



Governing Urban Diversity:

Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities

Governance arrangements and initiatives in Copenhagen, Denmark

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1 Introduction

This report is based on research from the project DIVERCITIES. DIVERCITIES focuses on how urban diversity can be governed to create social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in hyper-diversified cities. The research was carried out in 14 major cities. One of them is Copenhagen. It is a declared goal of Copenhagen to be the most inclusive metropolis in Europe by 2015. A previous report on this research project (Andersen et al., 2014) analysed how diversity is understood and handled in Copenhagen. It became apparent that diversity is high on the agenda of Copenhagen Municipality. The report sums it up in the following way:

Diversity is seen as being crucial for securing the competitiveness of Copenhagen in attracting foreign labour, international businesses and tourists. Creating room for diversity both physically and figuratively is further seen as a means of combatting segregation by ensuring that all Copenhageners feel at home in the city and feel that they have a right to the city. Emphasis is put on securing employment and education for all, thus aiding the social mobility of individuals and the overall economic situation of the city (Andersen et al., 2014: 27).

The report also identified key challenges for the diversity efforts in Copenhagen. These related primarily to various aspects of managing diversity and less to ensuring resources for the efforts. First, cooperation with a large and politically controlled organisation such as Copenhagen Municipality is difficult and progress is slow-moving. Second, cooperation across the municipality's seven administrations is strived for but hard to realise in reality. Third and related to the first two points, ensuring a bottom-up approach on policies is difficult. Fourth, the municipality's vision of mainstreaming the diversity efforts is admirable but again hard to realise.

The aim of the research presented in this report is to identify and analyse a range of innovative governance arrangements. Governance arrangements are here understood in a broad sense as arrangements that intervene and steer the development in the neighbourhood in focus. The arrangements can be undertaken by governmental, non-governmental, grass-root or business actors as well as collaborations between these actors. They can be area-based from a neighbourhood level to a national or EU-level, or they can be based on a specific group of people. Attention was paid to the selection of a variety of arrangements for the purpose of this report. Furthermore, the arrangements were selected for their innovative potential and their positive approach to diversity. The analysis aims at a broad understanding of diversity, focusing on the extent to which the arrangements acknowledge the interplay *between* diversities i.e. ethnicity, age, lifestyles, conceptualised as hyper-diversity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). The arrangements all have as their main goal to foster social cohesion, increase economic performance and/or to enhance social mobility. In reality, most target or have implications for more than one of these. The three main goals will be elaborated upon in the corresponding subchapters of the report. Overall, the purpose of the report is to answer the following three research questions:

1. How is diversity conceptualised within the governance arrangement?
2. What are the main factors influencing success or failure of the governance arrangements?
3. Can we identify new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts?

These questions are answered through research conducted in the district of Copenhagen called Bispebjerg. This area was selected as it is a largely deprived area with a diverse resident composition for instance in terms of ethnicity, cultural identity and socio-economic situation. The area is dynamic in that it has a relatively high degree of residential mobility and a wide range of commercial and non-commercial activities. Finally, and key to this report, Bispebjerg offers a diversity of governance arrangements, differing for instance with respect to focus, target audience, activi-

ties and funding. The fieldwork was conducted during the period March-June 2014. In total, 11 interviews and one focus group were conducted, involving in total 15 individuals. The interviews are supplemented by written documents and websites where relevant.

The report is divided into four main sections. Following the introduction, the selected arrangements are presented in the second section. The third section looks across the arrangements, analysing and synthesising the combined findings. Finally, the report closes with a conclusion, summarising the key findings and discussing the links between the findings of this report and the previous Danish report on the DIVERCITIES project (Andersen et al., 2014) as presented above.

2 Governance arrangements

2.1 Arrangements targeting social cohesion

The first group of researched arrangements targets social cohesion. Social cohesion is a complex concept but relates to the existence of social contacts, social networks, social solidarity, social control, shared values and norms, place attachment and a shared identity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013:47).

Residents' Project Bispebjerg/Beboerprojekt Bispebjerg

Strategy, focus and organisation

'Residents' Project Bispebjerg' is one of three master plans for community regeneration currently running in Bispebjerg. The community regeneration master plans '*boligsociale helbedsplaner*' are nation-wide arrangements. The *goal* is to create a positive development on deprived and marginalised social housing estates and to improve the living conditions of local residents and the quality of life on the estates. The master plans are thus place-based at a neighbourhood level. In Residents' Project Bispebjerg, social cohesion is seen as a way of increasing the resources of the residents, which in turn can function as a foundation for gaining social mobility. Social mobility is thus an additional goal of this master plan. Three main themes have been identified as the most important agendas to build the Residents' Project Bispebjerg around: 1) vulnerable residents, 2) children, youth and families and 3) resident democracy. In general the *strategy* of the master plan for community regeneration is to take a unified approach focused on the coordination and cooperation between actors, projects and residents of the local area in order to strengthen the already existing resources as well as initiating new arrangements. As a consequence, cross-sector collaboration (between different social housing organisations, the residents and the authorities) is the very foundation of the master plans. The master plans coordinate and facilitate a range of initiatives that improve social cohesion and the residents' living standards. Thus, several arrangements presented in this report are set within or funded through one of the three master plans in Bispebjerg.

The master plans for community regeneration are a nationwide *organisation* initiated with a parliamentary compromise agreement on housing policy in 2005. The governmentally managed National Building Fund finances 75% of each of the individual master plans for community regeneration. The resources for the master plans come from the rent of the residents as all social housing associations in Denmark are obliged to contribute to the fund. From 2011 to 2014, € 117 million were granted to master plans for community regeneration (Boligsocialnet, 2014). The local municipality and the social housing associations represented in the area finance the remaining 25% of the projects together. Funds are applied for by the housing associations in close co-

operation with the local municipality. Each master plan has a four-year duration period, but extension can be applied for. Residents' Project Bispebjerg runs from 2013 to 2016, and the total budget of the master plan is € 2.14 million, the main expenditure being the salaries of the seven employees (about 83% of the budget). In Residents' Project Bispebjerg, the funding from the social housing organisation is co-financed by the residents on the estates through minor rent increases. According to the project manager, this is done "to create more of a sense of ownership amongst the residents towards the master plan". The *target audience* of the master plans are all residents in the focus area; in the case of Residents' Project Bispebjerg this means approximately 6,000 people on nine housing estates. Increased attention is paid to residents affected by one or more of the three main themes (e.g. children and families). The *activities* within Residents' Project Bispebjerg include residents' cafés, counselling regarding conflict resolution, residents' democracy and home maintenance, a fathers' network, a women's club, help with homework for schoolchildren, a holiday camp for children and club guides for children. The work of the project employees consists in organising and coordinating the initiatives as well as doing comprehensive outreach work.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

As the objective of the master plans is to provide good living conditions for all residents, diversity is embedded in its very foundation. The understanding of the concept is positive and based on openness: the objective is that all initiatives are open to everyone, regardless of e.g. ethnicity, age and socio-economic situation. The term diversity is not used on a daily basis, but is an underlying premise for the work, i.e. for the endeavours of obtaining a diversity of participants. What forms of diversity are given prevalent focus depends on the specific situation on the local estates i.e. whether the estates house many different ethnicities, many elderly, many families and/or many socially marginalised residents. Initiatives within Residents' Project Bispebjerg primarily deal with diversity regarding cultural background, ethnicity, age and socio-economic differences. Gender and lifestyles are addressed too. According to a consultant (consultant A) in 'BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark', economy is a key issue, as poverty is a challenge on many social housing estates across the country.

