AALBORG UNIVERSITET

STUDENTERRAPPORT

DISAVANTAGED AREAS
GETTING CAUGHT IN A PERNICIOUS CYCLE

Master Thesis in Sustainable Cities

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Disclaimer from Head of Studies and Head of Study Boards

COVID19 and the consequences of the lock-down of society and the university since March 13, 2020 have had influence on which activities that have been possible to stage and carry out as part of the project work. More specifically, this means that activities have been limited to online activities, and that activities such as lab activities; surveying activities; on-site ethnographic studies and on-site involvement activities have not been possible.

When assessing this project, please bear this in mind.

Students own reflections on the challenges they have experienced:
Due to the circumstances under the lock-down period it has been more challenging to get a hold on materials. Instead, they have sought to overcome these challenges by reaching out in their own network in case the searched materials were not available in digital format. Another challenge has been all interviews had to be conducted over electronic devices. The recordings for the transcript are missing some words due to bad connection. The interviewees sometimes had to repeat themselves and it affected the flow of conversation under the interview. The working environment has also led to disturbance of different kinds since everybody currently has to work from home. This also contributed to slower internet connection when there were multiple meetings happening at the same time.

Abstract

Municipalities and housing organisations in Denmark are currently facing significant changes due to the launch of the Danish government's strategy "*One Denmark without Parallel Societies - No Ghettos by 2030*" resulting in amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing. The required transformation of disadvantaged ghetto areas is pushed high up on the political agenda, but there are other areas than the ones identified by the Danish government which are disadvantaged. Research shows there is not a collective understanding of what identifies a disadvantaged area. Neither international research nor the public sector in Denmark use the exact same methods or variables to identify disadvantaged areas. This project sat out to examine the discrepancy between how municipalities and the Danish government identify disadvantaged areas and what implications the strategy has on the effort in disadvantaged areas not identified disadvantaged by the Danish government's definition. In this context, the effort to alleviate problems refers to social housing master plans from the National Building Fund.

This was examined using the theories of social mix and governance networks for two case municipalities Copenhagen and Aarhus. The interview design for the two municipalities were directed for the interviewees to possess the same positions in the municipality and were thus comparable. An analysis of the governance network actors for social housing master plans, showed the actors were dependent on another's resources and the amendments have linked the disadvantaged areas on the governmental list closer to funding for social housing master plans. The amendments have resulted in limited means for areas not on the list. Furthermore, it was analysed why Copenhagen and Aarhus municipalities use their own identification method instead of the Danish government's. The analysis demonstrated their methods either aims to avoid stigmatising areas or proactively preventing disadvantaged areas.

The insights gained from this study led to the recommendation of extending the on-going social housing master plans to root valuable relations and positive development. Future research is needed to identify other ways to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas without a social housing master plan if the amount of means remains unchanged. A discrepancy was identified on the allocation of finances to the national strategy by the National Building Fund. This paper reflected that disadvantaged areas identified officially by the Danish government were more likely to receive grants over areas that were not on the list. A consequence of not receiving funding, these areas were prone to face socio-economic development issues.

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1 Introduction

The residents in so-called hard ghetto areas risk being forced out of their homes has been headline news since the release of the Danish government's 2018 strategy "*One Denmark without Parallel Societies - No Ghettos by 2030*" (Ét Danmark uden parallelsamfund - Ingen ghettoer i 2030). The residents risk being evicted because they live in hard ghetto areas, and the Danish government's strategy requires these areas limit the number of family dwellings down to 40%. These changes have been implemented in the Consolidation Act on Social Housing, which now creates a direct link between being categorised a disadvantaged area by the Danish government and a requirement to lower the number of family dwellings in an area to 40%. The possible approaches for social housing organisations owning the housing estates can be: to sell dwellings to private agencies, to renovate and re-label some of the family dwelling to dwellings for the young or elderly, or tear down dwellings to make room for other types of housing (Møller, 2019).

In brief, the Danish government's strategy (2018)[1] changed the definition for how a disadvantaged area was identified in the Consolidation Act on Social Housing and what the consequences would be after being categorised as one. According to "*One Denmark without Parallel Societies - No Ghettos by 2030*" a **disadvantaged area** (udsat område) meets two of four following socio-economic variables: *unemployment rate, crime rate, education level*, and *income level*. Additionally, for a disadvantaged area to become a **ghetto area**, the area must have more than 50% of the residents with an immigrant status from a non-western country or as descendants of immigrants from non-western countries. **Hard ghetto areas** (hård ghetto) are areas that have been identified as a ghetto for four years in a row (Regeringen, 2018). These types of disadvantaged areas are published annually on lists withholding the areas fulfilling these parameters. The parameters will be further elaborated in the section 1.3 about the Danish government's strategy.

Since the early 90's, disadvantaged areas have been on the political agenda in Denmark (Christensen, 2015). The main characteristic of a disadvantaged area is when the biggest share of residents in a housing area are of low socio-economic status. Disadvantaged areas are identified using traditional socio-economic variables such as income, education, and

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[1] From now on mentioned as the strategy against parallel societies (2018)

employment rates either in combination or with other indicators (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020).

The Danish government's method to identify disadvantaged areas is one way, however, there is no collective understanding of what identifies a disadvantaged area as such. Neither international research nor the public sector in Denmark use the exact same methods or indicators to identify disadvantaged areas (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020; Regeringen, 2018, Københavns Kommune, 2017; Aarhus Kommune, 2019).The result is that different areas are categorised as disadvantaged depending on which official body is determining the fact. The Danish government definition is very narrow and only categories 40 areas in Denmark to be disadvantaged in 2019 (Transport and Boligministeriet, 2019b). In 2015 the Danish Centre for Social Science Research used another definition which found 358 areas disadvantaged in Denmark (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Holm, 2020). The identifications are not conducted for the same year, however the considerable difference in the total number of disadvantaged areas underlines the fact that different identification methods affect how many areas are found disadvantaged. The areas fulfilling the Danish government's socio-economic variables risk severe consequences if they are categorised as a hard ghetto area and being required to reduce the number of family dwellings down to 40%. These measures require a lot of focus and resources for the municipalities and the social housing organisations to handle. These areas can therefore take away focus from other disadvantaged areas. There is a total of 40 identified disadvantaged areas by the Danish government (Transport and Boligministeriet, 2019b). Here 28 are ghetto areas (Transport and Boligministeriet, 2019a) and out of these 15 are defined as a hard ghetto area (Transport and Boligministeriet, 2019). There have been allocated $10 billion DKK for the transformation of the hard ghetto areas (Landsbyggefonden, n/a c). The remaining 13 ghetto areas are at risk of being categorised as a "hard ghetto" due to not having any allocated financial resources from the Danish government.

This project set out to examine the inconsistencies between how municipalities and the Danish government identify disadvantaged areas. These discrepancies in identification factors cause a difference in which areas are categorised as disadvantaged; some of the areas categorised disadvantaged by the municipalities are not on the Danish government's list. This reality begs the question as to how the inconsistency affects the municipal areas not on the list.

1. *How have the 2018 amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing affected the effort to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas not on the list?*

2. *Why do municipalities define disadvantaged areas differently than the Danish government?*

3. *What future implications are the amendments expected to have on the effort alleviating problems in disadvantaged areas and what could be done differently?*

Disadvantaged housing areas are areas that have a high concentration of residents with social and economic problems and are a product of socio-economic segregation in the housing market (Jacobsen, Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020). Depending on which socio-economic variables and threshold values are used to identify disadvantaged areas, different areas will be categorised as disadvantaged. The Danish National Research Centre for Housing did an examination of disadvantaged areas in Denmark. They used four socio-economic variables to identify where the disadvantaged areas in Denmark were located geographically between 1985-2015 and whether they had changed over time. The study found that 84% of the disadvantaged areas in Denmark were social housing estates (almen boligområde) (Iversen et. al. 2019). Based on the majority of disadvantaged areas in Denmark are social housing areas, it is relevant to examine these. This project will therefore be delimited to examining disadvantaged social housing estates. This delimitation results in some disadvantaged housing estates not being included in this project because the majority of the disadvantaged areas are social housing areas. Additionally, the Danish government only identifies social housing estates as disadvantaged areas (Regeringen, 2018)

A lot of effort and multiple approaches were used to improve disadvantaged areas (Christensen, 2015). The prominent approaches used specifically for social housing estates were either physical or social housing master plans that were mainly funded by the National Building Fund, and will be elaborated in 1.5 about the National Building Fund. This project was delimited to examine the social housing master plans (boligsocial helhedsplan). The physical master plans (fysisk helhedsplan) will not be included, as until recently there has been a timely offset between when a social housing organisation apply for a physical master plan till, they receive subsidies for a physical master plan due to many applicants (Nielsen, 2020). Furthermore, a direct causal relation between the disadvantaged areas and the housing estates' physical conditions was not

perceived (Aarhus Kommune, 2019). These considerations resulted in the social housing master plans for social housing areas will be the focus for this project.

1.2 Context: What Characterises Disadvantaged Areas?

Disadvantaged areas are defined using traditional socio-economic variables as income, education, and employment either in combination or with other indicators. However, as mentioned in the introduction, there is not a consensus about what socio-economic variables are used to identify disadvantaged areas or how they should be measured. The most recent overall study of the disadvantaged areas in Denmark was published by Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark (2020). The study examines the development of disadvantaged areas from 1985-2015 and what characterises the disadvantaged areas (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020:12). Some of their overall findings are presented here.

A partial explanation for why there not a unanimous way is to identify disadvantaged areas is due to many different research disciplines with very different theoretical backgrounds. To name a few, these disciplines have examined the subject via the lenses of economics, health science, sociology, and psychology. Furthermore, there are different results based on whether the studies used socio-economic variables that were theoretically or empirical based. Overall, this review only found that the minority of the studies explicitly and systematically argued for the operationalisation of the definition they used (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020:22).

Some of the most used variables were income, education, and employment either in combination or with other indicators. Other variables often used besides include the percentage of citizens receiving public support and the percentage of single parents. Less often included were socio-economic variables such as crime, ethnicity, voter turnouts, and the frequency of residents would move house (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020:23). Crime and health are socio-economic variables mostly used in Danish studies, but they are not used as frequently in international studies (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020:22).

Overall the approaches to identify disadvantaged areas can be grouped in four ways. First, there was the possibility that the study just uses one socio-economic variable with a threshold value. The second approach uses several socio-economic variables where each of them has a

threshold value. The Danish government's identification method uses socio-economic variables with an absolute threshold value making them criteria to identify disadvantaged areas (Regeringen, 2018). Third is an additive approach, where a combination of socio-economic variables is used. These are each given a grouped value and then added to calculate a total relative value. This approach is used by the case municipalities in this project, which will be elaborated in 4.1 case selection. Fourth is a factor analysis which is used to reduce many variables to a few overall categories. An example could be a category called *concentration of deprived citizens*, consisting of persons receiving public support, single parents, high share of and unemployed citizens. This type of analysis is made by Xue et al. (2005) where the variables for socio-economic and ethnicity are divided in two dimensions. Pointing to the fact that the variables are describing different dimensions of being deprived (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020). Even though there is not unanimous agreement of how disadvantaged areas are defined, there is a general agreement that a combination of variables provides the best result. However, the variables are combined, the threshold values calculated are different (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020:24).

After examining which socio-economic variables and thresholds values other studies used, Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark (2020) completed their examination of disadvantaged areas in Denmark between 1985-2015 with 500 or more people using three socio-economic variables: people aged *18-25 not having or having started an education*, people aged *18-25 who neither have a job nor education,* and *persons with relatively low income*. The results were compared with Iversen et al. (2019), a study that also examined disadvantaged areas in Denmark between 1985-2015. One of the interesting conclusions was the difference between where the disadvantaged areas were located. Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark (2020) found a rather high percentage of residents at Lolland (29.2%) and Langeland (16.8%) who were living in a disadvantaged area or an area at risk of becoming disadvantaged. However, Iversen et al (2019) determined that under 5% of the residents at Lolland and none of the residents in Langeland municipality were living in a disadvantaged area. Whether their result deviates due to different thresholds values for the area's scale (1000 and 500) or the different methods reported could not be explained (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark 2020:40).

Their findings were compared to the Danish government's categorisation and found four areas of which two were ghetto areas but not disadvantaged by their definition. The areas categorised as disadvantaged by Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark (2020) were Bispeparken and

Hørgården in Copenhagen municipality, Rønnebærparken/Æblehaven in Roskilde municipality, and Løvvangen in Aalborg municipality. However, all the hard ghetto areas were also categorised as disadvantaged by Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen, and Enemark (2020:41). These findings underline which socio-economic variables and thresholds values used for how disadvantaged areas are defined has a big effect on what areas are assessed deprived.

1.3 The Danish Government's Strategy

On 1 March 2018, the Danish government presented their strategy "One Denmark without Parallel Societies - No Ghettos by 2030" (Ét Danmark uden parallelsamfund - Ingen ghettoer i 2030) in an attempt to solve the challenges identified in the disadvantaged housing areas in Denmark. Overall, they set the goal of not having any ghetto areas in Denmark by 2030 (Regeringen, 2018). The strategy was a continuation of the previous strategy from 2010 "Bringing the Ghetto Back to the Community – Breaking Away from Parallel Societies in Denmark" (Ghettoen tilbage til samfundet - Et opgør med parallelsamfund i Danmark) that consisted of measures to dissolve parallel communities and was financially supported with $120 million DKK by the Danish government (Landsbyggefonden n/a b). Additionally, there was annually $150 million DKK in the National Building Fund to subsidise infrastructural network changes connecting the ghetto areas with the rest of the city (Regeringen, 2010). The strategy from 2018 was different from the previous strategy in some core areas, for example by how the areas were identified and the consequences of being categorised as a hard ghetto area.

The 2018 strategy divides the areas into three levels – disadvantaged areas, ghetto area, and hard ghetto area. These were defined in the Consolidations Act on Social Housing under §61a (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2019). A ***disadvantaged area*** is a coherent housing estate with at least 000 residents and fulfils two of the following four of the Danish government socio-economic criteria:

1. The share of residents aged 18-64 without any affiliation to the job market exceeds 40% on average over the last two years.
2. The share of residents convicted of a crime should exceed three times the country average over the last two years.
3. The percent of residents aged 30-59 who have secondary school as their highest education level exceed 60% of the residents in the same age group.
4. The average income of the residents aged 15-54 paying taxes is less than 55% of the region's average income.

(Regeringen, 2018:11)

Additionally, for a disadvantaged area to become a **ghetto area**, the area needs to have more than 50% of the residents who have an immigrant status from a non-western country or descendants of parents from a non-western country. Ethnicity this way became the main criteria to be identified as a ghetto area. A **hard ghetto area** is an area that has been identified as a ghetto for at least four years in a row (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2019). These three types of disadvantaged areas are published annually on lists withholding the areas fulfilling these criteria. The list with disadvantaged areas includes both the disadvantaged areas, ghetto areas and hard ghetto areas. This project will therefore refer to the list with disadvantaged areas when referring to the governmental list.

The Danish government's criteria have changed over time. In 2010, a ghetto area only had to fulfil two of the three socio-economic criteria wherein residents are *non-western, unemployed,* and *convicted of a crime* (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2011). In 2015, two additional criteria were added: *secondary school as highest education* and *average income*. A ghetto area then had to fulfil three out of the five criteria (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2015). The difference between the strategies from 2010 and 2015 compared to 2018 is that all criteria were equal. However, in 2018, ethnicity became a characteristic determining if an area was a ghetto area, and with that categorisation, consequences followed.

One of the far-reaching consequences for the areas identified as hard ghetto areas is that housing organisations must lower the number of family dwellings to 40% in the area. Additionally, if the housing organisations do not follow the requirement, then the state can take control and decommission the housing area (Regeringen, 2018:7). This will be elaborated in 5.1 about the amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing.

1.4 Social Housing in Denmark

Every fifth Dane is living in a social housing estate (Bech-Danielsen and Christensen, 2017). The Danish social housing sector's aim is legally defined "*as affordable and decent housing for all in need hereof, and to give tenants a legal and decisive right to influence their own living conditions*" (BL, n/a b). The rent is cost-related, so the aim of offering housing with reasonable rent can be honoured. No one earns a profit on this type of housing, and it can therefore be described as non-profit housing (Transport, Bygnings og Boligministeriet, 2018). This project will

use the term social housing, as this is the term used by the Danish employee association, industry-, and interest federation BL (BL-Danmarks Almene Boliger) (BL, n/a b).

The Consolidation Act on Social Housing governs the social housing sector. There is a covenant that the municipality fund 10% of the land for a new social housing estate, on the condition that the municipality has the right to designate 25% of the dwellings for people in need (Transport-, Bygnings- & Boligministeriet, 2019). In other countries, social housing is characterised by only being occupied by residents who have a low socio-economic status. Social housing in Denmark differs from the international ones by integrating residents that include the average Dane as well as residents with low socio-economic status (Scalon, Whitehead and Arrigoitia, 2014).

The social housing estates built after World War II located in the outskirts of the bigger cities are often the ones that have become disadvantaged. At the time they were built, welfare grew, and an increasing number of citizens put pressure on the housing stock. Leading to the period in the 1960s to 1970s when 200,000 social housing dwellings (almen boliger) were built. The dwellings were built at a pace not seen before, and they make up one third of the total number of social housing dwellings in Denmark. They were built at this pace by copying the technique from car production, using prefabricated concrete elements, which lowered the price and increased building efficiency. The intention was to build good and affordable housing outside of the polluted city where most dwellings had cramped backyards. The buildings fulfilled their purpose but faced challenges later with construction, organisation, architecture, finances, and urban qualities. Adding to this was a change of the societal norms and cultural values, wherein homes were utilised as a statement of one's individualism and personal values. As this ideal became more popular, people started to buy single-family homes and move out of the uniform housing estates. In their place, single parents, immigrants, and unemployed people started to move in, as they could not afford single-owner occupied dwellings (Bech-Danielsen and Stender, 2017).

A common approach in Denmark to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas used by social housing organisations and municipalities are social or physical housing master plans that mainly are financed by the National Building Fund for either social operating aid or physical renovations aid in a disadvantaged area (Landsbyggefonden, n/a b).

1.5 The National Building Fund

The National Building Fund is an independent institution founded in 1967. It is constituted by the Danish social housing organisations. The National Building Fund aims to support and develop the social housing sector through grants and subventions (Landsbyggefonden, n/a b). The National Building Fund offers grants for reconstruction, improvements to social housing estates, urban renewal, or buildings with a social or cultural aim located in the vicinity of a social housing area (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2019). The grants are given to housing areas where considerable problems of economic, social characters, or other challenges have been recorded, including high rent, high moving ratio, a large share of residents with social problems, violence, as well as vandalism of buildings, and recreational areas - also defined as 91a (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2019).

When the Danish government initialised efforts regarding the disadvantaged areas in 1993, they contributed to a fund together with municipalities and the National Building Fund. Before social and preventive measures were typically financed by the housing estates beside some private funds. Over the years has the Danish government's financial contribution been reduced and the municipalities raised. This changed in 2002, where the governmental contribution stopped, and were split between the National Building Fund, the housing organisation and the municipalities. From 2006, the current distributions were implemented of maximum 75% percent finance carried by the National Building Fund and the rest shared among the housing organisations and municipality (Bech-Nielsen and Christensen, 2017:90).

The state governs the National Building Fund's activities through regulations in the law (Landsbyggefonden, n/a b). The Ministry of Transport and Housing endorses the ordinances of the National Building Fund (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2019). The primary regulations regarding the social housing sector are: the Consolidation Act on Social Housing (Almen boligloven), the Consolidation Act on the Rent of Social Housing (Lejeloven), as well as a number of executive orders (Landsbyggefonden, n/a b).

The National Building Fund's endowment consists of compulsory contributions from the tenants living in housing estates built before 1970 and rent payments covering housing estate's mortgage expenses for all housing estates built in Denmark. After the mortgage loans are repaid, rent payment continues but becomes a contribution to the fund (Landsbyggefonden n/a

b). The collected contributions are re-channelled back into the social housing sector (Landsbyggefonden, n/a b). Later, the liquid assets were divided, with one third going towards the local deposition fund of housing organisations and two thirds going to the National Building Fund. The liquid assets to the National Building Fund were equally split between a central deposition fund (Landsdispositionsfonden) and a new housing construction fund (Nybyggerifonden). It is the central disposition fund which offers grants for: *renovation, social and preventive measures, funding for demolitions, changes to infrastructure, support towards running expenses,* and *new construction grants.*

The main focus of this project is the fund for social and preventive measures as stated in the delimitation. Both renovations and social and preventive measures require areas to make a master plan. In general, a master plan for social or physical aid is a four-year plan that describes a specific set of measures and goals for a disadvantaged area with the purpose of ensuring the future development of social housing (Landsbyggefonden, 2018). The means are given to disadvantaged areas that fall under either §61a categorised by the Danish government or §91a municipal disadvantaged areas not on the Danish government's list in the Consolidation Act on Social Housing. The plan is a strategic agreement made by the municipality and the social housing organisation, and the plan describes a long-term holistic solution to address all the issues such as constructional and socio-economic problems for the disadvantaged area. The aim is to ensure that the involved actors are obligated to work towards the same set of goals, which connect the disadvantaged areas with the rest of the city in order to support a coherent urban development (Landsbyggefonden, 2018).

More specifically, the social housing master plans aim is to strengthen the residents' competences and increase their life possibilities. Additionally, the social housing master plan must include how it supports the existing municipal services in the disadvantaged areas (Bech-Danielsen and Christensen, 2017). Previously, there have been challenges in creating a sense of ownership of the social housing master plan because consultants were hired to write the application. This practice was changed in 2011, adding a prequalification for the local municipality and housing organisation. If the National Building Fund approves the prequalification, an estimated economic framework is set for the social housing master plan which allows the housing organisation to employ a project leader to make the social housing master plan. The social housing master plan then became a close collaboration between the

project leader, the housing organisation, the municipality, and the Nation Building Fund (Bech-Danielsen and Christensen, 2017).

This project will primarily be referring to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing (LBK af 01/02/2019), which is the current regulatory framework for the social housing master plan from the National Building Fund. Additionally, the 2018 amendments no.1322 and no. 1561 will be referred to, as they encompass the changes regarding the identification of disadvantaged areas, the prioritisation of funds and the size of the annual economic frame (Transport- Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2019).

The Danish government's 2018 strategy against parallel societies was accompanied by amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing. Amendment no. 1322 entailed changing socio-economic criteria for how disadvantaged and ghetto areas are identified by the Danish government, consisting of initiatives for transformation ghetto areas, a tightening of the regulations in regards to who can let a social housing dwelling, and regulating the municipalities' possibilities for housing allocation in specified areas (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2018a). The required transformations can be enforced by the City Council who can issue an enforcement notice for areas fulfilling §61a to prevent the establishment of ghettos. The City Council together with the housing organisations owning the housing estate are responsible for making a development plan (udviklingsplan) for how they will manage to reduce 40% of the total number of family dwelling before 1st of January 2030. In case, the municipality and housing organisations cannot get to an agreement about the development plan; the City Council can apply for the approval of a municipal development plan by the ministry of Transportation and Housing. If the development plans are not made nor implemented, the ministry can take over the transformation of a hard ghetto area (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2018a).

Meanwhile, amendment no. 1561 changed the economic frame for social and preventive measures for the time period 2019-2026 (Transport-, Bolig- og Bygningsministeriet, 2018b). Comparing the subsidies allocated to social housing master plans in 2019-2026 to the subsidies 2015-2018 reveals that the overall economic frame has been decreased. The allocated amount was $465 million DKK for 2015-2018. Up to half of these subsidies were designated for rent reductions, leaving $232 million annually for social housing master plans. While the allocated amount set aside in 2019-2026 was $380 million DKK, $240 million of these subsidies were reserved for rent reductions. This leaves $140 million DKK to social housing master plans. This

resulted in about $100 million DKK less that was available each year between 2019-2026 compared to 2015-2018. The changes of the allocated subsidies to social and preventive measures are listed in figure 1

Figure 1: Allocated means for social and preventive measures.
Source: Transport-, Bygnings and Boligministeriet 2018 & 2019

The National Building Fund's allocated means for social and preventive measures			
Periods	*2019-2026* million DKK	*2015-2018* million DKK	Difference million DKK
Funds annually	380	465	85
Rent reductions	240	232.5 *up to half of 465	7.5
Total annually	140	232 or more	-92 or more

Because of the amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing, the National Building Fund updated their regulation in 2019 "The regulation on financial subsidies to social and preventives measures in disadvantaged areas" (Regulativ om tilskud til boligsocial indsats i udsatte almene boligafdelinger) clarifies how the National Building Fund allocates subsidies for disadvantaged areas. The regulation states that the National Building Fund can grant subsidies for social and preventive measures to areas categorised as disadvantaged by §91a in the Consolidation Act on Social Housing but areas fulfilling the socio-economic criteria in §61a will be prioritised (Landsbyggefonden, 2019).

