers and local stakeholders to assess the effectiveness of specific initiatives and their effect on these indicators. Better use of evidence, complemented by the early involvement and active participation of residents in setting objectives and target outcomes, would enable the Plan to enjoy stronger support from residents and have a greater impact on the community. However, the criteria for allocation of funding for Revitalisation Plans are rigid due to the pressure (i.e. caused by the high demand for financial support for marginalised neighbourhoods) on the National Building Fund (Landsbyggefonden). This is an impediment to the affected residents. Future Plans at Trigeparken as elsewhere should include even more sustained efforts to explain their importance to local residents. While nothing indicates that the activities undertaken undermine or crowd out other voluntary activities in the area, the policymakers who initiate and finance these Plans (cooperating with the city council and the housing association) should take seriously an often heard remark that monies only finance the salaries and activities of social workers and related costs, however important and appreciated their efforts. In particular, attention might be paid to the possibility of allocating funds to be used as small-scale seed monies for voluntary activities.

7. Civic participation is reasonably good in Trigeparken, particularly given the area's status as a "zone of transition" of small size. It could be strengthened by involving just a few more residents, particularly among the younger generation and from among the residents of immigrant background. Civic participation and community activities are effective means of widening contacts between residents, including residents from different ethnic groups. Language instruction and confidence building, for example, could help overcome language barriers and enhance participation by residents of immigrant background.

Civic participation is potentially supported by co-creation, the City of Aarhus Model for Citizens' Involvement and the participatory decision-making culture embedded

in school life, clubs and voluntary organisations. The research evidence identified opportunities for improvement, however. Tenants' associations and other bodies, for example, could increase their participation and take measures to ensure that residents of all backgrounds have a say. The new Revitalisation Plan could provide opportunities for residents to work together and identify practical steps towards more inclusive participation. Steps could be taken to establish community activities that also cater to the residents who have jobs or are outside Trigeparken during working hours, such as evening and weekend activities. The division between the two departments of the housing association and the style of leadership of one department remain significant obstacles to local civic participation.

8. The multi-agency, cross-sectoral coordination introduced by the City of Aarhus appears to have improved the effectiveness of measures to prevent crime and the sense of security among residents. This approach should be sustained as part of administrative reorganisation and further strengthened by ensuring that evidence of success is collected, shared and used to inform future activities and increase the focus on preventive interventions.

The drop in crimes in Trige is to some extent connected to the national crime reduction of the past few years. However, the cross-sectoral approach seems also to have played a key role in this process. The monthly meetings between the school, social service authorities, police representatives, the housing association and residents in Trige serve as a basis for knowledge sharing and timely and effective interventions and dialogue. This approach has been developing in Aarhus during the last 10 years, and could become an effective tool to deal with juvenile delinquency in other cities. Although widely seen by stakeholders, including focus group respondents, to be effective, it would be reinforced by more robust evidence which would strengthen the case for maintaining cross-sectoral cooperation in administrative reorganisation, informing further improvements and helping to identify good practice that could be replicated elsewhere.

9. The school is the most important centre of gravity in the community of Trige. It provides a natural focal point for interaction among residents and institutions and is an important source of positive influence on students.

The local school has been successful in satisfying most parents and delivering educational achievement which is on a par with or above schools in similar areas. Parents and stakeholders emphasise the school's ability to nurture positive attitudes towards the ethnic and social diversity characterising the community, and to reduce the gap between the home-owner neighbourhoods and Trigeparken. The school has also been an important factor in an apparent change in youth culture in the area, towards valuing achievement and hard work. Problems with vandalism and petty crime in Trigeparken seem to have been reduced somewhat due to this change in attitude among young people in Trige. Some innovative initiatives have been implemented

in order to improve well-being and reduce dropout rates. These initiatives include a professionally equipped bicycle team and other non-academic yet demanding supplementary activities.

10. More children from disadvantaged backgrounds need to be motivated and supported so that they thrive in school. The City of Aarhus should encourage and support school leaders, further and higher training institutions and local businesses to work together to promote the full range of educational and training pathways.

Educational achievement for some groups, including majority Danes from disadvantaged backgrounds, remains low, as does enrolment in and success rates of vocational courses, in this area and elsewhere. Recent national school reforms aim to address these (and other) issues, while also reflecting the ongoing debate about Danish education in the face of mediocre PISA results and concerns about challenges such as classroom discipline. Schools in Aarhus have introduced measures to improve monitoring, tackle discrimination and bullying and manage the high numbers of pupils with special needs. Education policies such as school choice and the housing market contribute to high concentrations of special needs pupils in disadvantaged areas. Hence a school such as Bakkegårdsskolen in Trige will be particularly sensitive to strains on the educational infrastructure. The trends of merging classes and the political agenda of inclusion, where special needs pupils are joined with regular classes without further support, give rise to particular concern. To improve achievement, motivation and a successful transition to secondary education (vocational training or higher education), students should be thoroughly introduced to the broad range of possible career paths, vocations and employment possibilities.

11. As an area particularly exposed to economic downturns due to its low labour-market participation rates and low skill levels, Trigeparken has been severely affected by the structural drop in demand for labour, as well as by recent labour-market reforms and by a general reluctance to increase public spending.

The impact of many local residents' labour-market attachment has become increasingly apparent in the light of the current recession. The unemployment rate in Trigeparken has been on the rise since 2008, and it is much steeper than both the national and the municipal average. Furthermore, recent reforms of welfare eligibility and the unemployment insurance system have caused especially low-skilled and long-term unemployed to face what by interviewees was seen as unfair restrictions on welfare transfers as well as excessive and unnecessarily bureaucratic requirements like proving their job seeking activity. At the same time, austerity measures dominate the national political responses to the recession, which just puts an increased amount of strain on those on the margin of the labour market.

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Annex 2. List of stakeholders interviewed

Bent Nielsen,	Head of the HotSpotCenter
Helle Lykke Jørgensen,	Head social worker in Trigeparken
Teddy Weinreich,	Director of the Board in dept. 20
Preben Sørensen,	Principal at Bakkegårdsskolen
Lise Reinholdt,	Former social worker in Trigeparken
Allan Villadsen,	Local shop-owner in Trige
Helle Dybdal,	Nurse and sociologist leading the Health Café
Bertil Michael Mahs,	Head of The Central Secretariat of the Housing Associations in Aarhus
Jonas Strandholdt Bach,	Social worker in Trigeparken
Ib Christensen,	Director of the Board in dept. 19
Danusan Gnanasegaran,	Head of Youth4Youth in Trigeparken
Holger Sandholm,	Youth Club leader in Trige
Finn Nissen,	Local job consultant in Trigeparken
Søren Mide Andersen,	Aarhus SSP-consultant (School, Social Services and Police-cooperation scheme)
Poul Seier Petersen,	Police officer, assisting with SSP in Trige
Ane Justesen,	Police officer, assisting with SSP in Trige
Keld Albrechtsen,	Deputy Director of the Board in Brabrand Boligforening
Mette Jørgensen,	Analyst/consultant at The Central Secretariat of the Housing Associations in Aarhus
Christian Mariegaard, Ringgaarden	Director of the Board in Boligforeningen
Anonymous,	Female Resident in Trigeparken since the 1980s
Birker Kristensen,	Director of Secretariat of National Building Fund



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