Main factors influencing success or failure

Cross-sector cooperation is the very foundation of master plans for community regeneration, and a well-functioning collaboration between social housing associations and local authorities is the most important *external success factor*. A unified approach is crucial for creating a more wide-ranging, but still coherent and coordinated, set of initiatives. The positive results of former master plans have established this form of governance arrangement as an acknowledged and respected governance tool. Three *internal success factors* are important. First, building a sense of ownership and commitment amongst the residents towards the local community is imperative as it makes both the outreach and the impact of initiatives bigger. Furthermore, anchoring initiatives in the local community is central to the continuation of initiatives and cooperation after the master plan runs out. A strategy to achieve such local anchoring is part of every initiative from the outset. Second, according to the project manager of Residents' Project Bispebjerg, the structure of the master plans for community regeneration allows for each project to innovate and initiate bottom-up activities, in spite of the top-down organisation of the master plans. Third, networks between staff of different master plans form an arena for the sharing of experiences and the exchange of new ideas and approaches.

A number of *external failure factors* exist as well. It is a difficult task when undertaking preventive work within the social field to provide the requested justification for the initiatives to the municipality and other stakeholders. Results are often too long-term and difficult to measure quantitatively. A second factor is the difficulties arising from working with a marginalised group of peo-

ple: Reaching the target audience is a considerable issue when the majority lead very isolated lives. Furthermore, the multi-lingual environment of e.g. Residents' Project Bispebjerg makes communication problematic (especially written communication). Thus, according to the project manager, the demands for communication and outreach work are very high. The most important *internal failure factor* is the potential failure of the master plan to establish itself as a familiar and trusted actor in the community: As all initiatives are targeted at the local residents, gaining the approval and support from them and making them participate in the different activities is crucial for the master plans to succeed. Additionally, the positive effect of the initiatives is at risk of being lost after the four-year period of the master plan. To avoid this, creating commitment amongst the residents towards the initiatives is central to Residents' Project Bispebjerg. This commitment is challenged, however, by the high movement rates on the estates. Finally, keeping the diversity of residents in mind is continuous task for the master plans: Adapting the initiatives to the wishes of the more dominant and active groups can be at the cost of including some of the more isolated or marginalised residents. Some initiatives seem to close around themselves, i.e. the local women's network in Residents' Project Bispebjerg is dominated by Somali women thus creating an exclusive attitude in the eyes of other women.

Conclusion

The master plans for community regeneration are innovative in their unconventional organisational structure: They combine public actors on both national, city-wide and neighbourhood levels with associations (i.e. local NGOs), social housing associations and local residents. This innovative construction allows for a more wide-ranging, yet coherent and coordinated, set of initiatives. Furthermore, the unified approach makes room for the hyper-diversity of the residents. Thus, the synergy effects of working together and strengthening already existing resources anchored in the local area are the main innovative contributions of this initiative. However, as the problems targeted by the master plans are comprehensive and the target audience often marginalised and isolated people, the master plans are faced with profound challenges.

Club Guides in Bispebjerg/Foreningsguiderne i Bispebjerg

Strategy, focus and organisation

Denmark has a comprehensive for associational activities (including sports clubs, cultural associations, etc.) and being a part of this is a core element in Danish civil society, especially for children. The *goal* of the organisation called Club Guides is '*to contribute to equal opportunities for all children and youngsters to participate in the associational life*' (Culture and Leisure Administration, Copenhagen Municipality, 2014). Club Guides works for social cohesion through the inclusion of children (and families) of all backgrounds in Danish civil society. Furthermore, the project aims at increasing the social mobility of children from marginalised families through improving their capabilities for social life, education and as members of the civil society. In the case of ethnic minority children, guidance can be required, as parents of ethnic minority children do not necessarily have a background in a country with a strong tradition for such clubs. The project does not aim at emphasising diversity, rather it takes an integrationist or intercultural approach focused on supporting integration activities across cultures (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012). The *strategy* of the Club Guides is to aid the inclusion of children in associational activities through a guided introduction to leisure time activities. This is thought to have a number of positive outcomes: 1) being a member of a club demands both structure and responsibility of a child, 2) it facilitates social interaction with other children, possibly creating friendships across ethno-cultural and socio-economic lines, 3) it keeps children from hanging out on streets, and 4) as leisure activities are often physical, they improve both the health and the learning capabilities of children. Besides, it can strengthen the social cohesion between the entire family and its surrounding community, as

parents are expected to be involved e.g. in helping with practical tasks and participate in parents' meetings.

The Club Guides was initiated in 2003 and is *organised* as a city-wide, joint initiative of the local municipal authorities and the Danish Refugee Council. The project in Bispebjerg is co-financed by Copenhagen Municipality and the Residents' Project Bispebjerg. The main expense is the project coordinator as all club guides are volunteers. The resources of the project amount to € 4,600 annually. The funding runs out in 2016, after which it will be necessary to raise additional funds if the project is to continue. The *target audience* is children in Bispebjerg; the project is thus both people- and place-based. The *activities* of the Club Guides are organised around a group of volunteers. The family and a volunteer guide meet and discuss the wishes of the child, and the guide introduces the family to the practices and principles of Danish clubs and associations. The guide then organises contact and registration for the relevant activity and often joins the family for the first session in the associational activity. Furthermore, the guide can assist economically marginalised families in applying for economic support for membership of the associations. Finally, all families are contacted for a six-month follow-up session.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is not an explicitly used term in the everyday work of the project volunteers. Rather, diversity lies implicitly in the framework of the project: to help children of all backgrounds take part in Danish associational activities on an equal footing. While the focus is on all children of Bispebjerg, two specific kinds of diversity prevail in the project's work. First, Bispebjerg being a disadvantaged city area entails that socio-economic diversity is central. Second, due to the large share of ethnic minority families in Bispebjerg and the potentially limited knowledge of Danish associational life within these families, ethno-cultural diversity is another prevalent form of diversity in the project. Furthermore, the Club Guides are intensely aware of the hyper-diversity of the families they help. The children and the families have different needs, wishes and lifestyles which need to be taken into account in the approach to the family and the club guidance. This is incorporated into the guidance alongside ethnic and cultural diversity and socio-economic situation. Thereby, the hyper-diversity of the children's and their family's situation is taken into account.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The most important *external success factor* of the Club Guides is the extensive and obvious demand for their services, indicated by a long waiting list for participation in the arrangement. This shows the success of the project but also becomes a success factor in that it ensures the continued support from the local authorities and has led to the establishment of a second project in Bispebjerg. Furthermore, marginalised citizens in the disadvantaged areas of the city are currently on the political agenda in Copenhagen. This contributes to the support for efforts like the Club Guides. According to the project coordinator in Bispebjerg, a key strength of the Club Guides is that the translation from theory into practice has been successful: The concrete initiatives have actually been able to realise the original objectives. In addition to this, two other *internal success factors* are central: First, taking a place-based approach as opposed to limiting guidance to children that are e.g. registered in a certain system or category makes it possible for all families in the local area to ask for assistance from the Club Guides. Second, whereas a professional inquiry of e.g. a social worker can seem serious and make the associations reluctant to work with the families, the informality of the young volunteers works as an advantage for the Club Guides. Often the guides become personally involved with the families and establish bonds reaching beyond the guiding sessions.

The biggest *external failure factor* for the Club Guides is the reluctance of the clubs and associations to admit children from marginalised families, the project coordinator states. He points to two possible explanations: First, the associations are afraid that these children will cause problems. Second, the associations prefer more resourceful families where parents are ready to joining executive committees, as well as chauffeuring to meetings and matches and back. Another external failure factor is the shortage of associational activities in the area: there are simply too few to meet the needs and wishes of the local children. Finally, a third external challenge facing the guides, although a quite infrequent one, is uncooperative parents. Unfamiliarity with the culture, organisation and practices of clubs or associations can lead to reluctance and rejection of the Club Guides by the parents. In addition to the external factors, there are three important *internal failure factors* of the Club Guides: First, the success of the project is highly dependent on voluntary work and the willingness of young locals to use their spare time on club guiding. The task of raising new funding when municipal resources run out in 2016 will lie entirely with the volunteers, thus making the future of the project uncertain. Second, “*club jumping*”, as the project coordinator calls it, and club-quitting is an important issue to deal with: some children quit activities shortly after joining them, sometimes to join other clubs and then quit these as well. The six-month follow-up is meant to prevent this by offering the families more guidance, if necessary. And third, the capacity of the project proved to be too small to help all children asking for assistance.