2 Theory of Science

In order to clarify how the knowledge in this project was gained, will this section set the project's scientific standpoint - critical realism. First, the overall understanding of critical realism will be elaborated. Afterwards, the morphogenetic approach will be explained as it is used to examine the interplay between actors and structures over time. Lastly, the understanding of places as ever changing will be elaborated from a critical realistic perspective.

2.1 Critical Realism

All data is created with a specific background or stance, and one has to construct arguments in this process (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012). This project takes the stance of critical realism. Critical realists believe the world exists independently of our understanding, and, because of this, the critical realist divides reality into two domains: the *transitive domain* and the *intransitive domain*. The *transitive domain* contains our knowledge about the world. It includes the theories, paradigms, models, and terms, which exist at a given time. These transitive objects are described as research's raw material, as they are essential to producing new knowledge. For critical realists, the transitive domain is about *epistemology,* which describes a "theory of knowledge" (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012:280). The *intransitive domain* is pertinent to the critical realist *ontology,* which is about "study of being." Th*e* intransitive domain concerns the world as it is, independent of the knowledge and the terms we use to describe it. The objects that scientists generate knowledge about exist independent of our understanding of them. These objects can be anything from atoms to international relations, and, in this project, its disadvantaged areas. The logical consequence of this is that objects do not change based on how science understands these objects. In other words, the intransitive domain is the reality beyond our knowledge (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012:281).

Furthermore, critical realists understand reality as consisting of an *empirical*, an *actual,* and a *real* domain. The *empirical domain* consists of one's experiences. For this project, this would be knowledge gained from one of the authors'' internship in Copenhagen municipality. The internship was in the Department for Social Housing, focusing on the social housing master plans and the actors involved in the process. The initial idea of this project thus is based on knowledge and experience acquired during the internship. The *actual* domain consists of what we can observe, including all the phenomena and events that happened. This would include the

observations of the disadvantaged areas being certain geographical areas by some standards and being a different geographical area when determined by another standard. The *real* domain includes non-observable structures and mechanisms. The non-observable structures and mechanisms interact in complex relationships with other mechanisms and structures and therefore do not always lead to the same consequence or events. This is because society is an open system, and in open systems, there are only tendencies — not causative causes and effects (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012:284).

Critical realists' aim for research especially relates to the real domain. As they are critical of what can be observed and seek to uncover what causes the structures and mechanisms behind the observed phenomena (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012:282). The project researches the real domain as it examines how disadvantaged areas are affected by structures and mechanisms in society. This project thus follows the critical realist's aim with research to critically question structures and mechanisms related to disadvantaged areas in Danish society.

Morphogenesis an Approach to Examine Structures and Mechanisms
Within divergent schools of theory of science, there is a fundamental question about the relationship between actors and structures. The critical realists uphold a distinction between actors and structures. However, the theory of critical realism deviates from other schools of thought because critical realism focuses on examining the interplay between actors and structures over time. A critical realistic approach to examining structures and mechanisms is *morphogenesis*, as developed by Archer (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012). This approach comprehends social phenomena as endless interplays between the *structural conditions*, *social interaction,* and *structural development.* The actors are, knowingly or not, confronted with *structural conditions,* for example a financial crisis. Structural conditions both make social activities possible and restrict them, and here it is important to notice that actors are never just faced with one structural condition but are instead met with a web of interconnected conditions, for example given political, economic, or cultural conditions. The structural conditions are followed by *social interaction,* which are structurally dependent but not structurally determined. Lastly, *structural development* is initiated by the actors' activities. The actors do not create the structures but can reshape them through social activities within the existing structures. Social phenomena are thus seen as a result of actors' contingent activities conditioned by the surrounding structures (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012:294). The relationship between actors

and structures is central for a critical realist's view of the social world, as social science research should not be limited to research social structures. In other words, the structures make actions possible, and all social activity depends on existing social structures however places can also create limits for actions (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012:293). The morphogenetic approach will be used in the project when examining the amendments affect the effort on disadvantaged areas not on the governmental list The structural condition for this project is the Danish government's strategy, which led to an amendment of the Consolidation Act on Social Housing and led to fewer allocated means for social and preventive measures. This project will not go into detail with the specific social interactions, for example when creating a social housing master plan. If the project had focused on a specific disadvantaged area, it would have been possible to examine social interactions. However, the author of this project wishes to examine the structural conditions caused by the amendments and how these affect the municipal areas not on the Danish government's list.

A Critical Realistic Understanding of Places

This project is about places that are defined as disadvantaged, and this section will clarify the understanding of places used in this project. Two diverging points of views in ontology are *realism* and *constructivism*. The principle behind realism is that the outside world is independent of our definition. Critical realists distance themselves from reducing existence to a question about human knowledge or discourse about it, which is how constructivists perceive the world. The realist states that just because we cannot observe or have knowledge about a given phenomenon does not mean that it does not exist (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012:295). Critical realism overcomes the ontological dualism between realism and constructivism by having a realistic ontological stance, but the theory acknowledges the social reality as socially constructed, meaning the reality is out there confronting researchers examining it. It is not a phenomenon that can be constructed; however, it transforms through actors' social interactions and actions. This relationship between the social reality and places is *dialectic* and will be further elaborated in the following section.

Places have particularities and unique identities, which emanates from more general underlying social processes (Cresswell, 2015). These processes could be capitalism, financial crises, or structural conditions, all of which occur in the real domain. This project will tap into the

understanding of places as socially created spaces and thus not mere geographical areas based on Soja (1980) and Massey (1994).

Initially a divide between *contextual space* and *socially created space* is necessary. *Contextual space* constitutes objective matter and has been of broad interest in discussions about it as an object and 'container' of human life. However, Soja (1980) states that contextual space is a "*misleading foundation, upon which to analyze the concrete and subjective meaning of human spatiality*" (Soja, 1980:210). In other words, contextual spaces initially may be 'out there' as objects by which we can pass through, but on top of these objects are additional structures that both use and create meanings of the space. Spaces are translated, transformed, and experienced by humans and their interactions within that space. Places are products of social interaction, leading to the notion that spaces are not mere locations or objects (Soja, 1980). With contextual space defined, we move on to the term *social space*. Social space has multiple meanings. As used by Soja (1980), it describes the social character of organised space, for example the distribution of the built environment. This does also include the uneven geographical distribution of income, employment, or the political organisation of space as divided into territorial jurisdictions. Inherently, it is argued that all organisation of space is rooted in a social origin and filled with social meaning. The interplay between the contextual spaces and social spaces is joined by the theory of '*socio-spatial dialectic*'. This dialectic relationship between contextual and social spaces illustrated by the example of regulations is implemented in different ways in the Danish municipalities. How the regulations are implemented is dependent on location and context. A good example in related to the disadvantaged areas is the different use of rental's agreements. Municipalities with high pressure in the housing market and with long waiting lists can give priority to specific types of persons in rental agreements (udlejningsaftale). However, rental agreements have to be used differently in municipalities where there is less pressure in the housing market (Christensen, 2015).

Adding another dimension of definition of the *socio-spatial dialectic* space, Massey's (1994) view on spaces is constructed by the particular social relations that interact at a given location. The particularities of a place are thus formed by the interactions that occur at that location. This leads to her point that the identity of a place is not static but instead dynamic and ever changing based on the changing relationships at the location. She thus dissociates places from previous ways of constructing spaces as static and enclosed because places were defined as a negative counter position to what is 'outside.' Instead, identification of a place is constructed and derived

from the particular and positive interrelations with elsewhere. For this project, this understanding of places adds that places are not understood as static, but instead they evolve and transform by and through the interactions which happen at the place as well as the interrelations it has with its surroundings.

This project uses the understanding places as socio-spatial dialectic by not seeing places as static but instead as ever changing based on socio-relations. For example, the social housing master plan entails added actors who create new connections with the 'outside' by arranging events in the area. Additionally, the phenomenon of disadvantaged areas is socially constructed, but the categorisation of areas being hard ghetto also has spatial consequences.

3 Theoretical Framework

The following chapter will give an account of the theories and how they will be used in this project. The theories are 'social mix' and' governance networks'. Social mix will be used to understand the socio-economic variables the municipalities use to identify segregated disadvantaged areas and aim to create a social mix of residents in the areas. Governance network will be used to analyse the network of actors' relations and dependencies related to the public purpose of alleviating problems in disadvantaged areas with social housing master plans.

3.1 Social Mix

Many cities strive towards the ideal of having a balanced residential city, and cities evaluate themselves based on the composition and concentration of residents compared to the scale of an area. This is also known as the term *social mix*. Social mix is used as an aim for disadvantaged areas specifically and cities more generally. The following section will therefore explain the theoretical concept of social mix.

Many of the housing policies in Europe, Australia, and North America aim to increase the social mix within disadvantaged areas by working towards a balanced residential composition. The rationale behind the policies is the expectation that a heterogeneous group of residents reduces problems, for example concerning unemployment, low level of education, crime, and stigma (Christensen, 2015). Social mix can overall be defined as:

> *"(...) a combination of diverse shares of social groups in a neighbourhood. Though this broad definition encompasses mixing based on economic resources, ethnicity, nativity, household structure, or tenure type"* (Galster and Friederichs, 2015:176).

The terms social mix and segregation are therefore two sides of the same coin and are thus connected as a heterogeneous composition of residents, and this is tantamount to low residential segregation (Christensen, 2015). Social mix is thus a vague term, which can mean one thing for one urban planner and something else for another. According to Glaster (2013), three aspects are essential to describing what one means by the term social mix. The first aspect is describing the *composition* of residents. This aspect covers variables used to evaluate the mix of people based on one or several combined variables. Examples of socio-economic

variables used to evaluate disadvantaged areas in Denmark mentioned in the introduction of this project were: income, health conditions, employment, educational level, and crime (Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Enemark, 2020; Iversen, et al., 2020). The second aspect is the *concentration,* which characterises the quantities of the residential mixing. Reflections related to this notion include the ideal mix of residents, what groups of residents are required to produce the desired outcome, or how many are at least needed. The third aspect is about *scale*, meaning what size area is used to measure social mix. Does scale affect the processes and lead to a different outcome if the scale is changed? Awareness and transparency about these three aspects are important in relation to evaluating initiatives and practices regarding social mix (Glaster, 2013).

Segregation

Segregation happens due to individual preferences and the structural composition of the housing market, which can limit individuals' housing possibilities. It is the behaviour of all citizens that leads to segregation (Skifter-Andersen, 2017). Segregation and problems related to it have been known in Denmark since the early 1990's. In 1993, the Danish urban committee (Byudvalget) was formed with the aim to propose solutions to the social problems mostly seen in the bigger cities and new suburban settlements. The committee was created due to a debate about the segregation of refugees and immigrants as well as social problems in social housing areas (Christensen, 2015). The housing areas where most of the problems were identified were the social housing estates built between 1960-1980's, in which many of them showed construction defects relatively soon after construction. These were disadvantaged communities and, in the public debate, so-called ghettos, but the committee distanced themselves from the use of the term, which they pointed out to be misleading (Byudvalget, 1994). This has since changed, and the Danish government's strategy from the 2004 title was "The Danish Government's Strategy against Ghettoisation" (Regeringens strategi mod ghettorisering) (Regeringen, 2004).

The term *ghetto* was historically first coined along with the segregation of Jews in Venice in 1516. The term ghetto originates from an enclosed site at a copper foundry - *getto*. The term has since travelled and developed from first describing Jewish settlements as "*compulsory, segregated, and enclosed*" (Goldman and Trotter, 2018:3), and later it was used to describe the

segregation of African Americans in cities in the United States. Now, the general public is using it to describe stigmatised neighbourhoods (Goldman and Trotter, 2018).

> *"Ghetto in United States, banlieue in France, quartieri perifirci in Italy, problemområde in Sweden, favela in Brazil, and vila miseria in Argentina: the societies in North America, Western Europe, and South America all have (…) a special term for designating those stigmatized neighbourhoods situated at the very bottom of the hierarchical systems of places that compose the metropolis" (Waquant, 2008:1)*

In Denmark, the term ghetto has been connected to disadvantaged social housing areas with a high percentage of residents who also have a non-western ethnic background. By coining the disadvantaged areas with the notion ghetto, a semantic connection is made (Rosener and Bergquist, 2019). The areas have become parallel societies—places where there are problems, and they are viewed as threats to society (Stender, 2018). This link has lent itself to the arguments to make the substantial changes required in strategy against parallel societies since 2018. The measures in the strategy have led to grand transformations in the ghetto areas. This project will examine whether the focus on ghettos has led to a diminished focus on disadvantaged areas and look at whether the result is that other municipal areas not on the Danish government's list were assigned a lower priority.

Strategies for Achieving Social Mix

Various strategies have been used to achieve a social mix. For example, the strategy against parallel societies (2018) suggests rental agreements or mixing the concentrations of social housing with other types of housing. Land-use planning requiring mixed developments has recently started to be demanded in newly developed urban areas (Københavns municipality, 2019; Aarhus municipality, 2017). Another example is to improve social mix by renovating housing estates. The aim with this strategy is to make housing areas more inviting to live in and attract more socio-economically advantaged tenants through the change (Bjørn and Holek, 2014).

There are two predominant stances in relation to the policies of social mix. The first is that social mix promotes of *social inclusion* because it seeks to create mixed communities in disadvantaged areas. The mixture can lead to interaction between neighbours and bring about new social ties, enhancing social capital in residential areas (Arthurson et. al, 2015). A critique

of this stance is that housing policies aiming to lower segregation primarily target deprived areas. Another way to create a *social mix* could be to require a greater residential mix in the more affluent parts of the housing market or in areas where the residential composition is homogeneous based on ethnicity or income (Christensen, 2015).

The second stance about policies regarding social mix criticises the policies as a state-led form of gentrification. The critique is whether a mixed community that attracts more affluent residents will contribute to the residents interacting in such a way to help out the residents with a lower socio-economic status or if the low-income residents will just end up being relocated in the process (Stender and Bech-Danielsen, 2016). If that is the case, then social mix is just used as a positive sounding technical term that disguises a state-led gentrification process where the remaining low-income residents only hopefully benefit from middle-income peoples' presence (Arthurson et. al, 2015). Additionally, there are spillover concerns about the strategy of relocation in order to attain a social mix, which are known as the 'waterbed effect.' Researchers observed a pattern in the Netherlands where many of the relocated residents ended up in similar low-income neighbourhoods, which had a high percentage of social housing and the same ethnic mix. An evaluation of the effort emphasised the need for monitoring the initiatives on a citywide scale and not only in disadvantaged areas. Thus, it was recommended that the housing policies initiatives be monitored beyond the disadvantaged areas (Kleinhans, 2012).

Wicked Problems

Creating a social mix or working to avoid segregated cities is an urban planning problem. Planning regarding societal problems are difficult, as solutions are not straightforward. Rather, the problems are characterised as complex both in regard to cause and effects. These types of problems are referred to as 'untamed' or 'wicked' problems (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015). The planning ideal would be to find the right solution, but in societal planning there is no such thing and there is no definitive or objective answer. The nature of societal problems is wicked, because they are ill-defined, having a large number of variables, and are not objective but dependent on who defines it and can only be resolved time and again (Rittel and Webber, 1973). The difference between tame and wicked problems are that tame problems are definable and distinct; a complete description containing all the information needed to solve the tame problems can thus be made. Societal problems on the other hand are ill-defined and rely on political judgement. For example, regarding social mix, it is necessary to decide what is meant

with the term. However, to achieve a social mix one has to understand the problem of why there currently not a social mix is. One reason why there is not a social mix, could be due to poverty. Poverty is here understood as low income. Following this example, the urban planner should identify the determinants of low income. Poverty might originate from the potential labour force skills, physical or mental health. If the former is the case, then the problem's solution should be found within the educational system and has to encompass consideration of what it consists of "to improve the educational system". The labour force skills could instead also be linked to the person's physical or mental health, then the core of the problem is not located in the educational system but in health services. Finding the root cause of a problem is thus the same as finding the solution. Deriving one of wicked problems attributes: *there is no definitive formulation of a wicked problem* (Rittel and Webber, 1973:161). Wicked problems are defined as having a large number of variables, leading to conflicting views regarding the dynamics, making it hard to predict how the problems might evolve and thus also how they can be resolved (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015). It is described as resolved because wicked problems can never be solved, they can only be resolved time and again, depending on how the (political) judgement deems the solution. There are no true or false answers for wicked problems; there are only good or bad solutions. Many actors are equally qualified, interested and entitled to judge the solution despite they may not have the formal authority to determine the correctness of the solution (Rittel and Webber, 1973).

Wicked problems or untamed problems are due to its wicked nature characterised by a lack of knowledge or information about the problem's nature or root causes, leading to two sources of *substantive complexity.* The first is the root or nature of the problem, wherein different actors have varying perceptions on what the problem is, the potential solutions, what the approach should be, and who should lead the efforts. The second source is the role of information gathering and (scientific) knowledge throughout the process that is attempting to tame the wicked problem. In order to make up for the lack of knowledge causing the first sources substantive complexity, a response by the actors is to collect information which can be contested and debated, which leads to confusion that contributes to substantive complexity (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015).

Substantive complexity related to the disadvantaged areas could be: what is a disadvantaged area and how should it be measured? By the *composition* of residents and what threshold

values for *concentrations* of residents should be set and what scale the measured area should be. The substantive complexity is therefore tied together with how the problem is understood. A problem is when a situation deviates from what we expect from the situation or desired situation. The solution to a wicked problem is thus dependent on what is perceived as the problem. Problems are not objective situations or artefacts 'out there' instead they are dependent on the actor's perception and how they determine the nature of the perceptions. A common approach to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas are social housing masters. They seek not to only solve one problem in the housing area but cover multiple problems that are intertwined (Fegar 21:56). However, as mentioned in there is a discrepancy between how the actors involved in the process perceptions of what a disadvantaged area is and the solution to it, making it a wicked problem.

Societal problems are interwoven in societal processes consisting of large open systems of interconnected networks such that the outputs from one actor in a network become input to the others. It has become less apparent where the problem is centred and less apparent what the intervention should be even if it is known what aim is sought (Rittel and Webber, 1973). This project will thus also include the theory of governance network, because disadvantaged areas are wicked problems sought to be solved in governance networks.

3.2 Governance Network

Urban development increasingly happens in networks. Substantive complexity can especially have an effect when many actors are involved. The following section will therefore explain the theoretical concept of networks, as this project will examine governance networks consisting of actors working with the public purpose to alleviate disproportional problems in disadvantaged areas.

Governance network will be used as a theory to describe the actors involved in planning for disadvantaged areas. This project more specifically examines the governance network related to social housing master plans. Reports about national and local governments' failures in solving concrete policy problems triggered an increase in market regulation and in the provision of public goods and services in the 1980s, in order to comply with the set phrase 'less state, more market' (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008:1).

However, privatisation and deregulation encounter the challenges of imperfect competition and growing inequality and neither facilitates foresighted and pro-active governance. To compensate for the limits and challenges of both state regulation and market regulation, new forms of negotiated governance structures have formed. They emerge as strategic alliances, public-private partnerships, dialogue groups and inter-organisational networks. Causing the formulation and implementation of public policies to increasingly be implemented by a plurality of public, semi-public, and private actors. However, the state still plays a key role, but they no longer have a monopoly of governing, instead a pluricentric governance structure has emerged which is based on interdependence, negotiations, and trust (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008:3). This is coined together with the development of the 'network society,' where horizontal relations and interdependence between actors has grown to achieve policy outcomes (Klijn, 2008). Many kinds of networks have emerged, and in research literature, one way to distinguish between the network types is to divide them into three kinds of research traditions, as follow:

- *Policy networks* that focus on actors' power mechanisms and the opportunity of participation in the decision-making process;
- *Inter-organisational service delivery and policy implementation* (which are referred as *implementation networks*) that focus on the construction of networks to implement or deliver a desired outcome;
- *Collaborative governance networks and intergovernmental relationships* (which are referred as *governance networks*) focus on complexity within the decision-making process because of possible conflicts that can occur among the participating actors
(Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015:22).

Even though a distinction between the different research traditions is made, they have similar characteristics. An example can be found with *implementation networks* and *governance networks*. They resemble each other by having the same perspective regarding the complex interaction between actors and the consideration of organising within the intricate network. However, Klijn and Koppenjan (2012) distinguish between the two types because governance networks question the legitimacy of the networks, while implementation networks do not consider this. All three types of network assume results are based on the interaction among actors and have mutual dependency as a key concept. This project will use governance network as the disadvantaged areas are wicked problems, defined as having many variables this

increases the complexity within the decision-making process. Governance network focuses on this complexity and possible conflicts and will therefore be used.

Sørensen and Torfing (2008) identify two generations of governance network research. The first generation was focused on explaining why there were emerging forms of governance networks, how they differed from the existing hierarchy, and their contribution to improved governance. While the second generation investigates how governance networks work in practice and in relation to function and development as well as look at sources of failure or success. Another aspect of second-generation research on governance networks is how metagovernance comes into play in regulating self-regulated networks and if there are democratic challenges or potential with governance networks (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008:14).

This project will use Sørensen and Torfing's (2008) definition of governance networks as their definition and set forth some clear common traits for what a governance network is. They set up four aspects, which define a governance network. Beneath, the traits for governance networks are listed, and these traits will be elaborated further throughout this section. One of the general critiques of the theory is that all types of networks are seen as governance networks (Friedrickson, 2004). The authors of this project use their definition to distinguish between governance networks and other types of networks. A governance network is:

1. A relatively stable horizontal articulation of interdependent but operationally autonomous actors;
2. The organisations and people who interact through negotiations;
3. Something that takes place within a regulative, normative, cognitive, and imaginary framework;
4. Self-regulating within limits set by external agencies;
5. Something that contributes to the production of a public purpose

(Sørensen and Torfing, 2008:9).

First, the actors in a governance network can be private, semi-public, and public actors. The network can consist of all three types of actors or a mix of them. To become a part of a governance network, the actors need to be involved in or contribute valuable resources and competencies for the other actors. The actors are dependent on one another's resources but are operationally autonomous institutions, as a joint superior does not manage them. This

interdependence creates a horizontal relationship. However, it does not cause them to be equal in terms of authority or resources. Thus, none of the actors has more power, and they can exert influence over the other actors in the network (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008:10). There can, however, be actors such as the Danish government who set the overall framework for the network (see point four). The pursuit to alleviate problems in a disadvantaged area will require a variety of actors (BL, 2018) because it is a wicked problem having a large number of variables (Fegar 21:56). This project narrows down the number of potential actors to only include the actors involved in the application process for a social housing master plan. The main stakeholders in the governance network are the private housing organisation, the semi-public National Building Fund, and the public local municipality (Landsbyggefonden, 2019). The actors are operationally autonomous but have the same regulatory framework as structural conditions that either restrict or make the social activity possible, in this case to create a social housing master plan.

Second, the interaction between the actors in a governance network includes both debates and negotiation of resources to maximise positive outcomes. The negotiation process will rarely result in a unanimous consensus, because underlying the bargaining process is a struggle for power. The process of actions can feature persistent discussion leading to a fundamental consensus. The process facilitates common learning and understanding (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008: 10). The process of designing a social housing master plan will include discussions of which social and preventive measures should be included in the social housing master plan to alleviate problems in a disadvantaged area. However, actors involved in the social housing master plan fundamentally must reach a consensus because the plan cannot be approved by the National Building Fund without both the housing organisations and the municipality's endorsement.

Third, the interactions between the actors' merge ideas, rules, and concepts in an institutionalised framework. This process does not take place in an institutional vacuum, which is more than the sum of its parts. The framework has *"a regulative aspect, since it provide rules, roles, and procedures; a normative aspect since it convey norms, values, and standards; a cognitive element since it generates codes, concepts, and specialized knowledge; and an imaginary aspect since it produce identities, ideologies, and common hopes"* (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008:10). The institutional framework governing the network for social housing master

plans is the Consolidation Act on Social Housing set by the Danish government. To implement the Act, the National Building Fund creates a regulation for social and preventive measures.

Fourth, the governance network is self-regulating, however, and the networks are always created in a particular political and institutional environment. This underlying setting must be considered as it facilitates and constrains the actors in the network (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008: 10). The actors in the governance network are self-regulating, meaning each of the actors in the network are operationally autonomous with their own aim, visions and financial frame. The particular political and institutional environment in Denmark takes place within the framework of a parliamentary representative democracy and a decentralised unitary state set by the Danish Constitutional Act (Grundloven). This facilitates and constrains the actors in the governance network for social housing master plans.