Conclusion

The Club Guides consider participation in associational activities to be of great importance for building up social cohesion and enhancing social mobility. The initiative is innovative in that it uses Danish associational activities as a way to increase social cohesion and integration across ethnic-cultural and socio-economic differences. Furthermore, it takes an inclusive approach based on the local community instead of focusing rigidly on citizens as belonging to one category or one part of the social system. The guidance is based on the child’s own interests and takes the situation and the everyday life of the family into consideration. Reluctance by local clubs and associations to admit children from marginalised families is a continuing challenge, along with ensuring enough resources for guiding the children on the waiting list.

Market Day in Fuglekvarteret/Markedsdag i Fuglekvarteret

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Market Day in Fuglekvarteret (a neighbourhood within Bispebjerg) is an annual one-day market in June hosted by the master plan for community regeneration called Residents’ Project PULSE. The day offers market stands (free of charge), food stands and music by local musicians. The main *goal* is for the residents on Residents’ Project PULSE’s eight social housing estates to interact with each other and build up a social network, which is thought to strengthen the local community, creating social cohesion and spaces of encounter in the neighbourhood (Beboerprojekt PULS, 2011). This is in line with the municipal policy ‘Metropolis for People’ which focuses on creating spaces of encounter in the city based on the idea that meeting different individuals in the city strengthens the tolerance and understanding of one another (Andersen et al., 2014: 13-14). Another goal is to create a platform where local institutions and associations can meet the local residents and to give the local residents opportunity to gain knowledge about initiatives and activities on offer in their neighbourhood. Finally, it is a goal to create positive stories about the on-goings in Bispebjerg, as a contrast to the crime that is often highlighted. The *strategy* is to create a space for people to meet in an informal way and to create this space on the basis of the local areas specific characteristics and energy. Meeting your neighbour is thought to make residents feel safer in their local area and more socially committed to the community.

The market day originated in 2012 when qualitative interviews with the residents were conducted by Residents' Project PULSE. These showed that for a range of reasons many of the residents felt insecure living in their neighbourhood. It was suggested that better opportunities for the residents to get to know each other was a way to minimise the insecurity. This was the base for a common activity. The market day is *organised* as a mainly volunteer-based activity. There is one paid coordinator from Residents' Project PULSE, and about 20 residents volunteering to arrange the market. Recruiting the volunteers is done by word of mouth. Facebook and bulletins have proved to be insufficient, as many residents do not use the internet or read the notes. Every year more volunteers have joined the planning committee. The volunteers' job is to take care of all the practical tasks, whereas the coordinator is responsible for keeping track of the planning. This year's budget is € 9,375 which is mostly spent on musical acts and a stage. The market is funded by Residents' Project PULSE and is thus a public-private arrangement. Initially it was envisioned that the market should make a profit, and this way expand year by year, but this has not been possible. The *target audience* is primarily the 2,000 residents living on Residents' Project PULSE's social housing estates along with local actors and businesses, thus making the project both people- and place-based at a neighbourhood level. The annual market day is the main *activity*, but a great deal of planning and practical work precedes this. The local actors and businesses are important to the market, as part of the activities is to inform the residents of what the area has to offer.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The term diversity is not used in this project, and unlike other initiatives the interviewed coordinator did not seem to regard the term as something positive, but more like a stigma: When asked about how or if the term was used, she answered: "*Would you like to have that label?*" However, the coordinator recognises that diversity is a premise for the market, when working within a diverse area. Their goal is to get most of the neighbourhood to participate. Thus far, there is an over-weight of volunteers with a Danish background and in previous years of visitors to and activities in the market as well. However, in 2014 it has been possible to include ethnic minority residents in the market day, both as audience and as participants with stands. It thus seems as though the market day is becoming a more diverse event, mirroring the local neighbourhood, and is moving from a more assimilationist approach towards an integrationist or intercultural approach (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012). The goal is for the market to mirror the local residents. As the market is still a new initiative, it is an ongoing process to secure this and to develop and invite a broad range of initiatives as part of the market day. While hyper-diversity is not acknowledged, different kinds of diversity constitute a continuously growing focus for the organisers of the market day.

Main factors influencing success or failure

An important *external success factor* according to the coordinator is that the market is viewed as successful and obtains a good reputation in the neighbourhood. This will secure the resident participation which is the very foundation of the market's success. The *internal success factors* are related to the volunteers. It is imperative to have dedicated volunteers, as they do all the work. Furthermore, as the market is still new to the area, outreach work depends to a great extent on the volunteers' social networks in the area. The volunteers can function as ambassadors for the market.

Four *external failure factors* can be identified. Firstly, getting local residents to participate in the market can be a challenge. According to the coordinator, the volunteers in some cases have to convince and bribe people to participate (with beers and sandwiches), which makes the outreach work strenuous. Secondly, it can be difficult to navigate in the numerous activities and projects in

the local area (and the city in general): If the market day falls on the same day as other popular initiatives, it may end up competing with these for participants. A third factor is the resources of the arrangement: Because the market is financed by the master plan for community regeneration, the continued existence of the market is fragile when the master plan ends. Making the market profitable or learning how to fundraise is thus important. And finally the weather plays a big part, as it is an outdoor market. Two *internal failure factors* can be identified. One is that volunteers are a fragile group where a lot of defection and substitutions can take place. Second, the Danish background of the volunteers can limit the potential for broadening the audience of the market day if the chosen activities and programme items only cater to a specific audience similar to the organisers. In previous years, the market seemed to resonate mostly with the Danish population. While this has partly changed in 2014, it is a continued task to secure the involvement of a diverse group of residents.

Conclusion

The Market Day in Fuglekvarteret is an event which has as its purpose to bolster the community, as well as to make residents feel safer in their local area. Attracting a more diverse group of participants is an area of focus, and it is hoped that the market will become a permanent activity, grounded in the social housing area called Vestergårdsvej. Currently, the struggles of the initiative show how hard it can be to set up something new and small-scale based primarily on volunteers. However, if the Market Day becomes well established, an innovative potential lies exactly in its small scale and the lack of a big administrative body. Small and inexpensive arrangements can add other dimensions to the combined efforts of the arrangements in the area in reaching out to the residents in the area, strengthening the social cohesion of the community and creating spaces of encounter.

Parental Association Use the Public School/Forældreforeningen Brug folkeskolen

Strategy, focus and organisation

Today many parents, especially the resourceful, choose private schools rather than the local public schools in Bispebjerg and in other disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen. This leaves some schools with a large group of disadvantaged pupils; creating a socio-economically homogenous student composition and a tough school environment. The primary *goal* of the Parental Association Use the Public School is to convince resourceful parents to enrol their children in the local public school. As the pupils will thus attend school in the neighbourhood they live in, positive effects are expected for the social cohesion of the neighbourhood. An additional goal is to support the social mobility of the less resourceful pupils of the local areas, as more mixed schools can ensure better education. The *strategy* of Use the Public School is thus to make the local primary and lower secondary public schools the natural first choice for all parents selecting a school for their children, and thereby to ensure a non-segregated school system.. The main challenge to this is rumours about the student composition being problematic and the academic level too low in the public schools. The strategy is thus to provide information and foster a sense of security. This is to be done by making parents of pre-school children more familiar with the local school and by trying to establish contact between the local families before their children start school.

Use the Public School is *organised* as a parent organisation. It was initiated in 2003 by a group of parents who felt that the public schools in their neighbourhood (Nørrebro) struggled with a range of problems regarding for instance quality of education. Furthermore, they found that the Municipality of Copenhagen seemed indifferent to the disadvantaged public schools. Today the organisation has grown to become a secretariat with three employees, 60 volunteering parents and projects in various areas of the city. The arrangement has thus moved from a neighbourhood

to a city-wide level. The organisation had projects on two schools in Bispebjerg in the years 2009 to 2011. Over the years, the organisation has been granted resources from different actors such as the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs and private funds. Despite the organisation being initiated as a critical reaction to Copenhagen Municipality, today its funding comes in fact from the municipality. The arrangement has thus evolved from being a grass-root organisation to a public arrangement. The *target audience* is resourceful parents, who are about to decide what school their children should attend (as parents are in general unwilling to remove their children from a school, where they have formed social ties). Thus the most important *activity* is parents talking with parents, getting them to share their experience of the local schools and circulating the notion that the local school is a good choice. Parents, who have chosen the public school, function as ambassadors, making presentations and functioning as good examples and informal advocates of the local school. The ambassadors are both of Danish background and of ethnic minority background, as an increasing number of Muslim families in Copenhagen choose Muslim private schools for their children. Other activities of the organisation are: a headmasters' network, spreading information about public schools (handing out leaflets and booklets), and local school teachers doing outreach work in kindergartens.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

A general objective in the Danish welfare system is that public institutions should reflect the surrounding society (Danish Ministry of Education, 2014). Use the Public School aims at this by making diversity in public schools a declared goal. As the project manager states: *"When everybody is different, nobody is different from the others"*. A diverse composition of pupils consequently creates equality among them. However, when about a fourth of the children in Copenhagen attend private schools, public schools do not reflect the neighbourhood they are located in. Use the Public School has a pluralistic approach to diversity, and identifies social integration as a dualistic effort which both affluent families and disadvantaged families are responsible for (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012). This entails resourceful parents not opting-out of the public schools. Use the Public School has a positive attitude towards diversity, and they highlight the benefits of it. For instance, the project coordinator describes how the schools should become better at using ethnic diversity and bilingualism in a positive way in teaching, stating that it is a resource to be different rather than a disadvantage. The organisation does not explicitly address hyper-diversity, as the main focus is on ethnicity and socioeconomic situation. However, the goal is to work for *'a socially and ethnically mixed'* public school (Forældreforeningen Brug Folkeskolen, 2014), thus pointing to a broader understanding of diversity.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The main *external success factors* are linked to the networks in schools and kindergartens. A well-functioning collaboration with such institutions, getting permission to arrange info-meetings etc. is necessary for the success of the organisation. The most important *internal success factor* is the bottom-up approach: The organisation is based on the group of ambassador parents, and they are a very important part of the success of the project. The parent-to-parent structure is the core of the successful work. According to the project coordinator, actions speak louder than words:

"When parents themselves have chosen to enrol their children in this school, other parents listen and think 'Hey. If she can [choose that school], then it probably isn't such a bad school'"

Three *external failure factors* can be identified: Firstly, public schools in Copenhagen are often depicted negatively in the media. This amplifies their bad reputation and complicates the work of Use the Public School. A second factor relates to the funding of the organisation, as the amount of resources received varies a great deal. And finally, but perhaps most importantly, the concen-

tration of disadvantaged families in Bispebjerg is very high. Therefore, it became difficult to create networks of resourceful parents who could work as ambassadors and convince other parents to choose the local school. Despite extensive networking, this obstacle is the main reason why the project in Bispebjerg turned out to be less successful than projects in other districts. Out of necessity, the Bispebjerg project consequently ended up taking more of a top-down approach. Along these lines, the main *internal failure factor* also concerns the socio-economic composition of parents in Bispebjerg. The parents participating in the project were for a large part socio-economically marginalised. This made them a fragile resource, and as a result the parent networks in Bispebjerg struggled with stability.

Conclusion

Considering local public schools a cornerstone of the social cohesion of Danish society and a key element in preventing negative social heritage, Use the Public School works against a segregated school system by advocating that the local public school be the primary choice of all parents in Copenhagen. Focus is especially on resourceful parents, as they are the most likely to send their children to private schools. Use the Public School takes a bottom-up approach where parent-to-parent contact and communication is the outset for fighting prejudices and negative assumptions about public schools. The organisation is thus innovative in that it utilises ‘the good example’ in the local community and the mutual trust and social network between parents. Thereby, the organisation avoids being perceived as part of the municipal propaganda and can create results that the public authorities are unable to. However, the dependence on engagement and commitment from local parents has proven a potentially fragile construction in disadvantaged areas such as Bispebjerg.

2.2 Arrangements targeting social mobility

The second group of researched arrangements target social mobility i.e. the possibility of individuals or groups to move upwards or downwards in society (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013:52). Social mobility can be defined in a broad or a narrow sense. In the DIVERCITIES project it is defined as the change in an individual’s socio-economic characteristics over time.

Lab2400 Talents/Lab2400 Talenter

Strategy, focus and organisation

At a time, when education is perceived as the key to success, young people who are socially and economically marginalised and have a long history of bad experiences with the education system can find it difficult to find a place on the job market and establish a successful working life for themselves. The Lab2400 Talents enterprise course (2400 referring to Bispebjerg’s postal code) tries to break with this paradigm and to use business enterprise as an empowerment tool for marginalised youngsters. The course is part of an overall municipal enterprise project focused on the city’s disadvantaged areas. The *goal* of this overall project is to increase economic performance, namely to ‘*promote enterprise, business development and social innovation in areas of the city that are characterised by a lack of businesses, jobs and mixed-function properties*’ (Copenhagen Municipality, 2014). However, Lab2400 has more of a social focus, as it is targeted at a younger and less resourceful group for whom starting up a business lies further ahead in the future. The main objective of Lab2400 is thus to increase the social mobility of these youngsters by empowering them and broadening their horizons. Nevertheless, the project manager does express hopes of improving the local business life to some extent. The main *strategy* of Lab2400 is to make the youngsters aware of the potential of entrepreneurship as an alternative way of making a living where a less conventional way of thinking can be an advantage. As the project manager puts it, the ambition is

for these marginalised youngsters to realise that they can actually make good: “*Because that’s how the story goes, you know, that an entrepreneur often goes against the odds*”. The strategy of the overall enterprise project of Copenhagen Municipality is to combine two sources of untapped resources: Areas of the city that are full of life and people, but lacking in local businesses, and aspiring entrepreneurs local to these areas. The overall project thus aims at facilitating business enterprise in these areas of the city. The Lab2400 course is one way of doing this through aiding the social mobility of the youngsters and sowing the seeds for entrepreneurship.

The overall enterprise project is *organised* by Copenhagen Business Service in the Copenhagen Municipality and runs from 2012-2015. The project is entirely financed by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs. Each year activities are set up in three areas defined as disadvantaged by the Copenhagen Municipality. In the spring of 2014 Bispebjerg is one of the chosen areas. The project in Bispebjerg employs two full-time staff members and one assistant. The *target audience* of the Lab2400 course is unemployed, unskilled, marginalised young people (aged 16-30) from the local area. The main *activity* is a three-month enterprise course teaching the youngsters how to develop their ideas, work out a business plan and present it to potentially interested parties. A group of local businesses function as a sounding board and chooses the winning business idea at the end of the course. The arrangement is thus public-private.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The focus of Lab2400 is socio-economic diversity, as the target group are socio-economically marginalised youngsters. The approach of the course, however, is to promote and develop the specific competences, personality and interests of each young individual. Hyper-diversity is thus key to the work of Lab2400. Socio-economic situation seems to be merely an entry ticket to the course. The perspective on diversity taken in Lab2400 is, firstly to challenge the ordinary understanding of the road to success and insist on alternative ways, and secondly to promote unconventional thinking as a creative potential that can generate economic performance. The project thus takes a pluralist approach (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012).