Fifth, governance networks contribute to a public purpose. Thus, the actors operate within the field of political negotiations to identify and solve emerging policy problems (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008:11). The social housing master plan contributes to the public purpose of alleviating problems in disadvantaged areas (Landsbyggefonden, 2018).

Governance networks can take various shapes, either being self-grown or initiated, and they have a sector-specific or society-wide scope. Some networks may fail to fulfil all the defining governance network traits listed above. Where to set the line for what constitutes a governance network is a matter of judgement. The relationship between the actors can be described as a pluricentric governance system, as the mutually dependent actors interact to create a public purpose. This is in opposition to a unicentric system, with a central power that clearly defines everybody else's obligations (Sørensen and Torfing, 2008).

4 Research Methodology

This chapter will present the methods and choices made in regard to the following analysis. The section will argue for how the case selection was done. Additionally, it will explain the interview approach for this project and present the interviewees. Furthermore, it will outline how this project will apply Klijn and Koppenjan's (2015) analysis framework of governance networks to social housing master plans.
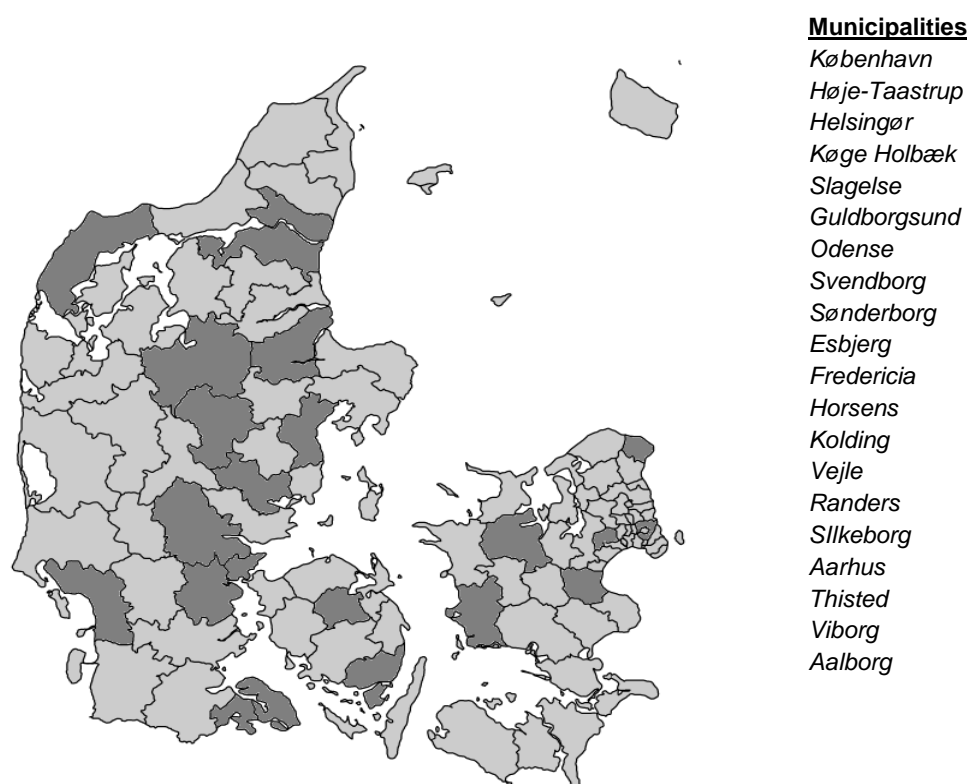
4.1 Case Selection

The design for this research project is a case study. Case studies are useful both in relation to generating and testing hypotheses, but they are not limited to this (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The cases for this project were selected based on the strategy of gaining as much information as possible about the phenomenon. This type of case selection is also referred to as information oriented. Flyvbjerg (2010) distinguishes between information-oriented cases and randomly selected cases. When the objective is to achieve as much information as possible with the choice of case, a representative or random case may not be the most suitable and therefore not the richest in information. Instead an atypical or extreme case can according to Flyvbjerg was used to uncover more information, as these cases involved more actors and mechanisms, revealing more information about the courses and consequences of the problem. Besides extreme cases, another type of information-oriented case is the critical case. Critical cases give the possibility of making a sort of confirmation or falsification of a hypothesis. They give the possibility of making a sort of generalisation by using the sentence: "*If it is a valid for this case, it is valid all (or many) cases*" (Flyvbjerg, 2010:230). This case will be an information-oriented critical case.

The cases for this project were thus selected based on the expected information they hold. The case choice took a point of departure in the inconsistent way of defining disadvantaged areas. The choice of case was narrowed down to municipalities that had areas that were categorised as disadvantaged by the Danish government. These municipalities would most likely be affected by the amendments in their work with disadvantaged areas (see figure 2).

From these municipalities Aarhus and Copenhagen municipality were chosen as cases. Aarhus and Copenhagen are the largest cities in Denmark. With this fact follows they potentially have

more disadvantaged areas than other municipalities. The larger municipalities have in general more cases and therefore are more specialised because they have more of the same cases. This was demonstrated for Aarhus and Copenhagen by having policies towards identifying disadvantaged areas. The policies create a clear definition of what the municipalities identifies as a disadvantaged area.

Figure 2: Municipalities with disadvantaged areas on the governmental list 2019
(Transport og Boligministeriet, 2019b)

Municipalities
København
Høje-Taastrup
Helsingør
Køge Holbæk
Slagelse
Guldborgsund
Odense
Svendborg
Sønderborg
Esbjerg
Fredericia
Horsens
Kolding
Vejle
Randers
SIlkeborg
Aarhus
Thisted
Viborg
Aalborg

Afterwards, an identification of the municipalities that appointed their own disadvantaged areas was made. Copenhagen and Aarhus were municipalities that fulfilled both criteria. The two municipalities have actively evaluated and assessed how their city areas are developing, which will be elaborated in the following section. This project therefore aimed to test:

"*If it is valid that disadvantaged areas not on the Danish government's list are affected by the inconsistency of identifying disadvantaged areas in cities like Copenhagen or Aarhus, which are the most resourceful municipalities in Denmark, then the same situation is valid for municipalities with fewer resources and therefore valid in all (or most) cases.*"

A general critique of case studies is the idea that one cannot generalise based on a single case study. Based on the above argument that having a well-reasoned case choice increases the possibility of generalising the knowledge created during the project. Adding to this point is Flyvbjerg's statement, "*we have only specific cases and context-dependent knowledge*" (Flyvbjerg 2010:224). About human affairs, predictive or universal theories cannot be found; therefore, researchers should seek context-dependent knowledge. Experts are experts because they have thorough and deep knowledge of thousands of concrete cases in their areas of expertise. Context-dependent knowledge is at the very core of how researchers develop from textbook knowledge to experts. Rule-based knowledge is still important especially for supporting learning when entering a new field. However, for researchers, real life cases are significant and demonstrate a wealth of nuanced views on reality (Flyvbjerg, 2010).

4.2 Copenhagen Municipality

All municipalities in Denmark must make an overall municipal plan (kommuneplan), which sets goals for the municipality's development and how they will pursue it (Erhvervsministeriet, 2018). Copenhagen municipality's municipal plan states that they want to be a socially diverse city. This statement is set in the light of the development of the city, where an increasing number of people have moved to the city where the trend is expected to continue. The development puts pressure on the prices in the housing market and on the city's capacity for the roads and public services like schools and doctors (Københavns Kommune, 2019). Copenhagen's housing policy aims at creating a framework for constructing an adequate number of housing units in Copenhagen by creating a coherent city for everyone and allowing the settings for alternative types of housing. Some of the tools they use to ensure the desired development is to require 25% of new housing being social housing and to ensure a variation of sizes and type of owner-occupied dwellings in the city (Københavns Kommune, 2019).

For a longer period, Copenhagen municipality has had a particular focus on the more disadvantaged areas. Therefore, the seven administrations created a collective policy to alleviate problems the disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen in the 2011 "Policy for Disadvantaged Areas of Copenhagen" (Politik for udsatte byområder). The policy was updated in 2017. The disadvantaged areas in Copenhagen are characterised by having several social and physical challenges. Namely, while the rest of the city in general experienced positive developments, these areas' development stagnated, resulting in an increasing divide compared to the rest of the city. The policy of disadvantaged areas should end existing political practices of time-limited projects. Instead, projects should be interwoven and developed in the municipal services. The method was intended to give positive preferential treatment and improve the disadvantaged areas. The policy created a framework for the municipality to identify and prioritise their efforts in the disadvantaged areas and provide a way to follow up on the initiatives (Københavns Kommune, 2017).

The policy uses five variables to identify the composition and concentration of residents that distinguishes an area as disadvantaged. The variables include the percentage of residents who are: *unemployed, secondary school as highest education, ethnicity, low-income,* and *average square meters per citizen*. Figure 3 illustrates the differences between the disadvantaged areas and the rest of the city, as it was measured in 2017.

Figure 3: Five socio-economic variables comparing all of Copenhagen and the disadvantaged areas. From left to right percentages include unemployed, without education, non-western origin, low income and average square meter per person. Orange indicates the disadvantaged areas, and black indicates the average in Copenhagen (Københavns Kommune, 2017).
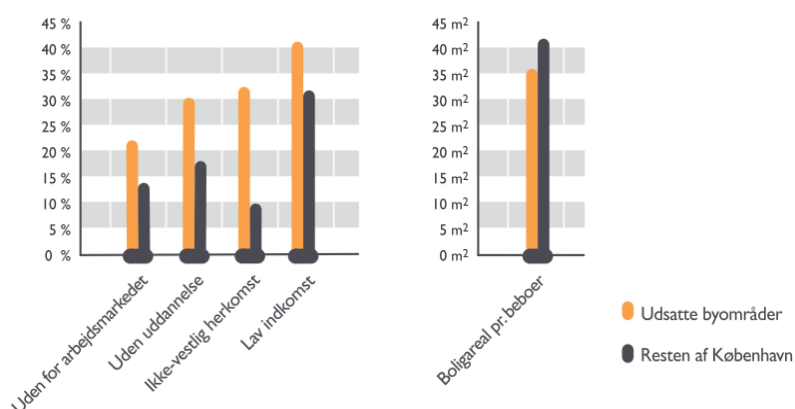
Figure 4 illustrates the location of disadvantaged areas in the city in 2019 based on Copenhagen municipality's assessment. The map was created by giving each criteria a relative value from 1-5 compared to the city average and adding the variables scores together. The total score ends up being between 5 and 25, where the score of 25 indicates the most disadvantaged areas (Københavns Kommune, 2019).

Figure 4: Copenhagen's disadvantaged areas (Københavns Kommune, 2019a).
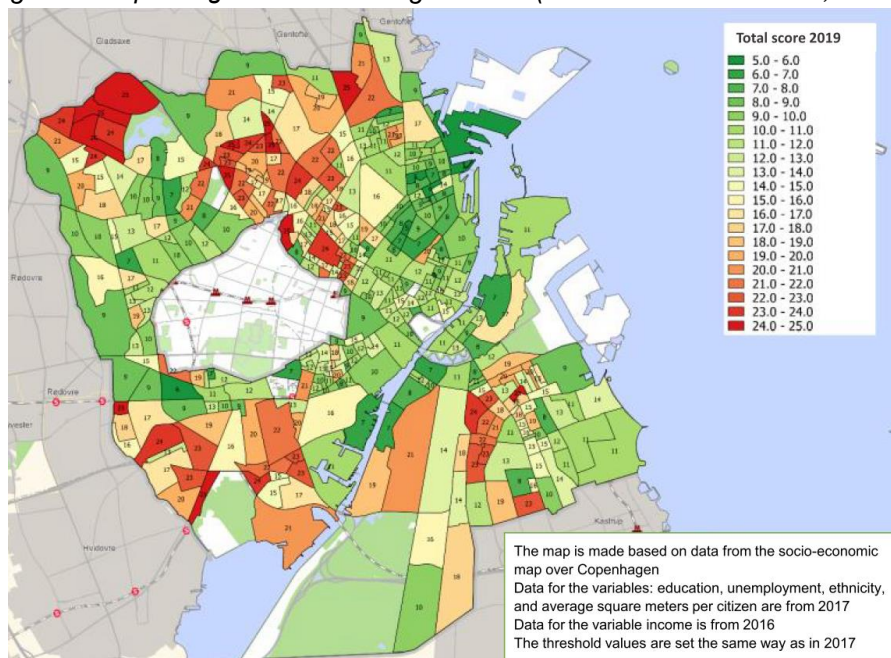
Of the disadvantaged areas in Copenhagen, 13 of them have a social housing master plan and six of the areas are on the Danish government's list of disadvantaged areas.

Figure 5: The social housing master plans in Copenhagen
* Indicates that the areas is on the Danish government's list

Social housing master plans Copenhagen
- Amagerbro helhedsplan (2017-2021)   * Partnerskabet (Urbanplanenn og Hørgården) (2017-2021)   - Fællesskaberne (Sjælør/Sydhaven) (2017-2020)   - SURF (Valby/Vigerslev) (2016-2020)   - Det gode naboskab (Blågården og Prater) (2016-2020)   - Mimersgadekvarteret (2018-2022)   * Nørrebrobyggerne(Lundtoftegade AKB) (2016-2020)   * Mjølnerparken og Hothers plads (2017-2021)   - Beboerprojektet Puls (2017-2021)   *Sigynsgade (2018-2022)   * Beboerprojektet Bispebjerg (2016-2020)   - Gadelandet Husum Gård (2018-2022)   *Tingbjerg - Utterslevhuse (2016-2020)

One of the goals in the Municipal Plan 2019 was that no more areas will be categorised as disadvantaged by the Danish government. In order to ensure the goal, the municipality is using rental agreements and making focused investments. Furthermore, the municipality will not reduce the number of social housing as a result of the Danish government's strategy against parallel societies (Københavns Kommune, 2019)

4.3 Aarhus Municipality

Aarhus is the second largest city in Denmark. The municipality's housing policy's vision is that "*All citizens of Aarhus should have an opportunity to have suitable housing in a socially balanced city*" (Aarhus Kommune, 2016:4). This vision reflects the challenges identified in housing policy as Aarhus city's growing popularity to live in which has led to increased housing prices. This challenge results in housing becoming unavailable for citizens with a low or average income in some areas of the city. Some parts of the city thrive, while other parts of the city are struggling with social problems. The different developments in the city create division, and they challenge the city's social coherence (Aarhus Kommune, 2018).

Aarhus has thus made an agreement for disadvantaged areas. The agreement underlines that the city is for everyone with room for differences and diversity. Aarhus is a city that is working towards having attractive urban areas, strong communities, and social coherence. They set the aim of being *"a great city for everyone without any disadvantaged housing areas*" (Aarhus Kommune, 2018:2).

Aarhus municipality has used different approaches to achieve the vision of having a socially balanced city without disadvantaged housing areas. One approach has been to collaborate with housing organisations, and this has happened since 2010 with the aim of creating a tool to assess socio-economic development in the social housing area. The tool is a data system called BoSoc that creates statistics about specific housing areas in the city. It is made in collaboration between Aarhus municipality and the interest organisation BL's 5 Kreds. BoSoc amasses data every quarter and therefore allows the municipality and housing organisations to act on current developments in the city. The data is used to monitor the disadvantaged areas. Since 2013, BoSoc has gathered data about the composition and concentration of residents from social housing areas with a minimum 500 residents based on eight socio-economic variables with set relative thresholds values for a disadvantaged areas, including: *employment, health of adults,*

juvenile delinquency, disadvantaged children and youth, low-income families, children's well-being, tenants from the age of 24 who have only completed secondary education, and *safety*. Additionally, the share of *non-western residents* is counted. All the data is gathered in the 'categorisation model' (kategoriseringsmodellen). The criteria are compared to the average score in the municipality and ranked within a 1-3 point system. The total score is then summarised to assess whether the social housing area is categorised as a disadvantaged area or at risk of becoming distressed. The municipality uses the data from BoSoc to prioritise in which area they should concentrate their efforts and resources (Mølgaard, 2018). The model aggregates the criteria giving the areas up to 24 points, and at the moment, there is only one area—Gellerupparken/Toveshøj—in the most disadvantaged category. The categorisation model can be seen in figure 6 (next page). On the right side of the figure, the total score is listed, and the indication of how disadvantaged Aarhus municipality assesses the housing areas to be (Mølgaard, 2018).

In Aarhus, seven areas have a social housing master plan, and these areas are listed in figure 7. Bispehaven and Gellerup-Toveshøj are hard ghetto areas, but the rest are not on the Danish government list. The area Skovgårdsparken is at risk of becoming a hard ghetto, but it does not have a social housing master plan.

Table 7: The social housing master plans in Aarhus
*Indicates that the areas is on the Danish government's list

Social housing master plans in Aarhus	
● *Bispehaven (2017-2020) ● Langkærparken (2017-2021) ● *Gellerup-Toveshøj (2018-2022) ● Trigeparken (2018-2022)	● Frydenlund-Vandtårsområdet (2018-2022) ● Herredsvang (2018-2023) ● Viby Syd (2020-2023)

To follow through on the vision of having a socially balanced city, Aarhus has several policies ensuring this aim. In the municipal plan, the importance of having mixed housing possibilities in all parts of the city is pointed out. This means that there should be a variation in the size of housing options as well as the type of ownership. Related to this, the municipality identifies social housing as important for ensuring the mixed population in all parts of the city (Aarhus Kommune, 2016), thus, from now and on, 25% of new housing will be social housing (Aarhus Kommune, 2017). The categorisation model monitors the social housing areas and creates the backdrop for how the municipality chooses to prioritise their resources. Furthermore, Aarhus municipality has made a rental agreement for the social housing areas.

Figure 6: The categorisation model from 2019 made by Aarhus municipality (Authors' translation)

The categorisation is done for social housing areas with at least 500 residents. The deviation is calculated based on the difference form Aarhus municipality's

Housing estates >20 points are categories *particularly disadvantaged areas (red)*

Housing estates 15-19 points are categories *disadvantaged areas (orange)*

Housing estates 11-14 points are categorises risk areas (yellow)

Housing estates <11 points are categorized as areas not in risk

Categorisation	Threshold value
Not in risk	Up to 150% of baseline
Risk areas	Up to 200% of baseline
Disadvantaged areas	Up to 250% of baseline
Particular disadvantaged areas	Over 250% of baseline

Categorisation for children's well-being	Threshold value
Not in risk	Up to 125% of baseline
Risk areas	Up to 150% of baseline
Disadvantaged areas	Up to 175% of baseline
Particular disadvantaged areas	Over 175% of baseline

Categorisation for safety	Threshold value
Not in risk	Up to 50% of baseline
Risk areas	Up to 75% of baseline
Disadvantaged areas	Up to 100% of baseline
Particular disadvantaged areas	Over 100% of baseline

4.4 Interview

Qualitative research comprises of multiple approaches to understand, describe, and explain social phenomena. The approach chosen for this project was interviews. The main aspects for using qualitative interviews is to understand the subject's perspective of the world (Zølner, Rasmussen and Dreyer, 2007). Interviews produce knowledge through interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee.

This project seeks to uncover inconsistencies between how disadvantaged areas are identified by the municipality and the Danish government. This was done by asking about the considerations behind the case municipalities chosen socio-economic variables. Likewise, this project also sought to understand if the disadvantaged areas that a social housing plan have but are not on the Danish government's list, still find the areas disadvantaged. Besides, we sought to understand if they assess the need for additional social and preventive measures in the area. Interview is used as a method to uncover the rationale behind the identification methods for disadvantaged areas in order to understand the prioritisation of resources.

Doing interviews with experts in a field requires preparation by the interviewer. The interviewer needs to master the technical language within the research subject as well as understand the culture, values, norms, and educational background of the interviewee. The interviewer then becomes a more equal conversation partner with the expert in order to compensate for the asymmetry of the interview relationship. The interviewer should be aware of the experts' objectives in order to promote their own opinions and view, as they are used to being interviewed, and the skill to go beyond this depends on the interviewer's ability to challenge their statements, potentially leading to possible new insights (Kvale, 2007).

4.5 Selection of Respondents

The initial selection of respondents was based on the involved actors in the application process for a social housing master plan. The three main actors involved in the process were: social housing organisation(s), the municipality, and the National Building Fund. The selected interviewees therefore represent these three main actors. Nine interviews were done in total with respondents representing the municipalities, the National Building Fund, the social housing master plan, and Det Boligsociale Fællessekratariat. The interview thereby covers all three

types of actors as well as intentionally included actors from the public, semi-public, and private organisations. The aim was to have informants covering the same roles for the two cases. It was assessed that the number of informants will enable sufficiently nuanced empiri about the cases while still allowing for the possibility to process and analyse the information within the timeframe of the project.

The National Building Fund

The National Building Fund administers the accumulated savings put aside by the social housing organisation for physical or social aid in social housing in Denmark.

- Aviaja Julie Sigsgaard represents the National Building Fund and is the functional manager in the division that administers grants for social and preventive measures. She could therefore discuss how the National Building Fund allocated subsidies for social housing master plans and what changed after the amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing.

Actors from Municipalities

The interviewees from the municipalities were selected to gain insight as to how the municipalities work with disadvantaged areas and if their approach was affected by on the strategy against parallel societies from 2018. They were additionally able to elaborate on how the municipality has chosen to identify disadvantaged areas themselves and the underlying considerations behind the chosen variables.

Copenhagen municipality
- Stine Kofod is the programme coordinator in the centre for Social Housing belonging to the Technical and Environment Administration. She is responsible for projects regarding disadvantaged areas within Copenhagen municipality. She contributed an overall view on how the municipality is working with disadvantaged areas in Copenhagen.
- Line Jensen Buch is a special consultant in the centre for Urban Development belonging to the Finance Administration. She was project leader for the policy for disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen when the policy was revised in 2017 and has knowledge of the underlying considerations behind the socio-economic variables used to identify disadvantaged areas in Copenhagen municipality.

Aarhus municipality
- Anders Leth Nielsen is the section leader of Integration and Urban Development belonging to the Mayor's Department in Aarhus municipality.
- Anne Emilie Jensen is a consultant on Integration and Urban Development. Integration and Urban Development is responsible for the strategic planning for changing disadvantaged areas into more attractive neighbourhoods within the municipality. The two respondents from Aarhus municipality had knowledge about how the municipality in general works with disadvantaged areas and about the underlying considerations behind the socio-economic criteria from their own categorisation model.

Det Boligsociale Fællessekretariat
- Thomas Højmark Fegar is the leader of the secretary to the board of social housing master plans in Aarhus (Det Boligsociale Fællessekretariat). The secretary's goal is to ensure that social housing areas are socially well functioning in the municipality of Aarhus (Det Boligsociale Fællessekretariat, n/a). He contributed knowledge about how the housing organisations and the municipality collaborated in order to design the categorisation model. He also elaborated on the reasons behind why some areas worked with social and preventive measures without a social housing master plan.

Social Housing Organisations
The selected respondents are project leaders for a social housing master plan in disadvantaged areas not on the Danish government's list. The social housing organisation hires the project leaders, and thereby, this project used them as representatives of social housing organisations. The project leader was selected based on the following criteria. Fundamental for the choice was that the project leader represented information-oriented critical cases. The areas the project leaders were hired for had characteristics such as having social and preventive measures and having more than 1000 residents. The areas could potentially risk appearing on the Danish government's list. The areas were not in close proximity to disadvantaged areas categorised by the Danish government. Therefore, they would not be included in a social housing master plan prioritised for a disadvantaged area on the list after the new regulation for the National Building Fund. Additionally, a common trait for all the areas was they are currently evaluating if they should apply for a new social housing master plan. The project leaders are expected to contribute with knowledge about whether they are expected to face issues applying for a new

social housing plan. Furthermore, another consideration was whether they experienced a change regarding the municipal efforts since the strategy against parallel societies from 2018.

Copenhagen
- Lasse Skov Laursen is the leader of the social housing master plan "Fællesskaberne," which is operational from 2017-2020. The master plan includes the areas Sjælør and Sydhavnen. He is employed by the social housing organisation AKB.
- Ditlev Jørgensen is the leader of the social housing master plan "Det gode Naboskab," which is operational from 2017-2020. The master plan includes an area in the centre of Copenhagen, in Nørrebro. He is employed by the social housing organisation fsb.