Main factors influencing success or failure

The most important *external success factor* of the project is political support and with it economic funding. In Copenhagen Municipality, the political focus on improving living conditions in the city’s disadvantaged areas has increased in recent years. Concurrently, entrepreneurship has attracted attention as an economic potential to be developed. This combination thus forms an important external success factor for Lab2400. The main *internal success factor* of Lab2400 is the combination of a bottom-up approach based on the course participants’ own dreams and interests and actual tools for the youngsters to make a life for themselves. A second internal success factor consists of the freedom that comes with being a new development project where the testing of new and perhaps unconventional ideas is part of the purpose and where mistakes are accepted. Being part of ordinary municipal management would entail that the approach, setup and success criteria of the course were fixed, thus leaving less room for innovation and creativity.

The *external failure factors* of Lab2400 relates to the cooperation with local actors in Bispebjerg, such as businesses, youth clubs, the cultural centre and the area-based regeneration project. Support from such actors is crucial in order to ensure the local anchoring and continuance of this line of work in Bispebjerg after the municipal project runs out. A number of *internal failure factors* can be identified. According to the project manager, the most important objective of the project is actually to make a difference for the lives of these youngsters: “*It cannot on any account become ‘just another course’ for them*”. The main responsibility for avoiding this lies in the hands of the project team and the teachers of the course. Most importantly, they must avoid imposing something on

the course participants. Rather, they listen to the participants' own ideas and let those be the starting point for the course. This can be difficult, the project manager states, because working for the municipality entails working with a lot of agendas and objectives, and it can be difficult to put these aside when they conflict with the ideas of the course participants. A second internal failure factor is the recruitment of the wrong group of course participants are recruited: At previous courses in other areas, more resourceful youngsters (many of them university students) participated, taking away the attention from the more marginalised youngsters. This made the latter feel excluded and they ended up quitting the course. Obviously, this is important to avoid, and as a consequence, recruitment strategies have been adapted for this course (i.e. to hanging out at the local youth clubs). Finally, it might be difficult for Lab2400 to realise the goal of the overall municipal enterprise project of improving the local business life given the target audience of marginalised youngsters and the focus on social mobility in this particular course.

Conclusion

Lab2400 aims at breaking with the paradigm of education as the only way to success and employs business enterprise as an eye opening empowerment tool for marginalised young people in disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen. The goal is to achieve social mobility for the youngsters but potentially also increased economic performance in the future. Using entrepreneurship as an empowerment tool in social work and combining this with a locally anchored, bottom-up approach shows the innovative potential of Lab2400.

Pastry Hill Integration House/Integrationshuset Kringlebakken

Strategy, focus and organisation

Many ethnic minority women in Denmark lead somewhat isolated lives: often they have limited Danish language skills, limited social networks and limited knowledge of Danish society. Often, they spend their days home alone with their children. The *goal* of the Pastry Hill Integration House is to empower these women: giving them the strength and the competences to create the life they want. These competences relate to everything from private life, social life and childcare, to employment, education and citizenship of the Danish society. Pastry Hill aims at fostering social mobility through empowering these women and girls as well as improving social cohesion by trying to include them further into Danish society and build up their social networks. The *strategy* is to encompass all aspects of the women's lives and to function as a springboard for them, moreover and help them acquire the knowledge and competences necessary to navigate in society with regard to work and education, public authorities and childcare.

Pastry Hill Integration House is *organised* as an association funded primarily by Copenhagen Municipality in combination with grants from various funds. The association is situated in a former bakery (hence the name) and was founded in 1999 in reaction to the isolation of many ethnic minority women (and to some degree their small children as well). Currently, Pastry Hill employs seven paid employees managing and organising activities and courses. Language lessons, homework help, childcare and job counselling are for a large part handled by volunteers. The *target audience* is girls and young women (up to the age of approx. forty): "*We want to avoid the mother-in-law effect of older women bossing the younger*", the manager of Pastry Hill says. The arrangement is thus people-based. The integration house offers a wide range of *activities*: Danish lessons, a playgroup for small children, job counselling, communal dinners, swimming lessons, a single-mothers' club, presentations about e.g. health, private life, women's rights and raising of children, election meetings, field trips to the national parliament, educational institutions, libraries, day-care centres for children and shelters for women. The activities also include an after-school club for girls (aged

12-18) helping the girls with homework, job application and choice of education, teaching them about their rights and Danish democracy as well as instigating social activities for them.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Pastry Hill aims to promote diversity as a strength. It is a deliberate objective to have as many nationalities in the house as possible (i.e. providing interpreters at the presentations). However, tackling the negative aspects following differences in e.g. culture and socio-economic situation is also a focus area. Working with ethno-cultural diversity and diversity in gender is embedded in the very objective of Pastry Hill, but many other forms of diversity are included in their work as well: Pastry Hill aims to embrace diversity in lifestyles and life cycles. Child care is provided for young children so that the women can bring their babies to language lessons. Single mothers have their own Supermom Club. The attempt to encompass all aspects of the women's lives shows that Pastry Hill recognises the hyper-diversity of their target audience.

Main factors influencing success or failure

A very important *external success factor* for the integration house is the recognition by the public authorities that Pastry Hill is able to reach some of the highly isolated women that governmental actors cannot. This ensures their continued existence. Additionally, the integration house's cooperation with municipal actors like social workers and health visitors as well as other associations especially in the local area, is an important success factor. One of the key *internal success factors* of Pastry Hill is the combination of child care and language courses: Initiating the integration of refugee and immigrant women in Denmark as early as possible is made difficult by the isolation that having young children often entails for these women. According to the manager, the option that the women can bring their babies and children to Pastry Hill is a necessity in order to ensure their attendance. Along these lines, keeping Pastry Hill a women-only house makes it possible to include women and girls who would not be allowed by their families to come if there were men present in the house. A third important success factor is the location of Pastry Hill: Easy access (by foot or public transportation) is necessary for the women to be able to show up, especially as most of them are unfamiliar with finding their way around Copenhagen. Finally, the experience of the manager is that *not* being a municipal actor works to the advantage of Pastry Hill as many of the women distrust public authorities.

Regarding *external failure factors*, the biggest difficulty for Pastry Hill is to ensure the sufficient resources for the house. The basic funding is ensured by the Copenhagen Municipality for a four-year term, but according to the manager, fundraising is a demanding and challenging part of the running of Pastry Hill, and it has become more and more difficult over the years. The most important *internal failure factor* of Pastry Hill is a not sufficiently strong commitment of the women and girls using the house. As all participation is voluntary, activities rely on the women prioritising to attend and understanding the relevance and importance of showing up. Lack of engagement and participation by the women is thus a barrier to the work at Pastry Hill.

Conclusion

As a reaction to the isolated lives led by many ethnic minority women in Denmark, despite tightened requirements regarding e.g. language courses and job seeking, Pastry Hill Integration House was founded fifteen years ago. Since then, it has been an objective for the house to be a springboard for the women to the rest of society and to give them the strength and the competences to create the life they want. Pastry Hill encompasses all aspects of the women's lives, both socially, regarding family life and motherhood, employment, education and as members of society. This eye for the hyper-diversity of the women's lives shows the innovative potential of Pastry Hill. Furthermore, the combination of child-care and education is an innovative approach that makes it possible to reach more isolated and marginalised women than is ordinarily the case.