Aarhus
- Hans Christian Fredberg Knudsen is the leader of social master plan, which is operational from 2017-2021 in the residential area of Langkærparken. He is employed by the social housing organisation AL2bolig.
- Annelise R. Lassen is the resident advisor for Håndværkerparken. Her job differentiates a bit from the other from the other housing organisations, as Håndværkerparken does not have a social housing master plan. She elaborated on how the social housing organisation's approach is when they do not have a social master plan, including where they got funding and why the area does not have a social housing master plan. Initially, we sought for the interviewee to represent the same positions in both municipalities, but the other social housing master plans in Aarhus were not ending soon. However, Hånværkerparken fit the other characteristics, because it has more than 1000 residents and was assessed as disadvantaged in the categorisation model.

4.6 Interview Format

The interview format was semi structured, as it allowed for clarifying questions while still covering the necessary outline of topics (Kvale, 2007). All the interviews in this project were conducted as either phone or video calls, as the circumstances under the Danish society's lock-down period prevented the option of meeting in person. The programs used for visual representation of the interview depended on the interviewees' access to the programs Skype, Microsoft Teams, Google hangout, or phone calls. The two phone interviews were with Sigsgaard from the National Building Fund and Kofod from Copenhagen Municipality.

Conducting interviews digitally had the advantage of making more interviews possible despite a great physical distance between the researcher and interviewee—or in this case, because of exceptional circumstances. A downside might be a lack of a visual physical presence and access to facial-mimic expressions during the two phone calls or caused by bad internet connections. Facial-mimics and body language often give away important information for the interviewer to read and gives the choice to explore a question more in-depth (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2015:205). Therefore, when possible, the interviews were done by video in order to make them as close to a face-to-face interview as possible.

4.7 Interview Guide

Interview guides were prepared in order to better structure the conducted interview. This has the advantage of preparing the interviewer as well as making the interview design more transparent and described in detail. This was important so interested readers can determine the relevance and credibility of the investigation and, in theory, be able to replicate it (Kvale, 2007).

The right time in a project period to conduct interviews is difficult to decide, as an overview of the study is needed before starting the interviews. However, the interviews also have to be conducted while there is still time for analysis and roundup of the project. The semi-structured interview format allowed the authors to keep the same core questions but adapt the interview guides when they had new knowledge or found that some questions were not answered as intended. Each of the nine interviews was made with a Danish interview guide (see appendix 1-10) that was sent in advance to the interviewees. The choice of sending the interview guide in advance was to allow the interviewee the possibility to prepare and supplement the spoken interview with more material to answer the questions as in-depth as possible. This was especially helpful because some of the questions were retrospective about the municipality's choice of variables. The questions about the network of involved actors were consistent in all interviews, whereas other questions were adjusted specifically to the interviewee's knowledge and work position. The consistent questions were:

- What do you define as a disadvantaged area to be and why?

- What is their approach to work with social and preventive measures in order to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas appointed by the municipality?

- Have you noticed any significant changes since the strategy against parallel societies was launched in 2018?
- Who has been involved in the network's social and preventive measures?

Both authors were present for all the interviews, which each lasted approximately an hour. One was responsible for maintaining the flow of a natural conversation as the semi-structured interview method allows a changing structure of the questions in the interview guide. The other assisted in asking follow-up questions or noticing and asking potentially missed questions. All interviewees were informed about their voluntary participation before the interview, and therefore they could revoke their consent anytime. At the outset of each interview, the purpose of the interview was repeated, and the interviews were recorded and saved on an external drive to ensure the material was only used in this project as well as the transcription of the interviewees' statements from the interviews, which were later used in the analysis.

4.8 Transcription

There are different methods for documenting the content of an interview, including digital recording, notes, and memory. Digital recordings are a common way to record interviews because they allow the interviewer to focus more on the subject of matter rather than documentation along with the interview. Recordings provide the interviewer with the opportunity to re-listen to the interviewee's direct phrasing in their responses. An extension of the recording includes transcribing the recordings, where the interview is transcribed from oral to written form. Digital recordings and transcriptions can be useful when trying to highlight statements that support the research's purpose. Kvale (2007) emphasises that there is one essential rule for transcription, which is to explicitly state how the transcription in the report is made. The authors of this project followed the same form between time and oral expressions, where all interjections are taken out in order to transform the interview to a written reader-friendly language:

(XX:XX)   time in the recording

[X]   the interviewee, in case of the two interviewees under the same interview, the second interviewee is marked with the initials of their first name fx. Anne Emilie [AE]

[A]   the interviewer

In the project, the interviewees are referred to by their last name and time of recording, differing from the other references in the project, which do not have a date.

4.9 Methods for Analysing Governance Networks

The main method used for this project was interviews. The interviews were used to analyse the discrepancy between how official bodies in Denmark identify disadvantaged areas. The interviews were conducted with actors from the governance network of the social housing master plans. The interview method has two strengths when studying governance networks. The first is to understand policy interaction and the perspectives of those who are working inside a policy process, as other methods are insufficient, since the information is quite informal. The second is the ability to shed light on the individual respondent's interpretation of the reality through their own observations and experiences in order to increase our insights to their perceptions because that kind of data is neither documented in other ways nor can we observe it ourselves (Bogason and Zølner, 2007).

The governance network for social housing master plans, the involved actors and their dynamic will be analysed to understand the impact the 2018 amendment in the Consolidation Act on Social Housing has had. When understanding the actors' dynamics and their resources' influence for granting a social housing master plan, it is possible to determine how the 2018 amendments have affected the effort to alleviate problems in municipal areas not on the list. An analysis of governance networks requires a systematic approach. For this project, Klijn and Koppenjan's (2015) approach was used, as their approach has previously been used to analyse governance networks in the public sector, which is similar to this project. The approach can also be used to provide an overview of the complexities in the networks by systematically mapping who the actors are, their perceptions, and positions. The overview can help to simplify some elements, but it also uncovers complexities in the network. This might include elements as dissimilar as perceptions on the subject; likewise, the actors' strategic behaviour may diverge or the institutional settings will vary (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015).

Klijn and Koppenjan (2015) suggest an approach using up to ten analytical steps to examine the complexities in the governance network. The analysis is divided into three categories that are interwoven and consist of: actor, process, and network. It is not necessary to encompass all ten steps in practice nor in the specific order, as it depends upon the network's complexity and the analysts' research question. Since the analytical step builds on one another leading to a 'map' of the network and actors' dynamics, the depth of the analysis can vary depending on limitation of time and capacity. The 'map' provides a snapshot of the dynamic and therefore needs to be

updated frequently. The snapshot provides a sense of direction of the actors. The following steps were chosen to analyse the governance network related to the social housing master plans .

The first step is to *outline and identify the institutional framework* of the governance network for social housing master plans*.* To understand the institutional framework an examination of both formal documents like laws and white papers setting the legal conditions for the processes in the governance network can be done as well as the actors' authority to influence the decision-making process (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015). In this project this step was done in 1.5 about the National Building Fund. The reader was introduced to the legal conditions and framework for the National Building Fund's social and preventive measures comprising of the social housing master plans. The regulations for social and preventive measures were as mentioned set through the Consolidation Act on Social Housing and regulated by the Danish government. The 2018 amendments affected the actors in the governance network dynamics which will be elaborated in 5.4. The National Building Fund is the biggest contributor and finances up to 75% of the social and preventive measures. The analysis of the governance network will be applied to the following municipalities: Aarhus and Copenhagen

The next step is to *identify the relevant actors* for social housing master plans in the two municipalities chosen as cases*.* This step contains considerations such as which actors are actively involved or who possesses power to either hinder or realise solutions to the issue. As actors can be individuals, groups, organisations, or distinct government levels, the identification of important actors can be difficult to determine. Choosing too low an aggregation level would have changed the focus to internal fights, where too high a level would have lost relevant information. The balancing point is in selecting the highest possible aggregation level, which manages to include information and relevant objectives related to the examined subject (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015). This project chose to interview representatives of the central actors because the authors were interested in how these actors could affect the social and preventive measures in a social housing master plan.

Afterwards, the next step is to *analyse actors' positions and dependencies* in order to verify the relation and degree of dependency between the actors. The degree is determined by the actors' resources' influence on the other actors. Klijn and Koppenjan (2015) distinguish between five kinds of resources: *financial, production, competencies, knowledge* and *legitimacy. Financial*

resources are money or budget set aside to realise solutions, in this case for social housing plans. *Production* resources are necessary means to realise the solutions and could be for example; owning the land where the solution is supposed to be implemented. *Competencies* resources are the actors' formal authority to decide if an area should have a social housing master plan, these resources are often found for public and semi-public actors. *Knowledge* resources are characterised to the following: documents, information systems or individuals that have exclusive knowledge that can be hard to access so other actors are more dependent on them. It can also be knowledge about what kind of social and preventive measures are needed in the disadvantaged area. Lastly, *legitimacy* resources are means that support the social housing master plan; the process followed to accomplish it or for the involved actors. In some cases, there can also be actors who have the ability to attribute or withhold legitimacy (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015). This will be something like actors who voice problems in an area making it disadvantaged. The actors' degree of dependency on another actor was determined by mapping of resources. Additionally, by looking at resources and, if possible, substituting and acquiring the resources from elsewhere, the degree of dependency was determined. Though an actor's perception becomes clear through their interest in the problem or solutions, it can also be useful to see which costs and benefits the actor experiences as this could affect whether the actors were inclined to participate in the process. The critical actors have resources that can hinder activities to be undertaken in the network making sure the social housing master plan will not be granted to a disadvantaged area. (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015). Since the aggregation level of the governance network of social housing master plans focuses on the central actors, the chosen actors are the most critical ones because they own resources that are important to grant a social housing master plan for an area.

The next step of the analysis of the governance network for social housing master plans was to reconstruct *the actors' perceptions,* in order to understand the complexity of the various perceptions of what a disadvantaged area was. The different perceptions were mapped to understand the different perceptions of the 'problem'. This could be a description of the reason why a situation was a problem, or the actor's perception of the subjective roles that cause the problem or were part of the solution. Since these problem perceptions from involved actors are often not documented, it is the analysts' responsibility to reconstruct them to the greatest extent possible while trying to avoid assumptions. Comparing perceptions can be useful, if it contributes with knowledge that either adds or redefines the analysts' perception of the

situation. It puts awareness over potential conflict that can occur, but also potential collaboration that might develop when perceptions overlap (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2015). The analytical step will specifically elaborate the municipalities' perception of a disadvantaged area because their perception might conflict with the Danish government's perception. The knowledge can add/refine the authors of this project's perception of the situation for disadvantaged areas not on the Danish government's list has changed due to the 2018 amendments. Together, these analytical steps are supposed to examine what potential future implications the amendments can have on the effort in municipal areas not on the list.

5 The Amendments

This part of the project is targeted at answering the first sub-question: how have the 2018 amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing affected the effort to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas not on the list? This analysis chapter will first examine the results of amendments no. 1322 and 1561Afterwards an analysis of the actors' in the governance network of social housing master plans resources and dependencies will be made. This is important to determine because it explains the actors' role and how it affects the effort to alleviate problems in the disadvantaged areas. The analysis will use Sørensen and Torfing's (2008) theory about governance networks and Klijn and Koppenjan's (2015) method to analyse the actors' relations.

5.1 Changes to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing

In order to understand how the 2018 amendments no. 1322 and 1561 to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing affects the effort to alleviate problems in the disadvantaged municipal areas not on the list, it is necessary to analyse what the changes were and entailed for the assessment for disadvantaged areas. The section will be structured by first examining amendment no. 1322 concerning the identification and, thereby, the categorisation of disadvantaged areas. Afterwards, amendment no. 1561 will be examined dealing with the reductions of the funding for social housing master plans. The analysis will comprise of empirical data collected from the interviews.

5.2 Amendment no. 1322

Amendment no. 1322 to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing changed §61a, which specified the criteria to define a ghetto, to also include the definition of a disadvantaged area. The criteria for a disadvantaged area are: *unemployment, crime, education, income*, and *non-western* which are elaborated in 1.3 of the Danish government's strategy. Until 2018, a disadvantaged area was broadly defined under §91a as consisting of housing areas having substantial economic, socio-economic or other problems (Transport- Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2019). On the other hand, a ghetto area was a housing estate with at least 1000 residents which met three out of the five above mentioned criteria were equally weighted.

After the amendments in 2018, the five criteria were changed from identifying ghetto areas to also including disadvantaged areas which initially had been two separate concepts. The criteria were, before, equally weighted, but now ethnicity became the fundamental criteria to be met for a social housing estate to be defined as a ghetto area, plus additional two of the other mentioned criteria (Transport- Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2019). By isolating the ethnicity criteria, it became the main characteristic influencing if a housing estate was a ghetto area and could become a hard ghetto area. In regard to social housing master plans, this change may not have influenced the prioritisation of areas receiving subsidies for social and preventive measures. Our interviewee, Aviaja Sigsgaard from the National Building Fund, explained the National Build Fund had always been able to give subsidies to §91a (Sigsgaard 07:19). That categorisation of disadvantaged areas was less concise and broader, than the criteria listed in §61a. The regulation for the National Building Fund, specified who can receive subsidies:

> *"The National Building Fund can give subsidies for social housing master plans including local coordination and evaluation in disadvantaged social housing estates to housing estates under § 91a and estates in connection with these. There should be a prioritisation of the areas under 61a."* (The National Building Fund, 2019:3)

The prioritisation of the areas on the Danish government's list to funding for social housing master plans will thus result in the municipal areas not on the list being assigned a lower priority. Sigsgaard further explained, the amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing, and how the National Building Fund should interpret it were not initially clear.

> *"Behind the regulation are several underlying thoughts of how the law should be interpreted in relation to the strategy against parallel societies. It was unclear whether it should only include the areas on the Danish government's list or if it would also be possible to grant subsidies to other disadvantaged areas not on the list. It ended with the possibility to grant subsidies to both"* (Sigsgaard 14:20)

The interpretation process of the law ended with the possibility for the National Building Fund to assess disadvantaged areas more widely; however there should still be a prioritisation of the areas on the governmental list (§61a).This outcome allowed the National Building Fund to assess areas but also required an assessment by the National Building Fund to determine who

is entitled for subsidies. In general, the National Building Fund's assessment of disadvantaged areas are, more or less, based on the same criteria as the Danish government, but the National Building Funds uses a different weighting of the criteria (Sigsgaard 06:52). Based on these criteria, they gather data on the social housing areas and create their own index which assists the assessment of the areas (Sigsgaard 04.16). The data the National Building Fund gathers is based on housing blocks (boligblok) as opposed to the Danish government gathers data on entire housing estates. This means that they can assess housing estates based on data from the housing blocks detached from the entire housing area's average (Sigsgaard 21:43). This differs from the Danish government's list which publishes data for a housing estate. The National Building Fund's index is combined with a professional assessment of the area. Under the professional evaluation, non-statistical data, like the history of gangs, would be included that would not show up in the statistics over the area (Sigsgaard 07:19). To summarise, the assessment by the National Building Fund consists of their index, the ghetto criteria, and a professional assessment. By limiting the National Building Fund's subsidies to the areas on the Danish government's list, it creates 'borderline cases', which are areas that fit the definition of disadvantaged in relation to §91a. Borderline cases are disadvantaged areas which may not fulfil the criteria under §61a and are, therefore, not on the Danish government's list. In the assessment of the borderline cases, the National Building Fund would have used their index and the professional assessment before the amendments. Since the amendments, they have additionally used the ghetto-criteria to assess the municipal areas not on the list to see if they fit the criteria. As put by Sigsgaard, "*you may say we endeavour for the borderline areas to become ghettos" (*Sigsgaard 08:37).

Another interviewee, Line Jensen Buch from Copenhagen municipality, directed attention to one of the challenges with the ghetto-definition: that the average can conceal big differences. She added an example from Copenhagen:

> *"In Bellahøj, there are some very deprived and big families with Somalian background; thus, the Social Services Department has decided to implement social and preventive measures in the area. The housing estate's average does not make it a ghetto, as there live some socio-economically advantaged and elderly, which evens out the difference. This results in the disadvantaged area not being detected by the Danish government's criteria"* (Jensen Buch 41:37)

Examples of borderline cases which have gotten approved subsidies for new social housing master plans are 'Husum' in Copenhagen and 'Charlotteager' in Høje Taastrup. Both areas got off the Danish government's list in December in 2019 (Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2019). These areas are examples where the National Building Fund has examined the statistics for the individual housing blocks within the housing estate. Even though the collective areas have improved, there are still several blocks, if there had been 1000 residents, which would fulfil the ghetto criteria. The areas were allocated grants because they are still assessed as very disadvantaged areas even though they have managed to get off the Danish government's list and consequently are defined as a disadvantaged area in §91a Consolidation Act on Social Housing (Sigsgaard 20:34).

The amendment to no. 1322 has affected the effort to alleviate problems in disadvantaged municipal areas not on the list. This is done by changing the identification of disadvantaged areas. However, even before the amendments the municipalities, the housing organisation and the National Build Fund did not always agree on if the disadvantaged municipal areas were eligible for subsidies. An example mentioned by Aarhus municipality was the area 'Vejlby', which they determined to be disadvantaged. Together, with the housing organisation, they applied for a social housing master plan, but the assessment by the National Building Fund stated that the area did not meet the requirements. This resulted in the area not being granted subsidies to a social housing master plan (Nielsen 29:28).

The National Building Fund's identification of the compositions of residents in disadvantaged areas can deviate from what the social housing organisation and the local municipality characterise as disadvantaged. This deviation was articulated in the interview with Sigsgaard, saying it is not because the National Building Fund does not acknowledge challenges in some areas or because it does not consider areas as disadvantaged. Rather, they are restricted by the regulation (Sigsgaard 04:16). The housing estates, which politically are assessed as disadvantaged, are prioritised for subsidies (Sigsgaard 13:45). The National Building Fund must assess the need for preventive and social measures from a national perspective. Therefore, local assessment is not sufficient enough on its own; rather, it will always be supplemented with a national assessment. This combination was present in the assessments from the National

Building Fund even before the strategy against parallel societies was launched by the Danish government.

5.3 Amendment. no. 1561

In addition to the changes based on amendment no. 1322, another amendment to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing, amendment no. 1561, reduced the funding from for social and preventive measures as mentioned in 1.5 about the National Building Fund. Specifically, the amendment lowered annual funding from $232 million to $140 million DKK.

Amended no. 1561 reduced the economic frame for subsidies to social and preventive measures from $465 million DKK yearly in 2015-2018, down to $380 million DKK annually in 2019-2026. After rent reduction, the total available means for social housing master plans changed from $232 million DKK or more annually for a four-year period, down to $140 million DKK yearly for the eight-year period. A minimum difference of $92 million DKK per year means that fewer subsidies available to support social housing master plans. Based on the amendments, the National Building Fund changed their regulation of which disadvantaged areas were prioritised for social housing master plans. The areas on the governmental list for disadvantaged areas and ghettos are prioritised regarding funding. This leads to the issue of how many of other municipal disadvantaged areas not on the list can get subsidies, which Sigsgaard explains:

> *"The amount of social housing master plans will be reduced because the financial support is reduced to almost half (...) instead of scattering the money between all the social housing master plans, each approved plan should get a significant financial capacity"* (Sigsgaard 13:33).

There will, therefore, be a reduction in the total number of social housing master plans that will receive support from the fund in 2019-2026 compared to 2015-2018 due to the framework set by the amendments prioritising the most deprived areas. The prioritisation is carried out by the National Building Fund which has assessed the apportionment of the fund should not be distributed between all the current social housing master plans. There are currently 71 social housing master plans (Center for Boligsocial Udvikling, Boligsocialnet and Kommunernes Landsforening, 2020). In comparison, there are only 40 disadvantaged areas on the Danish

government's list (Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2019). That means that there are 31 additional social housing plans, which suggests that these 31 municipal disadvantaged areas are given less priority on government list. This means that they will likely not be prioritised to get funding.

The social housing master plans' aims are to strengthen the residents' competences and increase their life possibilities (Bech-Danielsen and Christensen, 2017). These measures are preventive and are thus forward looking. The amendments link the social housing master plans closer together with the Danish government's strategy against parallel societies. They can potentially prevent disadvantaged areas on the governmental list from becoming ghettos. However, the Danish government's definition is very narrow and only identified 40 areas as being disadvantaged (Transport and Boligministeriet, 2019). If another method were used to identify disadvantaged areas, the result would be different. As mentioned in the introduction, Jakobsen, Heide-Jørgensen and Holm (2020) find 358 disadvantaged areas, and Iversen et al. (2019) has again another method to identify disadvantaged, which finds four percent of the Danish population live in disadvantaged areas. The closer link between the areas on the Danish government's list and funding, therefore, limits other disadvantaged areas from being allocated funding.

## 5.4 The social housing master plan's governance network

The amendments have been analysed in the section above. The following section will analyse how these changes impact the governance network for social housing master plan. The actors examined are the ones who actively are involved in the application procedure of social housing master plans and affected by the amendments. The actors are: the National Building Fund, who is governed by the Consolidation Act on Social Housing where the amendments entail changed requirements to receive subsidies. The municipality, consisting of multiple departments. One or several social housing organisations, who own the housing estates and collaborate to create and implement the social housing master plan. It is the relations and dependencies between these actors that will be analysed in the section below to understand how the actors influence the design, approval and finance of a social housing master plan. Klijn and Koppenjan's (2015) method to analyse the actors' relations and elaborate on the actors' positions and dependencies in the network will be used. The method identifies actors' relations from five kinds of resources actors can possess: *finance, production, competencies, knowledge and legitimacy* mentioned in

4.9 about method to governance network, to obtain knowledge of the actors' influence on the design, approval and finance of a social housing master plan. The resources will be marked in the text to help the reader and clarify what type of resource the actor possesses.

5.5 The institutional framework

The institutional framework for the governance network for social housing master plans are set by the Danish government through the Consolidation Act on Social Housing and illustrated in figure 8 with the black line. A part of the Danish government's strategy against parallel societies is legally implemented and financed through the 2018 amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing. However, networks are always created in a particular political and institutional environment which must be considered when analysing networks as it both facilitates and creates constraints for the network (Sørensen and Torfing, 2015). The outer dotted line illustrated the Danish political and institutional environment set by the Danish government and Danish Constitutional Act. The inner dotted line illustrates the municipal political and institutional environment which will be elaborated in section 5.7 about municipal framework. The municipality was chosen to be illustrated as one actor because all the municipal departments take part in the policies for the disadvantaged areas, such as the policy of disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen (2017), and the agreement of disadvantaged areas (2018). However, the authors are aware of possible internal conflicts from different points of views within the municipality, which can affect what measures the social housing master plan includes. Illustrating the municipality as one actor was a deliberate choice; if a fully-fledged network illustration of municipality's departments and their interactions had been analysed, it would have diverted the focus from the social housing master plans. This was not assessed to make a significant contribution to this project's research question on how the inconsistency affects the municipal areas not on the list.
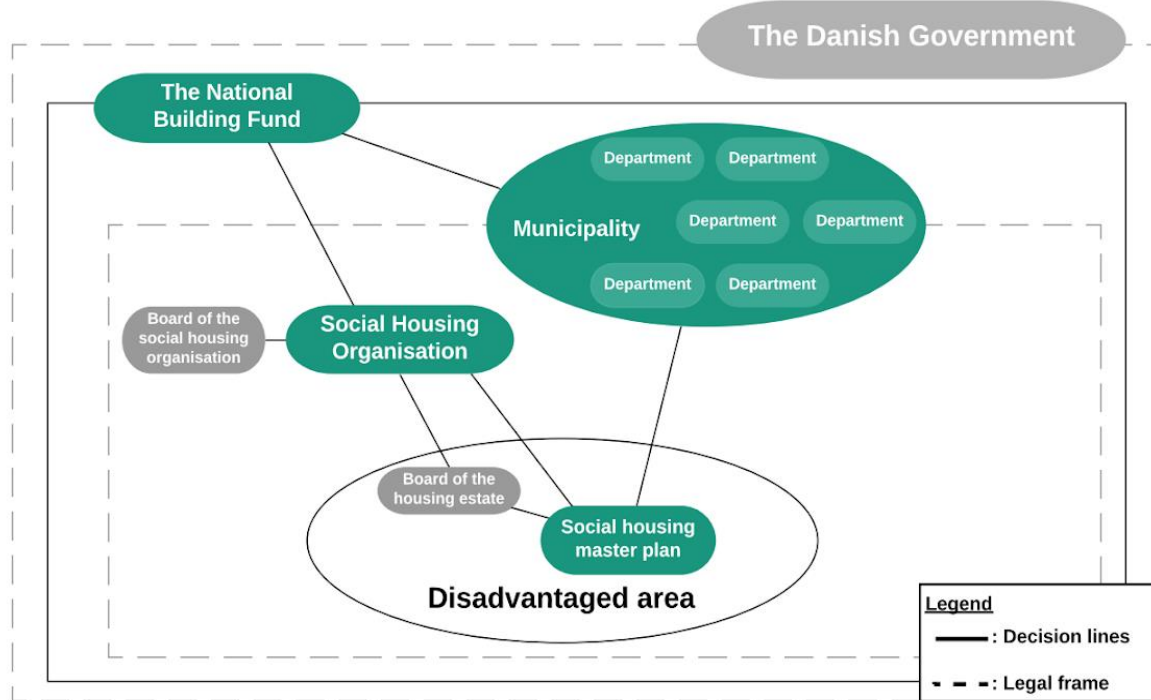
5.6 National Building Fund

The National Building Fund holds the **competence** to decide whether a social housing master plan should be granted to an area. Since their regulation for grants to social and preventive measures is propagated by the Consolidation Act on Social Housing, it adds **legitimacy** behind their decision-making. The regulation specifies who can receive subsidies. This is done by assessing nationally what areas should be prioritised for subsidies. The assessment is based on an index, as elaborated thoroughly above, the National Building Fund have created consisting of socio-economic variables for the social housing estates, a professional assessment, and the ghetto criteria (Sigsgaard 07:19) Their **knowledge** resource used to determine if an area should be granted a social housing master plan is thus based on their own index. The National Building Fund has, in opposition to the municipality, **legitimacy** to support areas-based solutions. Area based solutions which are more directly targeted towards the disadvantaged areas, while the municipalities in general are restricted to offer solutions for all the citizens in the municipalities, this point will be elaborated under the municipalities. The National Building Fund **finance** up to 75% of the cost for the social and preventive measures in a social housing master. The involved

actors are highly dependent on their financial contribution to subsidies because their financial share of the social housing master plan is ¾ of the total. Since the municipality and the housing organisation might not have the same financial capacity as the National Building Found. The National Building Fund's decision on whether the housing area will be granted subsidies has a significant influence on the effort on a disadvantaged area. In the case an application of a social housing master plan is denied, the comprehensive plan will be turned down. In that case the local municipality and housing organisation have to seek for other solutions to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas. Independently, the municipality and the housing organisation would be challenged to subsidies the measures as the National Building Fund bears the majority of finances. The closer link between the areas on the Danish government's list and funding, limits the other disadvantaged areas from being allocated funding. This result in social housing master plans are prioritised to the disadvantaged areas on the Danish government's list. The municipality and the housing organisations are dependent on the National Building Funds financial contribution to social housing master plans. The amendments effect if social and preventive measures can be implemented. This reduction of measures affects the effort in the disadvantaged areas not on the list.

5.7 The municipalities

The municipalities have a lot of autonomy and they can choose how they govern within their municipality. The political and institutional environment therefore deviates from municipality to municipality. The municipalities' autonomy materialises in their use of different approaches for the disadvantaged areas; including the disadvantaged areas. Copenhagen's and Aarhus' different policies were mentioned in 4.2 & 4.3 about the case description, this aligns with critical realistic understanding of society as an open system. In open systems there are only tendencies and not cause and effects. The same event can thus lead to different outcomes (Buch-Hansen and Nielsen, 2012:284). In this project the event would be the amendments caused by the strategy against parallel societies. As we have two case municipalities the same event can lead to different outcomes about how the municipalities adjust their current efforts in disadvantaged areas. The amendments will therefore potentially affect the municipality's disadvantaged areas differently because municipalities' political and institutional environment deviates. This will be elaborated in the 6 about the municipalities' perception on disadvantaged areas. An example related to how the municipalities have used different approaches is regarding the hard ghetto areas, which is required to reduce the number of family dwellings to 40%. Copenhagen

municipality states that no social housing units will be demolished (Rasmussen, 2019), whereas this approach is used in Aarhus municipality (BL, 2018). Both municipalities have used rental agreements as a tool but have used them in different ways. Copenhagen uses this tool for almost all social housing (Præstegaard, 2019), while Aarhus only uses it in specific areas where they observe significant challenges (Nielsen 22:19). The municipality's political and institutional environment is also different geographical contexts, other municipalities than Copenhagen and Aarhus do not have the same demand for housing. They can therefore not use rental agreements the same way as Aarhus and Copenhagen because there is not the same demand. It is important to keep in mind, the use of rental agreement only prevents the socio-economic disadvantaged from moving into a housing area, it does not solve problems or the number of disadvantaged people in the municipality.

Even though the municipalities have different political and institutional environments, the institutional framework for social housing master plans is the same and set by the Consolidation Act for Social Housing. Applying for a social housing master plan requires both the municipality and the housing organisation's endorsement. An application for a social housing master plan to the National Building Fund's means can be made if the one or several social housing organisations and the municipality agree that an area needs support and they are therefore dependent on one another. Together the municipality and the social housing organisation share a minimum 25% of the **finance** for the social housing master plan**.** The municipal political endorsement is made by the City Council (Byrådet/Borgerrepræsentationen), however the departments separately hold **knowledge** about their sector. This knowledge is a **production** resource as it is necessary for defining "the problem" in the disadvantaged area applying for a social housing master plan. The two case municipalities have created their own models to monitor development of disadvantaged areas. The recording of development acts as a **knowledge** resource and provides **legitimacy** behind needed effort in disadvantaged areas, for example a social housing master plan. The City Council is the overall political authority in the municipality, who has the **competence** to make some of the final decisions and decide how the municipal funds are allocated (Aarhus Kommune, 2019). The City Council endorses the social housing master plans on behalf of all the municipal departments. Their choice to either allocate or reduce funds supporting social and preventive measures can affect municipal departments' opportunity to co-finance projects in a disadvantaged area together with the housing organisation. Even though the overall endorsement is made in the City Council the responsibility

for the social housing master plans will in practice be allocated to one department in the municipality.

The municipalities are in general organised by having a City Council consisting of the mayors, heads from all the municipal departments and a selection of politicians. Under the City Council are the Standing Committees (udvalg) who handle day-today management within their area of responsibility. Each committee has an affiliate administrative department (afdeling/forvaltning) working with tasks related to the committee (Copenhagen municipality, n/a). The municipalities' Copenhagen and Aarhus organisational structures are almost identical, but differentiate in the presence of a City Executive Board (Magistraten) responsible for the daily political and administrative management. Aarhus municipality is the only Danish municipality that is run by a City Executive Board consisting of the mayor and aldermen. The aldermen are the heads of one of the five municipal departments, and responsible for implementing the city council's decisions. Since the municipality is run by a City Executive Board, the standing committees only serve as advisory bodies, while the municipal department still handles the tasks and activities related to the committees (Aarhus municipality, 2019). In Aarhus, the **competence** for the social housing master plans is allocated in the Mayor's department which monitors, collects data and makes annual reports on disadvantaged areas, in collaboration with the Department of Social Affairs and Employment, and the housing organisations (Nielsen 02:00). The Mayor's department in Aarhus is responsible for tasks going across several municipal departments' domains (Aarhus Kommune, 2020). Placing this competence in the Mayor's department emphasises the work with disadvantaged areas is an important issue for the municipality. The Mayor's department is additionally a neutral area because it is not linked to any of the ordinary municipal service areas (Mygind and Larsen, 2015). In Copenhagen municipality, the **competence** related to the disadvantaged areas appointed by the Danish government and the data regarding these areas are monitored in the centre for Urban Development in the Finance Department (Center for byudvikling i Økonomiforvaltningen) (Jensen Buch 01:00). The Finance Department is "the Mayor's Department" in Copenhagen because the Mayor is the political head of the department. The competence and responsibility of social housing master plans is supported by the division Social Housing in the Technical and Environmental Department (Kofod 00:15). It is also the Technical and Environmental Department who is responsible for the policy for disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen. The competence is potentially located there due to the policy's focus on physical urban development in the city, which will be elaborated in 6.3 about Copenhagen

municipality's identification method of disadvantaged areas. The organisational difference between Aarhus and Copenhagen municipality's location of competence could indicate different priorities and focuses for the work with disadvantaged areas. All the work with the disadvantaged areas seems to be supported in one place in Aarhus, whereas the work is divided in Copenhagen. For Copenhagen it could indicate an increasing focus and awareness on the Danish government's strategy in Copenhagen as the Finance Department is "the Mayor's Department" in Copenhagen.

All the above identifies the municipal resources as an actor in the governance network for social housing master plans. The municipal dependency of the other actors is due budget constraint, knowledge dependency, and organisational restraints. The municipalities are dependent on the means from the National Building Fund because they would be challenged to bear the funding for the measures with the social housing organisation. The municipalities are also dependent on knowledge from the housing organisation. The housing organisations are in close contact with the residents and are aware of developments in the housing estates. Both Copenhagen and Aarhus municipality have created a tool to monitor development in the municipality and are in that way less dependent than other municipalities with less resources. Municipalities with less resources would be more dependent on the housing organisations to keep track of negative development.

The municipality is challenged by the type of problems the disadvantaged areas are. It is a wicked problem characterised by being complex having a large number of variables. The municipal institutional structure is challenged by cross sectoral problems within the disadvantaged areas. The advantage with the social housing master plans is that it represents a cross-sectoral approach. On one hand the municipalities are dependent on the approach the social housing is. On the other hand, there is a discrepancy between the municipal services being for all their citizens and the social housing master plan being an areas-based initiative. For example, an external located employee is not directly linked to the department's sector requirements and are therefore not accounted for in the municipal department's budgets or goals (Mygind and Larsen, 2015) The value of the social housing master plan may therefore not be evident for all municipal departments. This point was illustrated through an example by our interviewee Hans Christian Knudsen from one of the social housing master plans in Aarhus:

> "*The job centre has been a really good collaboration partner(…) They have really seen the advantages in having an employee located out here while they could do more from the social services department(…),however I do not think they have understood the full potential for both parties and especially for the residents.*" (Knudsen 47:13).

The quote states how differently the municipal departments experience the benefits of having an employee located in the disadvantaged areas. To locate an employee in a disadvantaged area exceeds the normal municipal services. Besides the collective endorsement the departments within the municipality individually have to agree about the measures they offer for the social housing master plan.

For this project, the municipality was chosen to be illustrated as one actor, even though this choice 'hides' the municipal departments' differences. This section has pointed out that in practise the municipality endorses as a single actor, however this competence is delegated to one of the municipal departments. Additionally, the specific municipal measures offered to the social housing master plans by the departments are dependent on their institutional budget and goals. Overall the cross sectoral approach on the social housing master plans represents a structural challenge for the municipal institutional organisation.

5.8 The social housing organisation

It is the social housing organisation who are responsible for initiating the social housing master plan (Sigsgaard 04:16). The social housing organisation owns the land and buildings of the housing estates, it acts as a **production** resource, thereby providing the housing organisations the **competence** to decide whether they initialise for a social housing master plan. It is the board of the social housing organisation (organisation's bestyrelse) that is responsible for the economy, legal and daily administration of the whole organisation and its housing estates (BL, n/a). The social housing organisation's main aim is to run a business, and therefore gathers data about their housing estates. This data is a **knowledge** resource, which is also the data the National Building Fund base their index on and partly the same for the municipalities. The social housing organisations data can be both quantitative knowledge like moving frequency, neighbour complaints or renovations expenses, but can also be qualitative knowledge from the residents, superintendents or board of the housing estate. The social housing organisation(s) and the municipality together, share a minimum 25% of the **finance** for the social housing

master plan often shared equally**.** It is the social housing organisation who are responsible for initiating and running the social housing master plan (Landsbyggefonden, 2019 b). The social housing organisation is dependent on the municipality also identifies the area disadvantaged, as both organisations have to endorse the application. Even though the municipality endorses the application they are not required to pay half of the 25%, but it is common practice that they do (Mygind and Larsen, 2015). The social housing institutional set up incorporates the possibility for the municipalities to assign 25% of the dwellings to persons in need . This combined with the social housing organisations aims of having reasonable rent explains why 84% of the disadvantaged areas in Denmark are deprived (Iversen et. al. 2019). When it is established that both the social housing organisation and the municipality find the area disadvantaged then the application can be sent to the National Building Fund.

If neither the National Building Fund nor the municipality assesses the housing area to be disadvantaged, this leaves the housing organisations, or housing estate, in a position where they alone have to figure out their own financial capacity determining the amount of resources that they can allocate to an area. It is in the social housing organisations best interest as a business not to become or be a disadvantaged area because there is a risk that they cannot rent all their dwellings out. In disadvantaged areas there are often high moving rates, potentially residents having difficulties paying their rent, expensive renovations, short waiting list and the risk of having a hard time renting their dwellings. The social housing organisation is therefore dependent on the other actors if the areas are identified as disadvantaged because they cannot fund as comprehensive social and preventive measures like in a social housing master plan without the municipality or the National Building Fund's endorsement.

Social and preventive measures paid only by the social housing organisation is seen, however these measures would normally only cover a specific problem. This kind of measure would mostly be financed by the tenant's rent with an eventual raise of rent which is seldom received positively in areas where potentially many socio-economic disadvantaged live (Lassen 12:17).

Even though the housing organisations and the municipality collaborates on the design of the proposed social housing plan approved by the National Building Fund, it is the housing estate who holds the final decision. Thereby providing a **competence** on whether they wish to accept a social housing master plan or not. The board of the housing estate (afdelingsbestyrelse) are

the tenant representatives and they attend to questions about the estate's operation and interest (BL, n/a a). Since the board members are all tenants, they have one kind of **knowledge** on how the area is functioning in general in the everyday, based on their own experiences. The information can be used as a **legitimate** resource before the proposed social housing master plan is put in to vote at the housing estate's general assembly. A part of the general assembly goes to the discussion of the tenants are interested in a social housing master plan in the housing area and are willing to finance a part of it. The final answer will be determined by a poll with all attending tenants at the general assembly. The institution settings of tenants' democracy can be challenging because it is difficult to engage tenants, especially if the tenants are socio-economic disadvantaged. Additionally, the social housing master plan's measures are increasingly focussed towards the strategy against parallel societies (Landsbyggefonden, 2019). The board of the housing estate members are often represented by ethnic Danes as well as the attendees for general assemblies who are also often more socio-economically advantaged. It can therefore be challenging for some of the tenants to see the potential with the social and preventive measures in a social housing master plan, as the tenants which attend a general assembly might not be the target group of the social housing measure.

These kinds of relations and dependencies between the National Building Fund, the housing organisations, the tenants and the municipality indicate how intertwined and fragile the settings of the application system for a social housing master plan can be. In the case of a missing endorsement from any of the actors, the process can be blocked. A simple change can cause a domino-effect on the size of effort put into a disadvantaged area, because one actor alone cannot carry out the same kind of comprehensive effort in the area as a social housing master plan has the potential to do.

5.9 Sub-conclusion

1. *How have the amendments from 2018 to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing affected the effort to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas not on the list?*

When the amendments were implemented to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing in 2018, the Danish government's decision indirectly changed the regulation for the National Building Fund and, thereby, the distribution of subsidies to social housing master plans in two ways. The first was tighter jurisdictional guidelines due to the amendment to no. 1322 which led to the prioritisation of certain disadvantaged areas being entitled to financial support for social and preventive measures. The second was due to the amendment to no. 1561 that reduced the amount of funding subsidies set aside for social and preventive measures over the period of 2019-2026, thereby limiting the economic frame for social housing master plans. Because all the actors' involvements are so closely intertwined in the governance network for a social housing master plan, a change such as these amendments will potentially affect them all and thereby also affect the effort to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas. Since the National Building Fund is the financial biggest contributor for social housing master plans, this could lead to future implications to the effort of the municipal areas not on the list; it leaves a small amount of subsidies available to finance social housing master plans of all the remaining disadvantaged areas not on the Danish government's list. It is therefore expected that the total number of approved social housing master plans in the future will be reduced on a national scale.

6 The Municipal's Perception of Disadvantaged Areas

This part of the analysis will focus on the second sub-question: why do municipalities define disadvantaged areas differently from the Danish government? The following analysis chapter will use Klijn and Koppenjan's (2015) method to analyse and give insight in the perception of what defines a disadvantaged area, comparing the municipalities with the Danish government. The term 'social mix' is an integrated part of the municipalities' strategies of creating balanced cities without segregated areas. The theory of social mix therefore becomes the underlying aim behind the effort, even though they may not directly use the term. The analysis will start with Aarhus and Copenhagen municipality's perception of what a disadvantaged area is and the underlying considerations behind the chosen criteria to identify a disadvantaged area. The identification will be set in relation to how it differs from the Danish government's identification. Comparing perceptions can contribute to knowledge which redefines the situation regarding the effort in disadvantaged areas and puts awareness over potential conflicts that can occur, but also potential collaboration where perceptions do not collide.

6.1 Perception of Disadvantaged Areas

The understanding of the actors' relations and dependencies in the governance network related to the social housing master plans will be the foundation for the following analysis section. This section will compare Copenhagen and Aarhus municipality's identification and their respective strategies to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas with the Danish government's strategy. The strategies differ because the variable to identify disadvantaged areas from the compositions and concentration of residents in scale of area varies depending on if the identification is made by the Danish government or one of the municipalities. The comparisons are made in order to understand the municipalities' underlying justification behind their choice of approach to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas instead of solely using governmental identification. The difference between the Danish government's and municipalities' strategies have become enhanced after the tighter jurisdictional guidelines, based on amendments no. 1321, and no. 1561 to the legislation, altered the definition of disadvantaged areas and the funds allocated to social and preventive measures. The changed regulation from the National Building Fund gives

priority to the disadvantaged areas on the governmental list, while also assigning a lower priority to other areas.

6.2 Aarhus Municipality

Aarhus municipality defines and monitors the disadvantaged areas in the municipality using the 'categorisation model', as earlier mentioned in 4.3. The model monitoring the disadvantaged areas is a part of the shared data system BoSoc, which can create statistics about the specific housing areas in the city. All social housing areas with more than 500 residents are monitored based on eight socio-economic variables criteria: *unemployment, health of adults, juvenile delinquency, disadvantaged children and youth, low-income families, children's well-being, tenants from the age of 24 who have only completed secondary education* and *safety*. These socio-economic criteria combine to identify a disadvantaged area in the municipality (Mølgaard, 2018). The socio-economic criteria are compared to the municipal average, and these are then ranked within a 1-3 point system depending on how far the socio-economic criterion is from the municipal average. The total score is used to see whether an area is at risk of becoming distressed (see figure 6). Aarhus municipality uses the data to calculate the fastest negatively developing housing areas to figure out where the municipality should take social and preventive measures. These preventive measures are divided in four categories: physical tools, municipal services measures, the social housing master plans and rental agreements. The municipality has experienced the best effect by combining several measures at once (Jensen 15:10).

On the basis of BoSoc, Aarhus municipality and National Building Fund collaborated in a development project to find which combined socio-economic criteria characterised a disadvantaged area (Nielsen 02:20). It was essential for Aarhus municipality that the categorisation model was a work and prioritisation tool that could be used proactively (Nielsen 13:50). Their process to select the socio-economic criteria that identified a disadvantaged area seems to have been pragmatic in relation to what data could meaningfully be registered with social housing areas as delimitation. So, when choosing the criteria, the data had to be available in a frequency that fit Aarhus municipality's proactive approach (Fegar 05:37). This was expressed by Thomas Fegar, the leader of the Secretary to the Board of the Social Housing Master Plans in Aarhus:

> *"The categorisation model is a part of a proactive strategy against disadvantaged areas. The intention with frequent monitoring is to represent the area's current status. This is opposed to the Danish government's list based on retrospective data. This gives the municipality the opportunity to respond to negative development in an area. (Fegar 11:41)*

Aarhus municipality's aim with the categorisation model is that it should be a tool that can be used to respond to negative development in an area before it evolves to a disadvantaged area. This aim distinguishes it from the Danish government's strategy, which is criticised for legislating retrospectively (BL, 2018). The regular data extraction requires a close collaboration across the municipal departments and the housing organisations (Fegar 06:53). The process of creating the categorisation model involved all the departments in the municipality. Additionally, Aarhus municipality used data from the police about how safe the residents felt in an area. A socio-economic criterion they could not include was association participation, as it was hard to find data which could be estimated valid for representing a housing estate (Nielsen 06:13). Some of the socio-economic criteria were challenged in terms of numbers. For example, take the criterion dealing with criminal offences by juveniles. Only a few persons could have a big impact on the numbers - even though this was compensated for by using a three-year average (Nielsen 06:13). The categorisation model assesses the areas relatively to Aarhus municipality's result, and the social housing areas are "expected" to keep up with the development in the rest of the city (Jensen 10:57).

When comparing the Danish government's socio-economic criteria with Aarhus municipality's, the difference is that the categorisation model uses more socio-economic criteria, including *disadvantaged children and youth, health of adults* and *children's well-being*. Beside the different categories, the model compares the areas relative to the Aarhus municipality's average, while the Danish government's identification uses absolute threshold values, with exception of *income* criteria, which is compared to the region where the municipality belongs. The differences between using relative and absolute threshold values will be elaborated later in 6.4 about the significance of thresholds values. The categorisation model additionally monitors housing areas down to 500 residents, whereas the Danish government monitors from 1000 residents and up. However, Aarhus municipality is in the process of creating a model measuring housing areas down to 150 residents (Nielsen 48:08). This implies that, no matter what threshold value is set, it is arbitrary, and it must be thoroughly considered what kind of residents

the threshold values include and excludes. Aarhus's lower threshold value of 500 residents, and movement toward the 150-threshold, (which is significantly lower than the Danish government's threshold value) implies they find too many areas are excluded. There is additionally the risk with the strategy against parallel societies' requirement of limiting the share of family dwellings in disadvantaged areas will cause problems from socio-economic deprived residents to move elsewhere in the city. The municipality can be more quickly aware of the development if they have a more fine-meshed monitoring.

The other criteria in the categorisation model resemble the Danish government's definition, but also slightly differ. Where the governmental list looks at whether the share of unemployed residents between the ages of 18-64 exceeds 40% on average over the last two years, the municipality compares the share of unemployed residents with the average in Aarhus. Regarding the share of residents with a *primary and lower secondary school education*, the governmental list looks at if, for the ages between 30-59, it is above 60%; whereas, the municipality looks at those from 24 years old or above having an unfinished or on-going upper secondary education. *The share of residents convicted* differs a bit more because the governmental list compares the share of those convicted of a crime exceeding the country average by three times, and the municipality only monitors juvenile delinquency between 11- 17 years old. The difference between the Danish government and Aarhus municipality's model is illustrated in 9 table (Mølgaard 2018).

Figure 9: Difference between the categorisation model and the Danish government's criteria

Socio-economic variables	Categorisation model	Governmental criteria
Employment	Share of unemployed residents	The share of residents aged 18-64 without being unemployed
Education	Residents from 24 without a finalised a post-secondary education	The percent of residents aged 30-59 who have secondary school as their highest education level
Ethnic background	Not accounted for	Residents who have an immigrant status from a non-western country or descendants of parents from a non-western country
Crime/safety	Juvenile delinquency – aged 11-17 recorded youth crimes	The share of residents convicted of a crime
Income	Low-income families -share of publicly supported care facility spots	The average income of the residents aged 15-54
Vulnerable youth	Disadvantaged children and youth - share residents with day-and-night-care	Not accounted for
Health	Health of adults - grown-up receiving public income support	Not accounted for
Children's wellbeing	Children's well-being average school absence 0-10)	Not accounted for

The categorisation model from 2019 has further added the criteria s*hare of non-western residents.* The reasoning behind the choice is, according to the interviewee Anders Nielsen from Aarhus municipality:

> "*Earlier on, Aarhus municipality's categorisation model did not include ethnicity. However, in the most recently published categorisation model the compromise chosen was to show ethnicity acknowledging the influence the parameter has through national regulations, but ethnicity does still not count in the total assessment of the areas in Aarhus*" (Nielsen 08:06).

The quote outlines that the criteria of *share of non-western residents* has been included because of its significant importance in the national strategy against parallel societies. However, the criterion is not used in the assessment by Aarhus municipality, which differs from the Danish government or Copenhagen municipality where it is an actual part of the assessment. The choice of not accounting for this criterion when Aarhus assesses and calculates how disadvantaged areas are in total could be an indication that they find their already selected criteria enough to detect disadvantaged areas. Fegar expressed his opinion on the selected criteria to be the best design of the categorisation model that currently can be made given what data is available (Fegar, 06:30). The use of the word "best currently" underlines that, in the future, there may be a better way to identify disadvantaged areas. It also potentially refers to the fact that there is not one universally accepted definition of disadvantaged areas as mentioned in the context section at the beginning of this project.