Young 2400/Ung 2400

Strategy, focus and organisation

The *goal* of Young 2400 is to increase the social mobility of youngsters of ethnic minority background. This group of youngsters often find it difficult to navigate in the Danish society while staying true to the cultural background of their families. The project coordinator explains:

“If their parents have another ethnic background than Danish, some of these youngsters have experienced a kind of cultural division by growing up in Denmark”

For some of these youngsters, establishing a life for themselves within education, employment and civil society is difficult. By providing role models, Young 2400 shows the youngsters different ways to do so. Furthermore, it is a goal of the project to increase the understanding between youngsters of different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, thus strengthening the social cohesion. Thus Young 2400 is both a people- and place-based arrangement. The *strategy* of the project is to present the youngsters with a role model, a ‘good example’. The role models are themselves young people of ethnic minority backgrounds who share their personal stories and experience on subjects such as discrimination, bullying, conflicts with parents and choice of education. The idea is for the youngsters in the audience to identify with the role models, to empower the youngsters to make a good life for themselves and to share experience and to discuss sensitive subjects; subjects that can be difficult to discuss with teachers and parents. As the youngsters and the role models have had a similar upbringing, the hope is that the youngsters will be able to identify with the stories of the role models.

Young 2400 is *organised* as a volunteer-based project under Save the Children Youth. It was initiated in 2006 in Bispebjerg, hence the name as 2400 is the postal code of Bispebjerg. Today it is a city-wide project. It is financed primarily by Copenhagen Municipality with additional funds from the Ministry of Children, Gender Equality, Integration and Social Affairs. Resources are primarily used on training the role models, social arrangements for the volunteers and administration. There are no paid employees. Currently, 18 youngsters volunteer as role models, and further three volunteers coordinate the project and promote it to schools and institutions in Copenhagen. The *target audience* is students in the oldest classes of lower secondary schools, as well as members of youth clubs and other associations. Professionals such as teachers and social workers constitute a secondary target audience, as the stories of the role models can teach the professionals how better to understand youngsters with an ethnic minority background. The stories of the role models revolve around how they have tackled challenges in their upbringing regarding integration, education and having a dual-cultural upbringing. The project has two main *activities*. The first is to train the role models and teach them to do presentations. The second is the actual presentations, which are made at local schools and other relevant institutions. In Bispebjerg, the role models have made several presentations, e.g. at a local school and at the Pastry Hill Integration House.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is fundamental to the project with its focus on how youngsters deal with the two different cultures influencing their lives. Hyper-diversity is addressed in that the project acknowledges the uniqueness of every individual beyond merely belonging to an ethnic category. Still, focus is primarily on ethnic-cultural diversity. The project takes a pluralist approach, perceiving diversity as a strength for society (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012): the role models endeavour to convey to the youngsters that having a non-Danish ethnic background can be an asset as it gives them an understanding of different cultural perspectives. The project coordinator explains:

“They [some of the role models] start out by telling the story about how they throughout their upbringing they have felt that it [the multiple cultures] has been difficult, but that later on they discovered that it gives something”.

An equal distribution of gender amongst the role models is preferred, and although the experience is that it fluctuates from year to year, all in all this is achieved. Thereby it is acknowledged that gender influences the experience of being an ethnic minority youngster, and thus that the different aspects of diversity interact.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The most important *external success factor* of Young 2400 is to be a part of such a well-known and respected NGO as Save the Children Youth. This makes it easier to recruit volunteers and role models. The youth-to-youth constellation of the project is the key *internal success factor*. The audience’s identification with the role models is what makes a difference, and the role models can inspire their audience because they have overcome difficulties in their own lives. To achieve this, the role models need to be taught to do excellent presentations. The social network between the role models is a platform for exchanging experience and a way of keeping them committed to the project.

Two *external failure factors* are important. Firstly, the limited resources of the project mean that advertisement and promotion is difficult. This can hinder the outreach of the project. Secondly, and related to the first, Young 2400 is not a very well-known project. This makes it very dependent on promotion, thus challenging the outreach further. The *internal failure factors* are related to the dependence on volunteers, as these can be an unstable resource. The amount of work put into the project varies a great deal, as the volunteer coordinators are at times occupied with other commitments in their lives e.g. exams. Furthermore, the volunteers tend to quit the project simultaneously, resulting in the project having to start more or less from scratch.

Conclusion

Young 2400 aims at helping ethnic minority youngsters to overcome the potential difficulties arising from having a dual cultural background. The project thereby facilitates social mobility. A key element is to make them see their background as an asset. Diversity is thus perceived as a strength. The innovative potential of Young 2400 lies in the youth-to-youth constellation of the project. By sharing their stories and personal experience of challenges and difficulties, the role models work as an inspiration to their audience of youngsters. The project stands or falls with the volunteers: The role models are what make the project a success, but at the same time, dependency on voluntary work is a fragile structure.

2.3 Arrangements targeting economic performance

The third group of researched arrangements target economic performance. The focus is on the economic performance of individuals and individual entrepreneurship as this is seen as an essential condition for the economic performance of a city (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013:55).

Glad Foundation/Glad Fonden

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Glad Foundation has two overarching *goals*: Enhancing the inclusion of people with learning disabilities into society and providing meaningful education and occupation for this group. The foundation is a social enterprise, and improving economic performance is an explicit goal. The

philosophy of the Glad Foundation is, firstly, that creating a meaningful everyday life is crucial for all people (regardless of disability) to thrive and develop, and secondly that strengthening inclusion and citizenship can only be done by providing everyone with access to civil society, to the labour market and to cultural life. Thus, instead of simply ‘storing’ people with learning disabilities, the *strategy* of the Glad Foundation is to function as an actual workplace offering jobs and services. The foundation strives to show that it is possible for a company employing people with disabilities to produce high quality products and to compete on market conditions. The foundation works for social cohesion through the inclusion of the disabled into society and giving them a voice rather than excluding and institutionalising them. The foundation thus has a pluralist understanding of diversity (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012). Additionally, it works for social mobility through the education and vocational training of people with a disability.

The Glad Foundation was founded in 1999 by two partners, one of which has a sister with a learning disability. The founders were indignant at the way that recent social political reforms had created a large, expensive institutional machinery, which, they believed, had failed in its objective to integrate disabled people into society: “*We are probably one of the countries in the world, that has spent the most money on ghettoising these people*”, the managing partner states. The Glad Foundation is *organised* as a commercial foundation employing over 200 people in four different towns, as well as a vocational school for 80 students. The first, and largest, office of the foundation was opened in Bispebjerg. About half of the financial basis comes from public grants to the education and employment of disabled citizens, 25% comes from mainly private funds, and the last 25% is income from commercial activities. The *target audience* of the foundation is people with different disabilities. The arrangement is thus people-based. The Glad Foundation started out as a TV station, and since then the range of *activities* has continuously been expanding to include everything from television, radio, design and theatre, to catering services and even the running of a zoo. The vocational school has training programmes in several of these fields.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is central to the work of the Glad Foundation in two ways. Firstly, for the lives of the students and employees: the philosophy of the foundation is to view the students and employees as more than just people with a disability; they are actors, graphical designers, kitchen assistants, and human beings in society – just like anyone else. The foundation thus recognises hyperdiversity. Secondly, diversity as such is central to the foundation: seeing diversity as a potential and a possible strength is an explicitly expressed element of the foundation of the arrangement. Diversity is used deliberately and strategically in the development of the different business areas, and it is considered a necessary tool in finding creative and innovative solutions. The foundation dismisses the idea of segmenting the disabled based on their diagnosis as they believe this will limit their socialisation and worsen their disability. Avoiding isolation and segmentation is considered vital for social cohesion, not only with regards to disabilities and mixing of disabled and non-disabled people, but also regarding the social stratification of society.

Main factors influencing success or failure

In recent years, the Glad Foundation has experienced a number of *external success factors* coming into play and improving the conditions of the foundation: social enterprises are currently on the political agenda; in 2007, people with disabilities were given a legal claim to a youth education; and this year the pension system was reformed to limit the number of people permanently receiving pensions and thus not working. While the Glad Foundation has generally always received moral and ideological support for its cause from politicians and the public, it has been more difficult to obtain financial support, but the way has now been paved for improving this. One of the most important *internal success factors* of the Glad Foundation is the creativity and unconventional-

ty that comes from working with people with learning disabilities. Accordingly, rather than teachers and managers defining the goals and approaches, putting students and employees in charge of their own work is essential for the ideas and projects to carry weight. Along these lines, the Glad Foundation employs almost no social education workers, but instead professionals within the different business areas (e.g. chefs, designers, architects). This way, all students and employees, with and without disabilities, are working for a common goal: a high professional standard and high quality products. The interaction with the private market thus brings something different to the table than ordinary social work.