The categorisation model was first published in 2017, which was about five years after it was created. The release was criticised by Annelise R. Lassen, the resident advisor for the disadvantaged area 'Håndværkerparken', which is not on the governmental list. Lassen thought the categorisation model should be kept as an internal work document among professionals because it can create an unnecessarily negative image of the housing area (Lassen 30:01). This point can be related to the governmental list, which is heavily criticised for unnecessary stigmatising of the housing areas on the list. A negative image can both affect tenants' self-image. It also applies for other citizens' images of the area and affects potential future tenants.

Another noticeable difference in how Aarhus identifies disadvantaged areas, is that they include areas from 500 residents, while these areas are too small to appear on the Danish government's list. This creates a big difference in the total number of areas which are defined as

disadvantaged or *particularly disadvantage*d in Aarhus compared to the areas on the government's list. In the published categorisation model for 2019, there are 16 housing areas in the category *disadvantaged area* or *particularly disadvantaged area.* Only two of these areas are on the Danish government's list. However, there is a third area on the governmental list, 'Skovgårdsparken', which the municipality only assessed as a potential future risk of developing into a disadvantaged area having a total score of 12 out of 24 (Aarhus Kommune, 2019). Skovgårdsparken has been on the Danish government's list four years in a row and, if it reoccurs, it will become a hard ghetto in 2020. The different methods used to identify disadvantaged areas, therefore, create some considerations of how the municipality should prioritise areas, as explained by Nielsen:

> "*It is a political decision that Langkærparken and Skovgårdsparken are a part of our prevention work though Aarhus municipality would rather follow our own evaluation of the areas, we have to take* precautionary *measures even if the areas are ranged lower on our list.*" (Nielsen 27:00)

The municipality has, for some areas, chosen to make measures as a precaution for it appearing on the Danish government's list. The areas prioritised in Aarhus municipality are, therefore, based on a "*combination logic*" where both the ghetto criteria and categorisation model are considered (Nielsen 26:19). However, there are also other preventive measurements for areas not on the governmental list. Examples can be found in Viby C and Vejlby, which are smaller housing areas that cannot appear on the governmental list, where the municipality has combined several measures that have shown to have the best effect on disadvantaged areas in Aarhus (Jensen 17:16). This shows the municipality does not limit preventive measures to housing areas on the governmental list only to avoid areas appearing on the Danish government's list, because then though the areas are small they can still be deprived areas.

Another issue remains in Langkærparken, as there currently is a social housing master plan; however, the area is presently defined as a borderline case by the National Building Fund and at risk of not being approved for a new social housing master plan. When asking Hans Christian Knudsen, the leader of the social housing master plan in Langkærparken, if the areas were still disadvantaged, he still thought there was a need for extra measures for the area.

He had seen a positive development for some parameters (Knudsen 26.43), but replied in

relation to extra measures *, "I would definitely recommend the board of the social master plans of Aarhus and the housing association to make some kind of initiative in the area*" (Knudsen 21:25). Fegar had the same impression of Langkærparken as being an area where a positive development had happened. Even though the area might not be granted a social housing master plan due to the reduced funding, he still assesses that the area needs a social housing master plan (Fegar 14:19). There is a consensus that Langkærparken is in a positive development, but that it still needs social and preventive measures in the area in order to no longer be assessed as disadvantaged.

In the interview, Knudsen underlined the social housing master plan's significant responsibility to ground the social and preventive measures because of the time-limited settings. He, therefore, pointed out that the important task of handing over the responsibility to the housing estates was essential in order to uphold the implemented measures (Knudsen 24:00). However, even though he has an intensified focus at grounding measures, he expressed that the housing organisation and the municipality were optimistic, and together had started the process of writing a prequalification for a new social housing master plan (Knudsen 16:28). This was despite the fact that the National Building Fund's regulation for social and preventive measures states that the areas on the Danish government's list should be prioritised. His actions of writing a new social housing master plan and his recommendation to the boards of the housing estate and the housing organisation to continue having the projects in Langkærparken, indicate that Langkærparken is still at a level where the area needs support and awareness.

To summarise Aarhus municipality's perception of a disadvantaged area is an area characterised to be unsafe and having a high percentage of tenants being: unemployed, need public support due to health issues, juvenile delinquency, disadvantaged children and youth, from low-income families and have only completed secondary education. The reason why these socio-economic variables are monitored is because they have a proactive approach to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas. Therefore, the selected variables are something the municipality is able to act on in order to change negative development in an area.

6.3 Copenhagen Municipality

Copenhagen municipality defines disadvantaged areas based on the five variables from the policy of disadvantaged areas mentioned in 4.2 about Copenhagen municipality. The variables represent both physical and social indicators that combine to identify areas that are

disadvantaged. The variables are: *unemployment, without education, ethnicity, low-income,* and *average square meters per citizens.* The variables are translated to a value between 1-5 relative to the city's average, which are added up giving a total number of how disadvantaged the municipality assesses the area to be. This has been illustrated by 'the yellow clouds' in the policy for disadvantaged areas in Copenhagen. It varies whether the 'yellow clouds' cover almost entire urban areas or housing areas down to 1000 residents.

When comparing the Danish government's criteria with the Copenhagen municipality, it is found that they are working with indicators similar to the Danish government. There is one variable that differs when comparing the two, which is the *average square meters per citizen.* The Danish government only includes social-economic criteria, while Copenhagen municipality's variables are related to physical measures. Additionally, the Danish government's appointment only includes social housing; whereas, Copenhagen municipality's data is based on old tax areas where different types of housing are mixed. The disadvantaged areas are, thus, not limited to social housing (København Kommune, 2017). The choice of including other types of housing other than social housing was a deliberate and strategic choice made by Copenhagen municipality. The advantage of including other types of housing is that the policy of disadvantaged areas could combine different legislations, related both to social housing and urban renewals and the affiliated funding (Jensen Buch 05:40). This way, the municipality did not earmark social housing as the only type of housing that could be disadvantaged (Jensen Buch 04:08).

The thing that sets Copenhagen municipality's method of identifying disadvantaged areas apart from the Danish government's, is that the Copenhagen method assesses the areas relative to the rest of the city, while the Danish government uses, with the exception for income, absolute threshold values (Jensen Buch 02:09). See in figure 10 the difference between the policy for disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen and the Danish government's criteria. The implications of using relative or absolute thresholds will be elaborated in 6.4.

Socio-economic variables	Policy for disadvantaged areas in Copenhagen	Governmental criteria
Employment	Unemployed	The share of residents aged 18-64 without being unemployed
Education	Secondary school as highest education	The percent of residents aged 30-59 who have secondary school as their highest education level
Ethnic background	Non-western background	Residents who have an immigrant status from a non-western country or descendants of parents from a non-western country
Crime/safety	Not accounted for	The share of residents convicted of a crime
Income	Low-income	The average income of the residents aged 15-54
Physical parameter	Average square meter per citizen	Not accounted for

Line Jensen Buch from Copenhagen municipality commented on the issue with the Danish government's definition of a disadvantaged area is being determined by cadastral borders. Copenhagen has specifically chosen to add a 30-meter buffer over the cadastral border to blur lines, because the municipality has observed the problems in disadvantaged socio-economic indicators exceeding these administrative borders (Jensen Buch 05:15). This is supplemented by the other interviewee from Copenhagen municipality, Stine Kofod, who states:

> *"Only few citizens are aware of where a cadaster starts or ends(…) let us say a specific social housing estate has a high degree of marginalised tenants and experiences problems in the areas, these problems would also affect the cooperative housing association across the street" (Kofod 04:49).*

This is consistent with the fact that Copenhagen monitors urban areas (byområder), which the Danish title for the policy underlines – "*Politik for udsatte byområder",* even though the translated title is *policy for disadvantaged areas by the municipality*. In that sense, Kofod finds Copenhagen municipality's approach to identify disadvantaged areas as more suitable than the Danish government's, specifically in relation to the policies effectiveness in alleviating problems in areas that are disadvantaged.

Copenhagen municipality acknowledges the Danish government's strategy and criteria. However, the fact that they do not just use the government's identification method implies that the municipality does not find the Danish government identification method an apt fit for their approach to alleviate the problems in disadvantaged areas.

Apart from the differences, it is notable that the areas on the governmental list are also defined as disadvantaged by Copenhagen municipality – the areas are within 'the yellow clouds'. There

is, thus, an agreement between the municipality and the Danish government's identification method even though some of the municipal areas are not on the Danish government's list (Jensen Buch 30:15; Kofod 12:07). An example of the Danish government's definition of a disadvantaged area differing from the municipality's definition is 'Folehaven' in Valby. Jensen Buch is puzzled by how Folehaven in Valby is far from several of the Danish government's criteria, as the municipality has considered it to be a disadvantaged area for a long time. The area is also on the police's list of areas that establish an extra police effort is needed. The Danish government's definition can, therefore, occur as an arbitrary approach; whereas, a professional assessment of the municipal area can find those who would be unnoticed by the Danish government's monitoring of disadvantaged areas in Denmark (Jensen Buch 23:30). Another example given by Jensen Buch is that:

> *"The Danish government's list excludes all housing areas under 1000 residents in the housing estate, for example, the housing estate Titanparken on Nørrebro, would be defined as a ghetto if only had been more than 700 residents"* (Jensen Buch 20:59).

Having absolute threshold values gives a clear guideline for whether an area can be defined as a ghetto, but there can be drawbacks for smaller areas not being included. However, when the identification does not conflict with the Danish government's identification, it adds extra focus on some areas on the list, but it also takes away the focus from the areas not on the list. The strategy against parallel societies has given the policy for disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen considerable power in budget negotiations that it might not have had before (Jensen Buch 16.42). The Technical and Environmental administration are responsible for evaluating the areas development based on measures from all the departments; however, the other municipal administrations are not responsible for pushing this agenda. The strategy against parallel societies has, by having clear consequences, given the policy for disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen considerable power in budget negotiations.

Jensen Buch further elaborated that she could see a possible drawback, if the municipality's definition of disadvantaged areas were identical with the Danish government, because the municipality loses the opportunity to criticise the chosen approach. Additionally, she finds there is an absence of thorough reasoning from the Danish government behind the threshold values for the different criteria (Jensen Buch 26:19). An example is the threshold value for income that

is a relative to the capital region of Denmark:

> *"The municipality is measured up against the Capital region of Denmark, where municipalities like Rudersdal and Gentofte push the average of income up due to high-income citizens, resulting in Copenhageners needing to earn a relative high salary to raise the housing area's average salary to the average of the Capital region of Denmark"* (Jensen Buch 29:15).

The consequence of comparing housing areas' average salary to the average of the capital region of Denmark, as opposed to a national average income, has the result that areas in Copenhagen are required to have a higher average salary than areas located in other parts of the country.

As previously mentioned, some of the municipal disadvantaged areas are not on the Danish government's list even though there are similarities between the Danish government and the municipality's variables. An example of such an area is 'Sydhavnen'. The interviewee from the housing organisation 'AKB' and the leader of the social housing master plan "Fællesskaberne" for Sydhavnen, Lasse Laursen, identified the downside of not being considered a disadvantaged area by the Danish government is the area is no longer assured funding for a new social housing master plan:

> *"We acknowledge the positive development in the area, based on the work we are a part of; however, I am worried what will happen if all the initiatives are withdrawn. **The area's development risks bouncing back and forth.**"* (Laursen 31:01)

Laursen is concerned about the area's development, as it may no longer receive subsidies before the social and preventive measures get firm grounding in the area. The project leader of the social housing master plan "Indre Nørrebro" for Nørrebro, Ditlev Jørgensen, expressed the same concern as the same situation applies for Nørrebro (Jørgensen 08:41). Even though both the municipality and the social housing organisations agree that the housing areas are disadvantaged, they are defined as borderline cases by the National Building Fund. Therefore, they are potentially not considered as disadvantaged enough to get a new social housing master plan. Laursen has been working on the application for pre-qualification, but elaborated:

"There is no doubt it will be challenging to get a new authorisation of a social housing master plan to Sydhavn, because of the chosen threshold values of the criteria the government and the National Building Fund use" (Laursen 24:58).

This indicates there is uncertainty as to whether they will manage to get a new social housing master plan. This is near-identical to the case of Langkærparken in Aarhus. The challenge, therefore, seems to be that the measures can be a part of a positive transformation that gets the areas off the Danish government's list. However, the time-limited measures and the allocated financial resources can determine whether the intertwined problems causing the housing area to be disadvantaged are resolved. If not, the area risks reappearing on the governmental list causing the measures to start from scratch.

To summarise, Copenhagen's municipality's perception of a disadvantaged area, is an urban area characterised with more than 1000 persons having a high percentage of: *unemployment, without education, ethnicity, low-income* and *average square meters per citizens*. The reason why this identification method is used is because this way Copenhagen municipality does not single out an area and risk to stigmatising it. The identification method is, thus, used to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas and creating a more coherent city.

6.4 Threshold values Copenhagen vs. Aarhus

Until now, the analysis has been elaborating on the municipalities' perceptions of the definition of a disadvantaged area, and the underlying considerations there have been in the process of selecting the variables to monitor. Aarhus created a tool to monitor and prioritise resources in order to aim for *"A great city for everyone without any disadvantaged housing areas"* as the agreement for disadvantaged areas states (Aarhus municipality, 2018:2). In contrast, Copenhagen aims for *"a city with no disadvantaged areas",* as stated in the policy for disadvantaged areas (Copenhagen municipality, 2017:4).

Both Copenhagen and Aarhus municipality have, as a part of planning for their cities, created these policy documents with the aim to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas. When making these policies, they have also chosen what they perceived as disadvantaged areas and have determined what variables identify these areas. This thereby provides the municipalities their own guidelines. The municipalities' variables align in the criteria: un*employment,*

education, ethnicity and low-income.

However, the municipality's approach deviates in some variables. Copenhagen has included physical variables and chosen to include other types of housing, because they see the problems related to the disadvantaged areas are not confined within the cadastral border; meanwhile, Aarhus only includes social housing. This, due to the categorisation model, is a collaboration between the social housing organisations and the municipality. Another variable where the municipalities' approaches differ is related to their use of the *share of non-western residents.* Aarhus emphasised the point that their measure should be a proactive tool. They, therefore, only have included the monitoring because it has a big an influence on the national regulation; however, ethnicity is not a variable which the municipalities can act on. Thus, it is not accounted for in the categorisation model (Fegar 11:4; Nielsen 08:06).

On the other hand, Aarhus has more variables than Copenhagen. The variables include: *health of adults, disadvantaged children and youth, low-income families, children's well-being,* and *safety.* Besides this, another major difference is the different scale of areas which is apparent when comparing the municipalities' respective identification of disadvantaged areas. Aarhus includes areas going down to 500 residents, while Copenhagen identifies urban areas from 1000 residents and up. The different identification method could imply different approaches to alleviating problems in disadvantaged areas. However, like Copenhagen focuses on strategic approaches to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas, Fegar expresses he experiences a similar strategic focus based on how the disadvantaged areas can become more integrated in the city Aarhus' development (Fegar 41:00). As previously mentioned in the perception of the municipalities, both municipalities use relative threshold values except for scale of an area. The challenge with relative threshold values is exemplified by Anne Emilie Jensen from Aarhus municipality:

> *"If the city of Aarhus experiences positive development, the disadvantaged areas have to develop significantly, you may say they have to overperform. Otherwise the categorisation model will give the impression they are not developing despite they are experiencing a constant positive development"* (Jensen 12:30)

Relative thresholds are useful in the sense that, when implemented in the identification method, there is an expectation that city areas are developing at the same pace as the rest of the city. This ensures areas are not "left behind", but if the disadvantaged area experiences a stable development while there is a positive development in the rest of the city, the disadvantaged area would show a negative development because relative thresholds are used. For the disadvantaged area to change its status, it must have a faster positive development than the rest of the municipality or region. This is a point the municipalities should be aware of when using relative scales. Apart from that, the municipal identification methods are taken into account that no area is "left behind". While the municipalities use relative thresholds values, the criteria on the Danish government's list are all absolute besides income. Kofod expresses the challenge with absolute values is maintaining a focus on the municipal areas, which are no longer on the Danish government's list

"*It becomes a challenge to keep both identifications in the politician's awareness. Right now the regulations for parallel societies take all the focus, because we have to implement such severe measures in the hard ghetto areas and implement several big development plans (…) and when an area like Gadelandet/Husumgård is no longer on the list, it is still important continuously to emphasise that we still identify the area as disadvantaged (Kofod 05.35).*

The quote underlines the point that the areas which are no longer on the Danish government's list are at risk of being given a lower priority than areas on the list. Additionally, it points to the disadvantage of having absolute values to define if an area is disadvantaged, because the criteria which improved for the tenants in Gadelandet/Husumgård were an income raise of one percentage point (Transport og Boligministeriet, 2019). Just enough to take it above the criterion's threshold value. The advantages with absolute threshold values are there is no doubt if the areas fulfil the criteria or not.

On the other hand, the risk is that areas can bounce on and off the list based on random circumstances. These could for example be 15 residents becoming employed, or societal changes (BL, 2018). A current example of major societal change is the Corona Pandemic. The pandemic has had a big impact on the economy and organisations, especially affecting those employed on fixed duration contracts. The Danish government has, therefore, been advised to

suspend the assessment of disadvantaged areas for the next years and the consequences related to be a hard ghetto area. This is because the share of unemployed people has increased significantly in general, but specifically so in the disadvantaged areas. This is due to lower levels of education and work in service businesses; therefore, people in disadvantaged areas are more likely to be the first to be dismissed (Dahlin, 2020). The difference between the municipalities and the Danish government's definition of disadvantaged areas are, therefore, situated in the different use of relative or absolute values. Combined with their focus on creating coherent municipalities, in opposition to the Danish government's more limited focus on housing estates.

6.5 Sub-conclusion

2. *Why do municipalities define disadvantaged areas differently from the government?*

A big part of the explanation of why the municipalities identification method differs from the Danish government's definition is understanding how they identify disadvantaged areas and why they do it this way. Copenhagen municipality is trying to prevent the development of new disadvantaged areas with their policy and alleviate the problems in disadvantaged municipal areas. Their identification is not delimited to social housing areas like the Danish government. Instead, they see the problems related to the disadvantaged areas are not confined within the cadastral border; therefore, they include other types of housing in their assessment of disadvantaged areas. Furthermore, they include a physical variable of average square meters per citizen. This way they can include the regulation and funding related to the urban renewals in the approach. Their choice of monitored variables are, otherwise, almost identical with those used in the Danish government's list. However, the municipality uses relative numbers to compare the areas with the rest of the municipality rather using absolute threshold values like the Danish government. See in figure 11 an overview of the criteria used to identify disadvantaged areas Aarhus municipality, Copenhagen municipality and the Danish government.

The reason why Copenhagen identifies their own disadvantaged areas is because they find the Danish government's identification method deficient for how they wish to work with disadvantaged areas. Their approach differs from the Danish government's, because they work to alleviate problems in urban city areas rather than housing estates, as the problem is not

confined to a housing estate. Copenhagen municipality do not believe the problem in a housing estate disadvantaged areas can be solved, nor do they want to single out and stigmatise an area.

Aarhus municipality, with both their housing policy and agreement for disadvantaged areas, is trying to create a socially balanced city without any disadvantaged areas. They have a proactive approach because the monitor criteria can be acted on in areas and compare them to the average of the rest of the cities in the municipality. Despite some similarities between criteria used by the Danish government, such as: *affiliation to the job market, secondary school as highest education,* and *low-income,* the municipality also includes: *health of adults, juvenile delinquency, disadvantaged children and youth, children's well-being* and *safety* because they focus on health, children and youth. They also include areas down to 500 people because they find too many areas otherwise would be excluded. The reason why Aarhus identifies disadvantaged areas differently than the Danish government is because they find the identification method deficient for how they wish to work with disadvantaged areas.

Copenhagen municipality compares the variables to the municipal development by using relative threshold values rather than absolute values. This is done since they find the use of absolute threshold values is missing substantial arguments behind it. Instead, Aarhus municipality uses the total of eight criteria to achieve a more fine-meshed monitoring of areas. There is some disagreement about whether the share of non-western residents should be used in the assessment of a disadvantaged area from Aarhus municipality's side, because their aim is to have a pro-active tool that consists of criteria the municipality is able to act on.

In summation, there is a clear indication that the municipalities do not find the Danish government's definition of disadvantaged areas sufficient for how they wish to work with disadvantaged areas. Either because the purpose for using the identification is as a proactive tool to prevent the development of disadvantaged areas, or to not stigmatise areas and have the possibility to tap into other funds related to urban renewal to finance the work. This is not possible with the Danish government's identification methods.

Figure 11: overview of the criteria used to identify disadvantaged areas

Socio-economic variables	Copenhagen	Aarhus	Danish Government
Employment	x	x	x
Education	x	x	x
Income	x	x	x
Ethnicity	x	(x)	x
Average square meter per person	x		
Crime			x
Adult Health		x	
Disadvantaged children and youth		x	
Juvenile delinquency		x	
Children's well-being		x	
Safety		x	
Housing type			
Social housing		x	x
Both social housing and other types of ownership	x		
Number of residents			
500 residents		x	
1000 residents	x		x

7 Discussion

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the sub-question: what future implications are the amendments expected to have on the effort alleviating problems in disadvantaged areas and what could be done differently? The overlying assumption for this project will discuss the possible implications for the municipal areas not on the Danish government's list due to the amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing. The discussion will be structured under the themes: Future implications, unrecoverable relations and balance of power.

7.1 Future Implications

The overlying assumption for this project was the possible implications for the municipal areas not on the Danish government's list due to the amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing. The closer link between social housing master plans and areas on the governmental list will create challenges for the municipalities, as articulated by Nielsen:

> "*The regulation is a challenge, because it first provides the possibility for tools and funding when the areas are appointed disadvantaged by the Danish government's definition. We have noticed it is a challenge for us to initialise initiatives in areas that do not have the 'official stamp,' and we are thus working with political appeals to push the agenda in order to intervene in housing area's development before the areas have severe problems*" (Nielsen 19:07).

The possibility of receiving subsidies from the National Building Fund to intervene early in areas with negative development has, as the quote states, become more restricted. The social housing master plans will, to a higher degree, be granted to areas that are on the Danish government's list. This is due to the more narrow jurisdictional guidelines that are now defining disadvantaged areas, and it is coupled with the limited means allocated for social and preventive measures. The measures will thus be to handle identified problems rather than prevent them from developing, as had been the previous aim for social housing master plans. It is becoming more difficult to get a social housing master plan for areas that are not on the governmental list, and this has certain implications that are worth exploring. However, our interviewees did not agree on whether the inconsistency would affect the municipal effort in the

areas not on the list because of the different methods of identifying disadvantaged areas by municipalities and the Danish government. The assumption was questioned by two of our interviewees. Fegar commented:

> *"It is a theoretical assumption the hard ghettos will affect the efforts in disadvantaged municipal areas not on the list due to the cost of decommissioning the areas, but I acknowledge an extraordinary awareness of areas at risk of becoming a hard ghetto. However, I have not experienced the other disadvantaged areas as being forgotten. On the contrary, the strategy against parallel societies seems to move the social and preventive measures as well as the social housing areas higher up on the political agenda. An example is the municipal fund for social and preventive measures allocated by the executive board in Aarhus in 2019"* (Fegar 27:15).

Instead narrowly focusing on the areas on the governmental list, Fegar described experiencing a split focus in Aarhus municipality. One part discussed making sure no more areas were placed on the Danish government's list. The other part discussed social and preventive measures as having moved higher up on the political agenda. His statement was based on subsidies where grants have been allocated. For example, these are used in areas with under 1000 residents, which make them too small to appear on the list. The allocated subsidies for social and preventive measures to areas not on the list implies that it is a recognised challenge to get funding for areas not on the list in Aarhus. Jensen Buch articulated another similar consideration. She wondered whether the ghetto legislation subtracted subsidies from the disadvantaged areas not on the Danish government's list or if it added extra focus and funding to disadvantaged areas (Line, 16:42).

In Aarhus, there is a specific fund for social and preventive measures, and it has not been clear if Copenhagen has established a similar fund. However, there are urban renewal projects in several areas of Copenhagen that are in areas not on the governmental list, though these were decided upon before the amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing. These measures therefore neither confirm nor deny the project's assumption of potential future implications for the area not on the Danish government's list. An argument for the increased focus on areas on the Danish government's list is in the latest budgets for Copenhagen municipality. One of the headlines in the budget was "*A Significant Boost for the Seven Disadvantaged Areas,*" which referred to areas in Copenhagen that were on the Danish

government's list (Københavns Kommune, 2019). The allocated money for these areas over the next ten years will total add up to several hundred million. This accumulated amount would properly not have been set aside without the far-reaching consequences from the Danish government's strategy against parallel societies for the areas on the governmental list Mentioned in the case description in 4.2 was that Copenhagen's Municipal Plan 2019 states that their goal was to not categorise more areas as disadvantaged by the Danish government neither on the disadvantaged areas list or on the ghetto areas list. This goal is apparent for the ghetto areas, however it does not take the municipal areas not on the list into account, as they are geographically exceeding the areas on the governmental list.

The issue with the consequences for hard ghetto areas withholds the risk that the socio-economic problems just are moved elsewhere in the city or the country. This has been experienced in other countries in Europe, like the Netherlands mentioned in 3.1 about social mix. Instead, the municipalities' aim to prevent the emergence of disadvantaged areas seems like a more long-term solution. However, it is harder to figure out if disadvantaged municipal areas not on the government list -like Folehaven or Kulbanekvarteret - would have been allocated more subsidies if they had not been appointed hard ghetto areas in Copenhagen.

An argument related to whether the strategy has taken away focus and has had implications is how municipalities could previously and independently prioritise the areas that they deemed disadvantaged. Whereas now, it has become an obligation to decommission ghettos after the law was amended. The Danish government's strategy has some clear economic, material, and human consequences if dwellings are demolished. It has thus become a necessary task for municipalities. Likewise, both municipalities underlined that they only can have a certain number of on-going measures at one time. In Copenhagen, leaders were aware that they should be careful to not initiate multiple new development plans at once (Kofod 10:52). In Aarhus, it was pointed out that it is a political decision as to how much money the municipality allots and therefore how many measures, they would be able to initiate. However, a personal assessment was that it would be difficult to initiate 5-10 new areas within the current budget (Nielsen 22.09).

None of the interviewees rejected the highlighted focus on the disadvantaged areas on the governmental list. The reality is that resources in municipalities are not infinite and must be prioritised for specific projects. The authors of this paper's related concern is that there is such a

strong narrative around the disadvantaged areas on the Danish government's list linked with a short deadline result in the other disadvantaged areas not on the governmental list having difficulties in gaining traction, focus, and political will to support their cases. This concern is greater in Copenhagen than in Aarhus, due to Aarhus's frequent monitoring of area developments. This monitoring gives statistical data making it easier to argue for needed measures. Meanwhile in Copenhagen, they evaluate areas every second year in accordance with the policy for disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen. Likewise, the areas monitored have more than 1000 residents, resulting in many potentially overlooked areas. This begs the question as to whether Copenhagen municipality monitors areas smaller than 1000 residents for other reasons. Therefore, the concern is that the amendments have future implications for the needs in disadvantaged areas not on the list, which will be greater in Copenhagen than Aarhus. This is especially true because it is harder to substantiate a claim when the smaller areas' development is not monitored. On the other hand, because there is significant urbanisation pressure and the city uses rental agreement for almost all social housing areas in Copenhagen, the greater and perhaps more unfortunate risk and reality is that socio-economic disadvantaged might not be able to find a place to live in the city.

7.2 Unrecoverable Relations

The interviewed leaders from the social housing master plans in Langkærparken in Aarhus and Nørrebro and Sydhavn in Copenhagen represent areas not on the Danish government's list. They described positive development in their areas and saw it as a validation of the social housing master plan's effect. A general concern for the interviewed leaders was the potential implication that the areas not on governmental list would not be granted subsidies for a new social housing master plan due to the amendments. They were worried about the consequences of withdrawing the social housing master plans before the social and preventive measures had firm grounding in the area, because this would affect the continued development of the areas (Jørgensen 24:05; Laursen 31:01; Knudsen 21:25). The social housing master plan's work consists of measures supporting municipal services that are specifically designed to help residents living in a disadvantaged area. The project leaders of the social housing master plans identify the master plan's employees as the 'binding agents' between projects and potential participants, and they use their knowledge about residents to advance measures or

municipal services. The work to establish collaborative relationships with civil organisations and for relationships with residents takes time (Jørgensen 16:30; Lassen 28:03; Laursen 31:55;).

It is problematic to withdraw the measures from an area that just has improved enough to no longer be assessed as disadvantaged under the Danish government's criteria but not enough to ensure its continued positive development. Additionally, if areas develop negatively after social housing master plans are not extension, it is an indication that the measures were never able to get firm enough footing to resolve the intertwined problems that made the area disadvantaged in the first place. Some of the consequences of withdrawing measures in the middle of the process might include the loss of established social relationships with the residents. Another loss would be the financial resources invested in the projects, but because the measures did not manage to get firm footing in the area, significant success is not visible. The implications of withdrawing the social housing master plan from an area too early would therefore result in an irretrievable loss of knowledge, trust, and relationships as well as invested financial resources. This would naturally lead to an area's risk of returning to its previous disadvantaged state, and the area would risk reappearing on the governmental list. The worst case would be that every fourth year, the areas would experience a lot of effort put into establishing a social housing master plan only to see it withdrawn four years later.

There are consequences of withdrawing measures in the middle of the process, as it can lead to loss of valuable relationships that were both time-consuming and difficult to establish. If a new social housing master plan had to be initiated, the next social housing master plan would have to start from scratch. Just because areas have experienced positive development, it is not tantamount to the areas no longer needing a social housing master plan. The above-mentioned risks when ending a social housing master plan before the measures have firm footing in an area have expected but not definite implications. The leaders of the social housing master plans we interviewed still have about a year's funding left for their current social housing master plans.

The authors of this project therefore suggest a possible solution to the concern about the loss of valuable relationships and effort might be a 2-year extension for existing social housing master plans, which would allow the measures more of a possibility to grow roots and be more likely to succeed. This would extension the already established social housing master plans purely with the intention to ensure the activities continue long enough so they can become common

practices among the tenants and the local community. The requirements for the application process when extending a social housing master plan should be a relatively simple process compared to the normal application, since fewer financial resources would be needed. Certainly, this suggestion would still require the National Building Fund's assessment of the measures, the progress made, and the area's development. However, if the application entailed a similar process of writing a full social housing master plan, then it would be expected that neither municipalities nor housing organisations would assess it worth the effort. Another possibility would be to allocate the same amount of subsidies for social and preventive measures as there were between 2015-2018. This would give the possibility to grant more areas not on the list a social housing master plan.

7.3 Balance of Power

Following the project leader's concern, there needs to be a discussion of who possesses the power to decide how the National Building Fund's grants are allocated. In the analysis, it was established that the Danish government possesses the power, as they hold the authority to launch strategies and change laws. One can question whether it is fair that they use this authority to control how the National Building Fund administers the tenants' accumulated savings, as it appears to finance the Danish government's strategy against parallel societies. The question of why the Danish government holds the responsibility for administering the fund was also articulated by Knudsen:

> *"The National Building Fund's money is financed by millions of tenants' rent in social housing areas that have been collected for many years with the purpose to improve the areas, including social housing initiatives. However, politicians feel they have the right to or at least they have to take control and administer the savings."* (Knudsen 32:51)

The quote questions the fact that politicians claim jurisdiction of the National Building Fund but leaves it unsaid as to whether politicians should or do have the right to administer the fund. The amendments set some limited conditions for the National Building Fund to assess disadvantaged areas coupled with the allocated fund for social and preventive measures have been reduced. This has more or less removed the National Building Fund's opportunity to make a professional assessment of the areas applying for subsidies. The National Building Fund's

role has thus been reduced to be an administrator, because allocated subsidies are prioritised to the disadvantaged areas on the Danish government's list. This leaves negligible funding for borderline cases, which are the municipal areas not on the list assessed using the ghetto criteria. If the municipal areas not on the list are far from these criteria, they are subsequently excluded from potential subsidies from the National Building Fund. The only area not on the government list—that we know of—did receive funding for a social housing master plan is Husumgård. The argument for granting funding to the area was because it still is assessed a disadvantaged area under §91a, even though they got off the Danish government's list in 2019. The positive changes regarding the criteria included the income level increased one percentage point, indicating a positive development in the area; however, this could also just illustrate a random change. The implications of the strict regulations and the reduced means for social housing master plans to areas on the Danish government's list, leaving only a trivial potential allocation of funds for areas not on the Danish government's list. Additionally, the amended regulation limits the National Building Fund's role to almost only being an administrator of allocated funds. This has led to the question how the National Building Fund ended up financing the Danish government's strategy against parallel societies. Just as written in 1.5—about how the effort regarding disadvantaged areas was initialised, the Danish government's role has changed over the years. Now they state how the savings in the National Building Fund should be administered. The roles of the National Building Fund as well as the Danish government have both changed over time.

Altogether, there appears to be an imbalance in how the Danish government determines what a disadvantaged area is and how it should be improved, yet the same government relies on the savings from the National Building Fund instead of providing national financial subsidies to ensure that the task to improve these areas is manageable. Additionally, the municipality and the housing organisation hold the responsibility to fulfil the tasks, but they do not have a say in determining how the areas are identified or how the money is allocated. Therefore, we suggest an alternative that considers allowing the National Building Fund to act independently from the Danish government in this regard. The authors of this project do not have the final solution as to how this could best be carried out but have reflected upon two realistic options. It seems clear that consideration, study, and discussion need to be allowed on the topic of who should govern how the savings National Building Fund's should be allocated. This could be done in two ways. The first option could authorise the board of the National Building Fund to have the authority to

decide how the money should be allocated. The board represents both the social housing interest organisation BL, the Danish Tenants' Organisation (Lejernes Landsorganisation), Copenhagen or Frederiksberg municipality, and the Local Government Denmark (KL) (Landbyggefonden, n/a a). They already stipulate the regulative framework for the National Building Fund, and, in addition, their role could expand to include decision-making power as to how subsidies should be allocated. This second option would, to a higher degree, move authority to the stakeholders who actually have the concrete task of alleviating problems in disadvantaged areas. The other possibility of who could have the authority would be BL, who represents the social housing organisations and tenants. This would increase the tenants' opportunity to influence how the savings are used. However, it would also limit the municipality's influence. No matter what, both possibilities would address the current imbalance related to who has the authority to decide how the money should be spent, who contributed to the accumulated savings, as well as the stakeholders whose task it is to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas. The most primary stakeholders would then be a part of the process to decide how money is allocated for improvements. The suggested solutions should be discussed further if implemented.

7.4 Sub-conclusion

3. What future implications can the amendments be expected to have on the effort in municipal areas not on the Danish government's list and what could be done differently?

When assessing the expected future implication of the amendments regarding the effort in municipal areas not on the Danish government's list, it has been underlined these disadvantaged areas will have difficulties to create focus and political will to support their case due to the strong "negative" narrative and the short deadline for the hard ghetto areas. Because of the different identification methods, the concern is greater for disadvantaged areas not on the list in Copenhagen municipality than Aarhus municipality. This is due to Aarhus municipality having a more fine meshed but also frequent monitoring of housing areas. This monitoring can be used to argue for areas needing social and preventive measures. Copenhagen municipality's policy for disadvantaged areas only monitors urban areas with more than 1000 residents and evaluates these areas status every second year. Negative developing areas can thus be overseen, and it is harder to substantiate a claim when smaller areas are not monitored.

Another future implication is the withdrawal of social housing master plans before the social and preventive measures have got firm grounding in the disadvantaged area. If the measures are withdrawn the established effort and relations will be unrecoverable thereby interfering with the area's positive development. A solution to this issue could be the possibility to extent the social housing master plan for the area based on an assessment by the National Building Fund. In order to make it worth the effort for the local municipality and housing organisations the application process has to be less comprehensive since it involves a smaller allocation of subsidies. Furthermore, the narrow definition of disadvantaged areas identified by Danish government identifies some very specific areas, which they allocate funding for through the National Building Fund instead of allocating national subsidies to it. This creates an imbalance between the municipal and social housing organisations who hold the task to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas. However, they cannot influence how the funding is allocated. Neither do the tenants who have accumulated the savings influence the allocation.

A consideration to resolve the imbalance could be to change who governs the accumulated savings in the National Building Fund. One solution could be the board of the National Building Fund because the municipality and housing organisation are represented. They are already stipulating the regulations for the National Building Fund; their role could expand to include decision-making power as to how subsidies should be allocated. Another solution could be the interest organisation BL since they represent both the housing organisation and the tenants. This would to a higher degree move authority to the actors who have the task of alleviating the disadvantaged areas. The tenants would, to a higher degree, have the opportunity to influence how their savings are used though it would limit the municipality's influence. Both solutions would, no matter what, change the imbalance there is now. It would give the actors whose task is to prevent and alleviate the disadvantaged areas the opportunity to be a part of the process of how the money is allocated. However, the suggested solution should be discussed further if implemented.

8 Conclusion

The aim of this research project was to examine the discrepancy between how disadvantaged areas are identified by the municipalities and the Danish government. The discrepancy has the result that some of the areas categorised as disadvantaged by the municipalities are not on the Danish government's list. The study, therefore, set out to investigate the effect of how the inconsistency affects the municipal areas not on the list.

The inconsistencies between the Danish government's definition of disadvantaged areas and the municipalities were consolidated by the amendments from 2018 to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing, because the definition of what a disadvantaged area was changed and became very specific. To examine the inconsistency, the study took the approach of a case study using Copenhagen and Aarhus municipalities as cases. They were chosen as information-oriented critical cases to achieve as much information as possible, because this type of case activates more actors and mechanisms, and in the process, reveals more information about the causes and consequences of the problem. Both Copenhagen and Aarhus municipality have, as a part of their urban planning, created a method to actively evaluate and assess the municipal development. The methods are specialised to identify disadvantaged areas and the identification is used by both municipalities to prioritise the municipality's resources and effort. The cases are critical cases, which give the possibility to generalise by making the assumption. This project's assumption is:

> "*If it is valid that disadvantaged areas not on the Danish government's list are affected by the inconsistent identification of disadvantaged areas in municipalities like Copenhagen or Aarhus, which are the most resourceful municipalities in Denmark, then the same is valid for municipalities with fewer resources and, therefore, valid in all (or many) cases*".

To answer the assumption, interviews were done with the main actors in the application process for social housing master plans, a preventive approach under the National Building Fund to resolve the issues in disadvantaged areas. This project was delimited to examine these measures as they are directed toward social housing. Social housing withholds the majority of

the disadvantaged housing areas in Denmark and the National Building Fund is the main contributor of measures regarding this type of housing. The project conducted nine interviews with an identical interview design for the two municipalities. One interview was with the National Building Fund to understand how the amendments had affected the prioritisation of allocated subsidies of social housing master plans. For each case, municipality interviews were conducted with two persons from the municipalities with knowledge of the considerations behind the method to identify disadvantaged areas by the municipality. Additionally, two interviews were conducted in both municipalities with a representative from a disadvantaged area not on the Danish government's list.

This study finds the 2018 amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing affect the effort to alleviate problems in disadvantaged municipal areas not on the Danish government's list. The amendments no. 1322 entailed a tighter jurisdictional guideline for how disadvantaged areas are defined and the following consequences if an area becomes a hard ghetto. There are two paragraphs related to the definition of disadvantaged area in the Consolidation Act on Social Housing. One is described under §61a, which is the definition used for areas on the Danish government's list. The other definition described under §91a is broader and less concise, and is the only definition the National Building Fund previously used to assess if areas qualified for a social housing master plan. The amendment entailed a change of the wording under §61a, which now not only defines ghetto areas, but also defines disadvantaged areas. If an area is categorised as disadvantaged by the Danish government and fulfils the criteria of having more than 50% of residents with non-western background, then the area is defined as a ghetto. If the area is defined as a ghetto for four years in a row, then the area is categorised as a hard ghetto. Being categorised as a hard ghetto has the consequence that the local municipality and the housing organisation are required to make a development plan to transform the area and reduce the number of family dwellings to 40 percent (before 1st of January 2030). If an agreement about the development plan is not reached, ultimately the Ministry of Transport and Housing can overtake the transformation of the area.

The amendment no. 1561 changed the economic frame for social and preventive measures, by entailing an annual reduction of means for social housing master plans at $ 92 million DKK. The National Building Fund is the biggest financial contributor to social housing master plans and covers up to 75% of the costs. The substantial social and preventive measures that the social

housing master plan consists of will, therefore, not be implemented if the National Building Fund does not subsidise the measures. The Danish government governs the National Building Fund's activities through regulations in the law. Since the economic frame for social and preventive measures have been reduced, the National Building Fund's allocation of means for social housing plans have therefore also been limited.

The combination of the two amendments has more closely linked the Danish government's identification of disadvantaged areas with subsidies for social housing master plans. These areas are, therefore, prioritised for subsidies. The closer link only leaves a trivial potential amount of subsidies available for areas not on the Danish government's list—'borderline cases' fitting the definition of a disadvantaged area in §91a. The current number of on-going social housing master plans is 71, while there are 40 disadvantaged areas on the Danish government's list. A reduction of the number of social housing master plans on a national scale is therefore expected due to the amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing, which affect the effort to alleviate problems in disadvantaged areas not on the list.

The reason why the municipalities define disadvantaged areas differently than the Danish government can be found in the considerations behind the variables and threshold values they use to identify disadvantaged areas. Copenhagen municipality uses almost identical variables to the Danish government's list. However, it does not limit the identification of areas to housing estates because it has observed that the problems related to disadvantaged areas are not confined within the cadastral border. As a result, the categorisation does not point to specific housing estates being disadvantaged; instead, urban areas are identified. This has the advantage that Copenhagen municipalities' identification does not, in the same way as the Danish government's identification, single out a housing estate with the risk of stigmatising it. Copenhagen municipality has also chosen to include the variable of average square meters per citizen. By monitoring both the social and the physical aspects, the municipality takes multiple aspects of problems into account and can therefore include the regulations and funding for urban renewals. This additionally supports Copenhagen municipality's approach to alleviating problems in disadvantaged urban areas. The municipality, therefore, does not assess the Danish government's identification method to cover sufficiently when the aim is to create a coherent city.

Aarhus municipality aims with its identification method of disadvantaged areas to be proactive; hence, it has chosen criteria it can act upon. Aarhus municipality uses eight criteria, which, aside from the criteria the Danish government uses, focuses on: *health of adults*, *disadvantaged children and youth*, *children's well-being* and *safety*. The municipality has specifically chosen criteria where data can be extract frequently because it wants to be able to act upon the negative development. This is not possible with the Danish government's list, because the data is only extracted once a year. Aarhus's identification approach is more finely meshed than those of both Copenhagen and the Danish government, as it uses more criteria and identifies housing areas down to 500 residents and works on lowering it to housing areas of 150 residents. It does not assess the Danish government's identification method of disadvantaged areas to cover the municipality sufficiently when the aim is to be proactive and risk overseeing negative development in some of the smaller housing areas.

Both municipalities use relative values for the variables to identify disadvantaged areas, while the Danish government's criteria mainly have absolute threshold values besides the criteria for income. Absolute threshold values do not relate areas' development to municipal development, and, as a result, the method does not support the municipalities' aim to create coherent cities. Copenhagen and Aarhus municipalities' definition of disadvantaged areas differs from the Danish government's definition, because they find the chosen scale, variable, or the choice of threshold values do not fit with their approaches to create coherent cities by preventing or alleviating problems in disadvantaged areas.

The amendments to the Consolidation Act on Social Housing have linked the social housing master plans closer to the areas on the Danish government's list. Furthermore, both municipalities acknowledge an intensified focus on the areas on the Danish government's list due to consequences accompanying the characterisation as a hard ghetto area. The increased focus is, thus, also on the areas at risk of being categorised as a ghetto area to prevent more areas becoming hard ghetto areas.

The future implication for the effort in the municipal areas not on the list depends on the municipality's identification of disadvantaged areas. Aarhus has a more finely meshed monitoring of areas than Copenhagen. It includes social housing areas of 500 residents, while Copenhagen monitors urban areas of 1000 residents. In addition, Aarhus amasses data several times annually; meanwhile in Copenhagen, they only evaluate areas every second year in

accordance with the policy for disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen. The municipal areas not on the Danish government's list are, to a higher degree, at risk of being overlooked in Copenhagen because the monitoring is not as frequent or as detailed. In particular, areas with fewer than 1000 residents risk being overlooked. However, the implications for the municipal areas not on the Danish government's list in Aarhus depends on whether identified negative development is accompanied with funding.

The future implications for the municipal areas not on the Danish government's list are that the areas do not get a social housing master plan. The concern from the leaders of the social housing master plans interviewed in the project is that the area's development is just positive enough to get off the governmental list. However, the concern is that the positive development will not continue if the social housing master plan and the accompanying support to social and preventive measures in the areas are withdrawn before they have got firm footing in the housing area. The interviewed leaders for a social housing master plan in the project represent areas not on the governmental list and are therefore 'borderline cases'. Due to the limited allocated means for social and preventive measures, only a limited amount of subsidies are available in areas categorised as 'borderline cases'. It is, therefore, expected the municipal areas not on the government's list will not receive funding for a social housing master plan. The social housing master will, thus, to a higher degree be used to deal with the issue of established disadvantaged areas instead of preventing negative development in an area from escalating. A potential solution could be to implement the possibility to apply for a two-year extension for the existing social housing master plans categorised as borderline cases by the National Building Fund. The application, however, has to be less extensive than the current application process if it possibility should be used.

This study has raised the important question of how the Danish government is governing the National Building Fund, and if it always has been this way? Additionally, if it is fair that the tenant's accumulated means pay for the Danish government's strategy against parallel societies. Earlier, the National Building Fund's task to assess and prioritise disadvantaged areas was more openly defined, but the regulation now identifies some very specific areas and prioritises them. Coupled with the cuts in means for social and preventive measures, it barely leaves room for the National Building Fund's professional assessment. In regard to the municipalities, they still have autonomy to define disadvantaged areas in the way they see fit;

however, the means from the National Building Fund is mainly restricted to the areas on the Danish government's list.

In regards to the assumption for this project, it has been found that the disadvantaged areas not on the Danish government's list are affected by the fact that they are not defined as disadvantaged by the governmental definition. They are, therefore, not prioritised for funding for social and preventive measures from the National Building Fund. The project used an information-oriented critical case because this type of case holds more information about the causes and consequences of the problem. The project found the disadvantaged areas not on the governments list in Copenhagen and Aarhus are affected. Copenhagen and Aarhus are the most resourceful municipalities in Denmark, and if it is the case for in these municipalities it is expected also to be valid for other municipalities not as resourceful or actively assessing as the municipality development. Thus concluding, that areas not officially on the governments list, are at risk of facing further socio-economic issues and moreover creating a pernicious cycle of areas that are forgotten.

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Appendix 1: General introduction

Intro præsentation af os og projektets formål ● *Hvem er vi?* ● *Formålet med interviewet*	Vi er en gruppe på to person, som er i gang med vores speciale på Aalborg universitet i København, fra linjen bæredygtige byer. Formålet med dette interview er at høre jeres arbejde med udsatte boligområder Vi forventer at interviewet vil tage en halv times tid og max 45 min, da vi ved de har en anden aftale efterfølgende
● *Interview rammer* - Tid. - Optages	Vi vil gøre opmærksomme på at interviewet bliver optaget. Optagelsen vil blive anvendt til at lave en transskribering og støtte vores hukommelse Interviewet vil blive behandlet fortroligt og gemmes i 1 år og derefter bliver materialet destrueret.
- Rollefordeling - Tvivl	Jeg kommer til lede interviewet ved at stille spørgsmål, min medstuderende kommer til at tage notater undervejs og evt. stille uddybende spørgsmål undervejs i interviewet. Du må endelig spørge hvis der er noget du er i tvivl om. Derudover vil vi gøre dig opmærksom på, at du deltager frivilligt i interviewet og at du altid kan trække dit samtykke tilbage. Du kan også fravælge at besvare de enkelte spørgsmål.

Appendix 2: The National Building Fund

Landsbyggefonden (Aviaja)

Intro, præsentation af os og projektets formål
- Hvem er vi?
- Formålet med interviewet
- Interview rammer

Præsentation af dig:
- Vil du give en kort præsentation af dig selv, arbejde og evt. tidligere arbejdserfaring.

Pulje 2015-2018
- Puljen for særlig driftsstøtte 2015-2018 er afsluttet nu, men vil du sætte et par ord på hvordan i vurderede ansøgerne til den pulje?

- Vurderingen består af både et kvantitativt og kvalitativt element lavet på baggrund af en beregningsmodel. De parametre der er opstillet, er der nogle som vægter højere end andre
    - Hvor mange søgte huslejestøtte, midler til boligsociale helhedsplaner?
    - Var der nogen som fik afslag - grunden hertil?

- I det kvalitative element udgøres af en vurdering organisatoriske forhold, der ligger til grund for gennemførelsen af den påtænkte indsats. Hvordan vurderer i de organisatoriske forhold?