Cooperation with public authorities remains a major *external failure factor* for the Glad Foundation today. According to the managing partner, the social service sector is designed from the perspective of institutionalisation, transfer payments and little participation in decision-making for disabled individuals themselves. Furthermore, cooperation with Copenhagen Municipality is too bureaucratic thereby making it troublesome. A different line of external failure factors lies in the double challenge of running a commercial business on the one hand and working for a social cause on the other. The Glad Foundation has to compete on equal terms with other professionals in the different business areas, even though their employees have fewer competences than others. Furthermore, being a more or less non-profit organisation makes it difficult to attract investors to the foundation. Finally, the managing partner criticises the near elimination of manual jobs (such as cleaning assistants and dishwashers) in Denmark over recent decades: today, people on high wages have to spend working time washing dishes and preparing for meetings, when these tasks could instead generate several jobs for e.g. people with learning disabilities. Having become a large and established organisation, the Glad Foundation is faced with the risk of routinising and simply reproducing its work at the expense of innovation and creativity. This is one of the most important *internal failure factors*. Another is the risk of neglecting the ethics and values of the foundation (e.g. inclusiveness regardless of abilities and competences) in the name of maintaining a high professional standard in the business.

Conclusion

At the Glad Foundation the unconventionality and creativity that comes from working with people with learning disabilities is seen as a strength and a potential. The foundation considers this its weapon in the struggle for maintaining ethics, values and the social cause while competing with other businesses on market conditions. The Glad Foundation is grounded in an aversion to the institutionalisation and segmentation of people with disabilities and is based on the philosophy that ghettoisation hinders progress and creativity. Inclusion into society is considered crucial for leading a dignified and meaningful life. This unconventional perspective on social work shows the innovative potential of the Glad Foundation. The current political focus on the concept of social enterprises indicates that their approach is gaining ground.

DesignLab Råstof

Strategy, focus and organisation

The *goal* of DesignLab Råstof is to provide a breeding ground for high-quality design production, thus increasing the economic performance of companies of this type. According to the founders of DesignLab, designers and artisans constitute an unexploited potential for manufacturing product design. The goal of DesignLab is to activate these resources. As a reaction to the current prevailing focus on knowledge and service industries in Denmark, DesignLab is working for an improvement of the status of manual labour and of the conditions for economically viable production companies. DesignLab is a reaction to the academisation of the labour market which, according to one of the founders, has created a uniform and intolerant work culture and labour

market. The design business is an obvious field in which to include manual labour. However, innovation and creativity is a very peripheral part of the training of artisans at vocational schools. At the same time, designers and creative professionals often struggle in establishing a production process for their designs. Therefore, the *strategy* of DesignLab Råstof is to connect these two worlds: design and artisanship. The strategy is based on the idea that this interaction will, firstly, make both parties better at what they do, and secondly, create better products. DesignLab works for facilitating and qualifying this interaction; thereby connecting needs and resources.

DesignLab was launched in 2013 by its two founding partners and from the beginning it has been based on cooperation with the Bispebjerg neighbourhood committee. DesignLab is *organised* as a private company, currently funded by the European Social Fund and Copenhagen Municipality. At the end of 2014, the work of DesignLab will be evaluated, and the company will possibly be integrated as a more permanent supplier of employment activities for Copenhagen Municipality. DesignLab is run by its two partners, one employee and two trainees. Additionally, they employ a broad network of freelance teachers, practitioners and mentors. The *target audience* is a wide range of sub-employed designers and inventors referred by the job centres of Copenhagen Municipality and the Capital Region. The project is thus both people- and place-based as it connects designers from all over Copenhagen with Bispebjerg-based vocational schools and their students. The main *activity* of DesignLab is a ten-week programme including courses on business development, enterprise and product development alongside the cooperation with trainees at the local vocational schools (e.g. smiths, cabinetmakers and bricklayers) on the production of prototypes of the designs. Facilities at Bispebjerg's vocational schools are utilized, e.g. workshops and machines.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

For DesignLab, diversity revolves around inclusion, tolerance and openness regarding business and employment. They work for a more open and tolerant market and work culture with room for more unconventional thinking and alternative businesses (e.g. based on manual labour and production instead of academic knowledge). Rebuilding the status of manual labour and local production is a part of this idea of diversity. DesignLab works against a uniform and excluding labour market. Additionally, interaction and cooperation across professions is seen as a cornerstone in the development of viable and innovative products and companies. As opposed to a focus on their unemployment, the course participants are regarded as individuals with a range of characteristics to be taken into account. This indicates an acknowledgement of the hyperdiversity that influences individuals and their situation in life.

Main factors influencing success or failure

There are two primary *external success factors* that affect the success of DesignLab Råstof. Firstly, obtaining status as a supplier for the employment administration of Copenhagen Municipality (which will be assessed this year) is a financial necessity for the survival of DesignLab. The partners are optimistic that they will succeed. Secondly, problems with low educational standards, poor reputation and general unemployment for manual workers in Denmark has become a topic in recent years, and the need for a re-evaluation and reformation of vocational schools have been realised both politically and administratively. This increases the possibility of future improvement of the field, which will aid the work of DesignLab. Along these lines, a counter-reaction to academisation amongst creative professionals seems to be emerging with for instance architectural students switching to cabinetmaker programmes instead. A number of *internal success factors* are important. Firstly, connecting artisans to designers and creative professionals is an alternative solution to large-scale problems of unemployment. DesignLab thus handles issues and reaches people that the ordinary system cannot reach. Secondly, DesignLab is praised by its course participants for meeting people on an equal footing, treating them with respect and seeing them as

more than just unemployed individuals. According to the founders, participants are met with high demands. Finally, it is necessary for the company to survive its first years that the two partners put immense energy and innumerable hours of unpaid work into DesignLab.

DesignLab struggles with a range of *external failure factors*: Firstly, finance is currently the largest obstacle that should be overcome. While they currently find ways to manage, it is a constant challenge. Secondly, navigating in the field of employment and labour market politics is difficult, as this can be very bureaucratic. A third external failure factor is the difficulty of cooperating extensively with the vocational schools: These are currently being reorganised and restructured, and they are struggling with poor reputations and low application rates. Along these lines, raising the standards and quality of manual labour and artisanship and renewing the education programmes is a very difficult (but central) task for DesignLab to meet. An important *internal failure factor* lies in the combination of a very tight budget and an overpowering workload. This is pressuring the project and demands a tough prioritisation. At the same time, DesignLab is faced with having to develop the company's work processes and its formal set-up concurrently. Thus, being a new company under establishment is difficult. Another internal challenge is to build up an atmosphere of trust amongst participants and teachers in the programmes. Opening up and presenting ideas requires a forum of trust and respect where participants dare to share their thoughts and be open to criticism. If this forum is not created, the project cannot work successfully.

Conclusion

As a reaction to the academisation of the Danish job market and the simultaneous devaluation of manual labour and production companies, DesignLab Råstof works to enhance the qualification of the interaction and cooperation between creative professionals and artisans. This is based on the belief that designers and artisans will gain from this, and that it can function as a breeding ground for high-quality design production companies. The strategy of DesignLab is to activate and renew already existing resources by giving designers and artisans the competences of creativity, production, innovation and entrepreneurship. The strategy is to combine the resources of different professions in new ways with the purpose of improving professional standards and economic performance. This approach shows the innovative potential of DesignLab Råstof.