Pulje 2019-2026
- Den seneste parallelsamfundsaftale fra 2018 ændrede kriterierne for udpegningen af udsatte boligområder og ghettoer. Har I oplevet, at jeres arbejde er blevet ændret i den forbindelse?

- Vi kan se, at der for perioden 2015-2018 var afsat det der svarer til ca. 230 mio. kr. til boligsociale indsatser, hvis man fratrækker huslejenedsættelser fra det totale afsatte beløb. Imens der i perioden 2019-2026 er afsat 140 mio. 2019-2026, hvis man igen fratrækker huslejenedsættelser.

    - Hvordan kommer det til at påvirke fordelingen af midler til arbejdet med udsatte boligområder?
    - Bliver vurderingen af prækvalificeringen baseret på et andet grundlag end tidligere når nu der er færre midler?
        - Skal området være mere udsat?

    - Hvilke områder har fået prækvalificeret boligsociale helhedsplaner efter tillægget er trådt i kraft?
    - Er der områder i forventede ville søge som ikke har gjort det?

Fremtid renoveringsstøtte og boligsocial

- I forhold til renoveringsstøtten, der kan vi læse at der er mange, som søger den
    - Hvordan vurdere hvem der skal have tilkendt støtte?
    - I bemærker i jeres årsberetning fra 2018, at støtteordningen også administreres ud fra et trang princip. Hvad indbefatter det?
- Hvordan forventer I at det kommende boligforlig kommer til at påvirke jeres arbejde
    - I forhold til hvem der får og hvor meget
- Tidligere har den særlige driftsstøtte og renoveringsstøtten været opdelte puljer. Forventer i at det det kommende boligforlig vil ændre på denne opdeling?

Afslutning

Appendix 3: Copenhagen Municipality

København (Stine)

Præsentation af dig:
- Vil du give en kort præsentation af dig selv. Hvad laver du til dagligt, og har du tidligere arbejdserfaring som har relevans for projektet.

Identifikation af udsatte områder
- Ud fra dit synspunkt, hvad er et udsat boligområde?
  - Har du gjort dig nogle overvejelser i forhold til valget af kategorier, som København bruger til at udpege udsatte byområder i "Politik for Udsat Byområder" fra 2017?

Kommunens strategi i forhold til regeringens?
I Københavns kommune udpeges udsatte <u>by</u>områder mens regeringen udpeger udsatte <u>bolig</u>områder. Københavns kommunes områder er større områder end regeringens.
- Medfører Københavns kommunes udpegning dermed en anden tilgang til arbejdet med udsatte områder?

Københavns kommune har valgt at bruge én metode til at udpege udsatte byområder, mens regeringen bruger en anden. De forskellige metoder medfører, at der er forskel på de udsatte områder udpeget af regeringen i forhold til kommunen samt graden af udsathed.
  - Er der nogen konsekvenserne ved dette?
  - Hvordan er denne forskel håndteret?
- Der er områder som ikke er vurderet udsatte af regeringen.
  - På hvilken måde vurderer du, at de bliver påvirket (fx politisk fokus el. finansiering)
  - Er der nogle områder du forventer vil have problemer med at få finansieret en ny helhedsplan?
I budgetaftalen for 2020 er der beskrevet at Københavns syv udsatte boligområder skal have et markant løft. De syv boligområder er alle på regeringens liste.
- Har regeringens seneste strategi for parallelsamfund 2018 påvirket kommunen til at ændre prioritering i forhold til nogle områder (fx Sydhavn, Folehaven, Indre Nørrebro el. andre)
- Arbejdes der stadigvæk aktivt med Politik for Udsat By?

Aktører
- For at få et overblik af hvem der er involveret i arbejdet med udsat by, så har vi valgt at tegne aktørerne der arbejder med udsat by – hvordan passer den med din forståelse?

  - Er der nogle vi mangler - offentlige, semi-private eller private aktører?
- Hvordan er samarbejdet?

  - Hvilke samarbejder er velfungerende?
  - Er der nogle som er mindre velfungerende?
  - Er der nogle parter som burde være involveret, men ikke er det?
  - Har de involverede parter ændret sig i forhold til hvem der er inddraget?
  - Hvordan har det ændret sig?

Afslutning Vi er nu ved at være igennem vores spørgsmål
- Er der noget du/I tænker er relevant at tage med her til sidst?

Appendix 4: Copenhagen Municipality

København (Line)
Præsentation af dig: ● Vil du give en kort præsentation af dig selv. Hvad laver du til dagligt, og har du tidligere arbejdserfaring som har relevans for projektet?
Identifikation af udsatte områder ● Ud fra dit synspunkt, hvad er forskellen på et udsat <u>bolig</u>område og et udsat <u>by</u>område? 　　- Hvilke overvejelser gjorde I i valget af kategorier til at udpege udsatte byområder da "Politik for Udsat Byområder" blev revideret i 2017? 　　　　- Var der uenigheder om nogle af kategorierne? 　　　　- Blev nogle fravalgt og hvorfor? I udpegningen af udsatte byområder bruges gamle skatteområder (roder), hvilket medfører at Københavns udpegning af udsatte byområder har en blanding af boligformer. ● Var det et bevidst valg at måle på disse områder eller blev valget taget på baggrund af data?
Kommunens strategi i forhold til regeringens? I Københavns kommune udpeges udsatte <u>by</u>områder mens regeringen udpeger udsatte <u>bolig</u>områder. Københavns Kommunes områder er derfor større områder end regeringens. ● Medfører kommunes udpegning derved en anden tilgang til arbejdet med udsatte områder end regeringens? Københavns kommune har valgt at bruge én metode til at udpege udsatte byområder, mens regeringen bruger en anden. De forskellige metoder medfører, at der er forskel på de udsatte områder udpeget af regeringen i forhold til kommunen samt graden af udsathed. 　　- Hvorfor er metoderne forskellige? 　　- På hvilken måde er metoderne forskellige? 　　- Hvad er konsekvenserne ved dette? 　　- Hvordan er denne forskel håndteret? ● De områder som ikke er vurderet udsatte af regeringen. på hvilken måde vurderer du, at de bliver påvirket (fx politisk fokus el. finansiering)? 　　- Hvad er konsekvenserne ved det? 　　- Er der nogle fordele ved at de ikke er udpeget? 　　- Har det en indflydelse på Københavns Kommunes mulighed for at arbejde med udsatte områder, som ikke er på listen? ● Har regeringens seneste strategi for parallelsamfund 2018 påvirket kommunen til at ændre prioritering i forhold til nogle områder fx Sydhavn el. indre Nørrebro? 　　- Har Københavns kommune andre indsatser særligt for disse områder (kernedriften)? 　　- Hvordan har i styrket kernedriften for disse områder?

	- Arbejdes der stadigvæk aktivt med Politik for Udsat Byområder? Landsbyggefondens pulje til boligsociale indsatser for perioden 2019-2026 er markant mindre end puljen 2015-2018. ● Har I kunne mærke det i forhold til fordelingen af midler?

Aktører
● For at få et overblik af hvem der er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte boligområder, så har vi valgt at tegne aktørerne der arbejder med udsatte byområder – hvordan passer den med din forståelse?
 	
    - Er der nogle vi mangler - offentlige, semi-private eller private aktører?
● Hvordan er samarbejdet?
 	
    - Hvilke samarbejder er velfungerende og hvorfor?
    - Er der nogle som mindre velfungerende?
    - Er der nogle aktører som burde være involveret, men ikke er det?
    - Hvordan har styrkeforholdet mellem aktørerne ændret sig efter regerings parallelsamfundstrategi?	

Afslutning Vi er nu ved at være igennem vores spørgsmål, men vi har lige et lidt overordnet spørgsmål at runde af med: ● Er der noget du/i tænker er relevant at tage med her til sidst?	

Appendix 5: Aarhus Municipality

Aarhus (Anders & Emilie)

Præsentation af dig:
    ● Vil I give en kort præsentation af jer selv.
    ● Hvad laver I til dagligt og har I noget tidligere arbejdserfaring, som har relevans for projektet.

Identifikation af udsatte byområder
    ● Ud fra jeres synspunkt hvad er et udsat boligområde?
           ● Hvilke overvejelser har I, i forhold til valget af kategorier som Aarhus bruger til at udpege udsatte boligområder?
           ● Der er fravalgt at kigge på etnicitet for udsatte boligområder på trods af at i monitorerer det, hvordan kan det være?
           ● I har udelukkende valgt at monitorer de almene boliger, hvorfor ikke også monitorer privat udlejning?
 	
    ● Aarhus Kommunes udpegning
           ● Aarhus kommune har relativt flere områder, der udpeges som værende udsatte i 2019 i forhold 2017/18 – Ved i hvad det skyldes?

Kommunens strategi i forhold til regeringens?
 	
    ● I forhold til prioritering så skriver I i indstillingen til byrådet: at der fokuseres på de 5-10 vigtigste boligområder og/eller typer af indsatser. Hvad menes der med dette?
           ● Hvordan udvælge de 5-10 vigtigste
           ● Hvilke er de vigtigste for tiden?
           ● Hvor mange områder vurderer I man kan have indsatser i?
 	
    ● Fordi der er forskellige metoder til at udpege udsatte områder, så er der også forskel på de udsatte områder udpeget af regeringen og kommunen samt graden af udsathed.
           ● Hvorfor er metoderne forskellige?
           ● På hvilken måde er metoderne forskellige?
           ● Hvad er konsekvenserne ved dette?
           ● Hvordan er denne forskel håndteret?
 	
    ● Der er områder, som ikke er vurderet udsatte af regeringen.
           ● På hvilken måde vurderer i de bliver påvirkede (fx politisk fokus el. finansiering)
           ● Hvad er konsekvenserne ved det?
           ● Har i nogle andre indsatser for disse områder
           ● I har I jeres budget for 2020-2023 afsat midler til fx Langkærparken – hvordan kan det være den indgå selvom den er i lav risikoområdet?
           ● Har regeringens seneste strategi for parallelsamfund 2018 påvirket kommunen til at ændre prioritering i forhold til nogle områder (fx Skovgårdsparken)

Aktører
- For at få et overblik af hvem der er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte boligområder, så har vi valgt at tegne aktørerne der arbejder med udsatte by – hvordan passer den med jeres forståelse?
    - Er der nogle vi mangler - offentlige, semi-private eller private aktører?
- Hvordan er samarbejdet?
    - Hvilke samarbejder er velfungerende?
    - Er der nogle som mindre velfungerende?
    - Er der nogle parter som burde være involveret, men ikke er det?
    - Har de involverede parter ændret sig i forhold til hvem der er inddraget?
    - Hvordan har det ændret sig?

Afslutning
- I arbejder for at have en socialt mikset by. Har Aarhus kommune sat et mål for hvornår dette mål er nået?
- Er der noget du/i tænker er relevant at tage med her til sidst?

Appendix 6: Aarhus - Det boligsociale Fællessekretariat

Det Boligsociale Fællessekretariat
Præsentation af dig: ● Hvad laver du til dagligt, og har du arbejdserfaring fra tidligere som har relevans for projektet.
Identifikation af udsatte områder ● Ud fra sekretariatets synspunkt - hvad er et udsat boligområde? ● Har du nogle overvejelser i forhold til valget af kategorier, som Aarhus bruger til at udpege udsatte boligområder? ● Hvad er din holdning til fravalget af kategorien etnicitet selvom det monitoreres? (Aarhus) Der er relativt flere områder i kategoriseringsmodellen der udpeges som værende udsatte i 2019 forhold til 2017/18. ● Har du et indblik i hvad det kan skyldes?

Kommunens strategi i forhold til regeringens?
Aarhus kommune har valgt at bruge én metode til at udpege udsatte boligområder, mens regeringen bruger en anden. De forskellige metoder medfører, at der er forskel på de udsatte områder udpeget af regeringen i forhold til kommunen samt graden af udsathed.
 	
● Oplever I nogle konsekvenserne ved de forskellige udpegninger?
 	
    - Hvordan er forskellen håndteret?
    - Har regeringens seneste strategi for parallelsamfund 2018 påvirket kommunen til at ændre prioritering i forhold til nogle områder? fx Skovgårdsparken el. Langkærparken
 	
Der er områder i Aarhus som ikke er vurderet udsatte af regeringen.
● Har I oplevet at disse områder bliver påvirkede?
 	
    - Hvordan fx politisk fokus el. finansiering
    - Hvad er konsekvenserne ved det?
 	
Landsbyggefondens pulje til boligsociale indsatser for perioden 2019-2026 er markant mindre end puljen 2015-2018.
● Har I kunne mærke det i forhold til fordelingen af midler?
 	
    - Hvordan er vurderingen anderledes i forbindelse med prækvalificeringen?

- Har I været i dialog med nogle områder, som har fravalgt at søge på trods af et vurderet behov?

Aktører

For få et overblik af hvem der er involverede i arbejdet med udsatte boligområder, så har vi valgt at tegne aktørerne, som vi vurderer, er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte boligområder

- Hvordan passer den med jeres forståelse?

    - Er der nogle vi mangler, offentlige, semi-private, private aktører?
- Hvordan er samarbejdet?

    - Hvor går det godt?
    - Er der nogle som er mindre velfungerende?
    - Er der nogle parter, som burde være involveret men ikke er det?
    - Har de involverede parter ændret sig i forhold til hvem der er inddraget?
    - Hvordan har det ændret sig?

Boligsociale indsatser uden helhedsplaner

I har i Aarhus nogle områder med boligsociale indsatser uden helhedsplaner

- Hvordan adskiller disse sig fra indsatserne som har en helhedsplan?
    - Er der nogle andre aktører som er involveret?
    - Hvem finansierer helhedsplanerne?
    - Hvilke fordele er der ved deres struktur/opbygning (i forhold til initiativerne med helhedsplaner)?
    - Hvilke ulemper er der ved deres struktur/opbygning (i forhold til initiativerne med helhedsplaner)?

Afslutning

Vi er nu ved at være igennem vores spørgsmål

- Er der noget du tænker er relevant at tage med her til sidst?

Appendix 7: Interview social housing Copenhagen

AKB; Lasse; Sydhavn

Præsentation af dig:
- Hvad laver du til dagligt, og har du arbejdserfaring fra tidligere som har relevans for projektet?

Identifikation af udsatte områder
- Ud fra dit synspunkt hvad er et udsat boligområde?
- Hvorfor er Sydhavn udpeget som et udsat boligområde?
  - Anser beboerne afdelingerne som værende udsatte?
  - Har afdelingerne været anset som udsat længe?
  - Hvordan arbejder I i den boligsociale helhedsplan på at løse dette?
    - Hvem er jeres vigtigste samarbejdspartnere?
  - Hvad gør Københavns kommune for at løse dette?
  - Hvad skal der til for at Sydhavn ikke er udsat længere?

Kommunens strategi i forhold til regeringens?

Københavns kommune har valgt at bruge én metode til at udpege udsatte boligområder, mens regeringen bruger en anden. De forskellige metoder medfører, at der er forskel på de udsatte områder udpeget af regeringen i forhold til kommunen samt graden af udsathed.

- Har Københavns kommunes vurdering af Sydhavn som værende udsat haft nogen betydning for området?
  - Er der nogle fordele?
  - Er der nogle ulemper?
  - Er Sydhavn inkluderet i udlejningsaftalen?
  - Er der ændringer i ansøgningen af beboere?

- Hvad betyder det for Sydhavn, at I ikke er på regeringens liste for udsatte boligområder?
  - Er der nogle fordele?
  - Er der nogle ulemper?
  - Har I mærket en ændret prioritering i forhold til området efter regeringens seneste strategi for parallelsamfund 2018 fx politisk fokus el. finansiering?

Landsbyggefondens pulje til boligsociale indsatser for perioden 2019-2026 er markant mindre end for puljen 2015-2018.
- Har I kunne mærke det?
  - Oplever I at der er andre kriterier for støtte i forbindelse med prækvalifikationen?

Aktører

For få et overblik af hvem der er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte områder, så har vi valgt at tegne aktørerne, som vi vurderer, der er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte områder

- Hvordan passer den med din forståelse?
  - Er der nogle vi mangler - offentlige, semi-private eller private aktører?
- Hvordan er samarbejdet?

  - Hvilke samarbejder er velfungerende og hvorfor?
  - Er der nogle som er mindre velfungerende?
  - Er der nogle aktører som burde være involveret men ikke er det?
  - Hvordan har styrkeforholdet mellem aktørerne ændret sig efter regeringens parallelsamfundsstrategi?

Afslutning

Vi er nu ved at være igennem vores spørgsmål

- Er der noget du tænker er relevant at tage med her til sidst?

Appendix 8: Interview social housing Copenhagen

Fsb; Ditlev; Indre Nørrebro

Præsentation af dig:
- Hvad laver du til dagligt, og har du arbejdserfaring fra tidligere som har relevans for projektet?

Identifikation af udsatte områder
- Ud fra dit synspunkt hvad er et udsat boligområde?
- Hvorfor er Indre Nørrebro udpeget som et udsat boligområde?
    - Anser beboerne afdelingerne som værende udsatte?
    - Har afdelingerne været anset som udsat længe?
    - Hvordan arbejder I i den boligsociale helhedsplan på at løse dette?
        - Hvem er jeres vigtigste samarbejdspartnere?
    - Hvad gør Københavns kommune for at løse dette?
    - Hvad skal der til for at Indre Nørrebro ikke er udsat længere?

Kommunens strategi i forhold til regeringens?

Københavns kommune har valgt at bruge én metode til at udpege udsatte boligområder, mens regeringen bruger en anden. De forskellige metoder medfører, at der er forskel på de udsatte områder udpeget af regeringen i forhold til kommunen samt graden af udsathed.

- Har Københavns kommunes vurdering af Indre Nørrebro som værende udsat haft nogen betydning for området?
    - Er der nogle fordele?
    - Er der nogle ulemper?
    - Er Indre Nørrebro inkluderet i udlejningsaftalen?
    - Er der ændringer i ansøgningen af beboere?

- Hvad betyder det for Indre Nørrebro, at I ikke er på regeringens liste for udsatte boligområder?
    - Er der nogle fordele?
    - Er der nogle ulemper?
    - Har I mærket en ændret prioritering i forhold til området efter regeringens seneste strategi for parallelsamfund 2018 fx politisk fokus el. Finansiering?

Landsbyggefondens pulje til boligsociale indsatser for perioden 2019-2026 er markant mindre end for puljen 2015-2018.
- Har I kunne mærke det?
    - Oplever I at der er andre kriterier for støtte i forbindelse med prækvalifikationen?

Aktører

For få et overblik af hvem der er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte områder, så har vi valgt at tegne aktørerne, som vi vurderer, der er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte områder

- Hvordan passer den med din forståelse?
    - Er der nogle vi mangler - offentlige, semi-private eller private aktører?
- Hvordan er samarbejdet?

    - Hvilke samarbejder er velfungerende og hvorfor?
    - Er der nogle som er mindre velfungerende?
    - Er der nogle aktører som burde være involveret men ikke er det?
    - Hvordan har styrkeforholdet mellem aktørerne ændret sig efter regeringens parallelsamfundsstrategi?

Afslutning

Vi er nu ved at være igennem vores spørgsmål

- Er der noget du tænker er relevant at tage med her til sidst?

Appendix 9: Social housing Aarhus

Al2bolig; Hans Christian; Langkærparken

Præsentation af dig:
- Hvad laver du til dagligt, og har du arbejdserfaring fra tidligere som har relevans for projektet.

Identifikation af udsatte byområder
- Ud fra dit synspunkt - hvad er et udsat boligområde?
- Hvorfor er Langkærparken udpeget som et udsat boligområde?
    - Anser beboerne i Langkærparken området som værende udsat?
    - Har Langkærparken været anset som udsat længe?
    - Hvordan arbejder I i den boligsociale enhed på at løse dette?
    - Hvad skal der til for at Langkærparken ikke er udsat længere?

Langkærparken - Kommunens strategi i forhold til regeringens?
Aarhus kommune har valgt at bruge én metode til at udpege udsatte boligområder, mens regeringen bruger en anden. De forskellige metoder medfører, at der er forskel på de udsatte områder udpeget af regeringen i forhold til kommunen samt graden af udsathed.

- Hvad betyder det for Langkærparken , at de ikke er på regeringens liste for udsatte boligområder?
    - Er der nogle fordele? Er der nogle ulemper?
    - Har I mærket en ændret prioritering i forhold til området efter regeringens seneste strategi for parallelsamfund 2018 fx politisk fokus el. finansiering?
- Har Aarhus Kommunes vurdering af Langkærparken som værende udsat haft nogen betydning for området (gule i kategoriseringsmodellen)?
    - Er der nogle fordele? Er der nogle ulemper?
    - Er der ændringer i kommunens kernedrift?
    - Er Langkærparken inkluderet i udlejningsaftalen?
    - Er der ændringer i ansøgningen af beboere?

Landsbyggefondens pulje til boligsociale indsatser for perioden 2019-2026 er markant mindre end for puljen 2015-2018.
- Har I kunne mærke det?
    - Oplever I at der er andre kriterier for støtte i forbindelse med prækvalifikationen?
    - Der er i Aarhus nogle områder med boligsociale indsatser uden helhedsplan, kunne du forestille dig den tilgang i Langkærparken?

Aktører
For få et overblik af hvem der er involverede i arbejdet med udsatte områder, så har vi valgt at tegne aktørerne, som vi vurdere er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte områder
- Hvordan passer den med din forståelse?

- Er der nogle vi mangler - offentlige, semi-private eller private aktører?
● Hvordan er samarbejdet?

- Hvilke samarbejder er velfungerende og hvorfor?
- Er der nogle som er mindre velfungerende?
- Er der nogle aktører som burde være involveret men ikke er det?
- Hvordan har styrkeforholdet mellem aktørerne ændret sig efter regeringens parallelsamfundsstrategi?

Afslutning

Vi er nu ved at være igennem vores spørgsmål

● Er der noget du tænker er relevant at tage med her til sidst?

Appendix 10: Social housing Aarhus

ALBOA; Annelise; Håndværkerparken
Præsentation af dig: ● Hvad laver du til dagligt, og har du arbejdserfaring fra tidligere som har relevans for projektet.
Identifikation af udsatte områder ● Ud fra dit synspunkt hvad er et udsat boligområde?

Håndværkerparken - Kommunens strategi i forhold til regeringens?
 	
● Hvorfor er Håndværkerparken udpeget som et udsat boligområde?
    - Anser beboerne i Håndværkerparken området som værende udsat?
    - Har Håndværkerparken været anset som udsat længe?
    - Hvordan arbejder ALBOA overordnet på at løse dette?
    - Hvordan arbejder kommunen for at løse dette?
    - Hvad skal der til for at Håndværkerparken ikke længere er udsat?
 	
Aarhus kommune har valgt at bruge én metode til at udpege udsatte boligområder, mens regeringen bruger en anden. De forskellige metoder medfører, at der er forskel på de udsatte områder udpeget af regeringen i forhold til kommunen samt graden af udsathed.
 	
● Har Aarhus Kommunes vurdering af Håndværkerparken som værende udsat haft nogen betydning for området (orange i kategoriseringsmodellen)?
    - Er der nogle fordele? Er der nogle ulemper?
    - Hvad betyder det for Håndværkerparken, at de ikke er på regeringens liste for udsatte boligområder?
        - Er der nogle fordele? Er der nogle ulemper?
        - Er Håndværkerparken inkluderet i udlejningsaftalen?
        - Er der ændringer i ansøgningen af beboere (grundet I ikke er på listen)?
 	
    - Har I mærket en ændret prioritering fra kommunens side efter regeringens seneste strategi for parallelsamfund 2018 fx politisk fokus el. finansiel?
        - Er der ændringer i kommunens kernedrift?
 	
● Er det boligsociale arbejde finansieret af Landsbyggefonden, ellers hvilke puljer eller fonde søgte I til at finansiere det?
    - Hvorfor har Håndværkerparken ikke en boligsocial helhedsplan?
    - Hvad er fordelene og ulemperne ved at ikke at have en boligsocial helhedsplan?

Aktører

For få et overblik af hvem der er involverede i arbejdet med udsatte områder, så har vi valgt at tegne aktørerne, som vi vurdere er involveret i arbejdet med udsatte områder

- Hvordan passer den med din forståelse?
    - Er der nogle vi mangler - offentlige, semi-private eller private aktører?
- Hvordan er samarbejdet?

    - Hvilke samarbejder er velfungerende og hvorfor?
    - Er der nogle som mindre velfungerende?
    - Er der nogle aktører som burde være involveret men ikke er det?
    - Hvordan har styrkeforholdet mellem aktørerne ændret sig efter regerings parallelsamfundsstrategi?

Afslutning

Vi er nu ved at være igennem vores spørgsmål

- Er der noget du tænker er relevant at tage med her til sidst?