Danish Supermarket Group Ltd./Dansk Supermarked

Strategy, focus and organisation

The *goal* of Danish Supermarket Group Ltd. regarding recruitment and retention of employees is “*getting the right people in the right positions*” as the HR partner puts it. Diversity is a key concept for this: the goal is not to exclude anyone based on prejudices or assumptions of their capabilities and to keep an open mind and a wide perspective in the attitude towards the company's employees. Danish Supermarket believes that the time and money spent on this will be visible on the bottom line, and that diversity can thus contribute to increasing the company's economic performance. An additional goal is to live up to society's heightened demand for corporate social responsibility. The *strategy* of Danish Supermarket is to make room for each individual employee at their specific point in life, even if they need special help or cannot perform fully. Alongside this, the strategy is to communicate this mind-set intensively to all employees (especially shop managers) to make it an embedded matter of course in everyday work.

Organisation: Danish Supermarket is a large private limited company with an annual turnover of almost € 7 billion. It is Denmark's largest retail chain with approximately 1,200 shopping centres and supermarkets across the country, several of which are located in Bispebjerg. The company was founded in 1960 and currently employs 32,000 people. The central HR administration em-

employs four people working specifically with diversity. Initiatives on diversity have been an explicit focus area since 1996, beginning with the creation of light-work positions. The *target audience* of diversity initiatives in Danish Supermarket are all current and possible employees of the company, thus making the initiatives people-based. The *activities* of the diversity initiatives revolve around recruitment as well as retention of staff; that is, employing people that would ordinarily not be given the opportunity to work. Danish Supermarket uses a wide range of public aid schemes for employment on special terms (e.g. salary subsidy and flexible jobs) and specialised training programmes (e.g. for disabled people or for ethnic minorities with linguistic challenges).

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Danish Supermarket has a wide perception of diversity ranging from age, gender and ethnicity to disability and people struggling with disease or with mental problems. Diversity is primarily considered in relation to employment i.e. recruitment and retention of employees. Tolerance and openness are key concepts; either as a deliberate strategic tool or as more of an underlying idea. Diversity has been a pronounced value for Danish Supermarket since 1996 and has become an embedded part of the everyday mind-set of the company. The philosophy of Danish Supermarket's diversity initiatives is a pluralist one (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012), focusing on the strength in difference and accordingly the importance of acknowledging differences in needs and perspectives of the employees. Furthermore, the hyper-diversity of the employees and their situation is recognised: Employees are seen as more than i.e. ethnic minority people with consideration of individual situations and competences.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The political and public climate regarding corporate social responsibility applauds initiatives for diversity. This is one of the central *external success factors* for Danish Supermarket's diversity initiatives. Another is the ongoing collaboration with NGOs, research centres, employment authorities and local job centres. Good cooperation with these actors is a necessity in securing the resources, the specialised knowledge as well as the municipal approvals for subsidies and flexible jobs necessary for realising diversity efforts. According to the HR partner, this collaboration generally works well. Furthermore, the wide range of public sector aid schemes for flexible jobs and subsidised training programmes is a vital tool. A very important *internal success factor* for Danish Supermarket is the integration of diversity as an underlying mind-set of the company rather than something to be constantly stated as a concept. According to the HR partner, diversity cannot be pushed, it must be given time to develop, like the ethnic minority boys that started out years ago as trolley boys in their local supermarkets who are being made shop managers today. A second success factor for Danish Supermarket is the advantage coming from being a very large company: Their voice carries great weight in discussions with authorities or in public debates. A final, but very important, factor is the attitude of the employees towards one another: Treating everybody with respect and taking a team-oriented approach is crucial. This is done through avoiding an 'us-versus-them' approach of the stronger employees helping the weaker. Instead, everybody is considered equal. A key element in this is to give every employee from manager to trolley boy their own area of responsibility and make them feel that they are making a difference:

"It is important to remember that this is about all of us, and at some point in time we could all become dependent on someone being open and tolerant towards us [...]. It is an important message to send that diversity is about everyone in a workplace, not just a small disadvantaged group" (HR partner, Danish Supermarket)

A number of *external failure factors* can be identified: Firstly, cooperating with the 98 different municipalities of Denmark, each with different systems and practices, is a challenging task. Secondly,

regarding the work in Copenhagen and Bispebjerg, Copenhagen Municipality can seem bureaucratic and rigid to work with. However, cooperation with the city's local job centres is much better, according to the HR partner. Thirdly, in recent years, gradually weaker and weaker people are being approved for flexible jobs. For a large part, they are struggling with a number of comprehensive personal problems. However, when in employment, the employers of these persons have to deal with ever more serious problems, and according to the HR partner, many of these people are far from ready for employment. Three *internal failure factors* can be identified: First, some employees in flexible jobs struggle with a range of problems, thus making it difficult to train them. At times, employers have to start on a very basic level such as making the employees show up on time. Second, implementing diversity as a mind-set in every single shop is difficult. Communication and assistance to shop managers is a demanding but very important task for the HR diversity team, as the shop managers are key figures in putting the diversity initiatives into practice. Third, the recent financial crisis has affected Danish Supermarket as well: Sometimes financial limitations have hindered the permanent employment of good trainees or municipally subsidised employees. According to the HR partner, the financial situation of the company is improving, currently making this failure factor less influential.

Conclusion

Diversity initiatives in Danish Supermarket are founded on the belief that openness and tolerance towards employees is essential for recruiting and retaining the best staff for the company and thus for the company's economic performance. A well-functioning cooperation with the public sector is necessary for this to work. The key success factors are to avoid putting people into rigid categories and instead of acknowledging each individual person and situation. It is vital to treat every employee as part of the team and avoid distinguishing between the 'weak' and the 'strong'. Accordingly, integrating diversity as a way of thinking in every single shop of the retail chain as well as on the executive level is a key focus area of the diversity initiatives. Making diversity a matter of course and embedding it into the everyday mind-set of the company is the key innovative potential of diversity initiatives in Danish Supermarket Group Ltd. An underlying premise for the diversity efforts of private companies is some extent of profitability which can be expected to shape their initiatives. However, private companies add an additional arena for diversity efforts, namely one that is grounded in the mainstream labour market as opposed to isolated projects.

3 Synthesis and analysis of the results

This section summarises the analysis of the ten governance arrangements and synthesises the findings according to the three research questions.

Synthesis of the investigated governance arrangements

Four arrangements targeting social cohesion have been analysed in this report. In common for all the arrangements is the focus on a bottom-up approach to create social cohesion through the engagement of local residents. Residents' Project Bispebjerg and Market Day in Fuglekvarteret target all residents of the area. In contrast, the Club Guides and Use the Public School focus on social cohesion of local children, but with a potential spill-over effect on the general social cohesion. For all the arrangements, local anchoring is imperative in ensuring the immediate success as well as the future of the arrangements. Three arrangements targeting social mobility were analysed. A main focus of all the three arrangements is empowerment of their specific target group, respectively marginalised women for Pastry Hill Integration House and youngsters for Lab2400 Talents and Young 2400. Empowerment is seen as a tool for aiding individuals in achieving social

mobility. Key characteristics of the arrangements are local anchoring, to have a bottom-up approach and to see the whole person that an individual is, i.e. the hyper-diversity that creates individual situations. Finally, three arrangements targeting economic performance have been analysed: the Glad Foundation, DesignLab Råstof and Danish Supermarket Group Ltd. In one way or another, these arrangements all focus on how the labour market can be widened to include groups that are either marginalised or at risk of becoming so. The underlying perception is that these groups have something to offer to specific work places as well as to the labour market more generally. The characteristics that make them at the risk of marginalisation are precisely what can make them good employees through activating, renewing and combining resources and competences. The premise is that the inclusion of these groups will lead to improved economic performance for the individuals, for the businesses and for society.

Table 1 summarises the intended contribution of each governance arrangement to the three main objectives, and it shows how the arrangements generally target more than one of these objectives each.

Table 1: Contribution of the governance arrangements towards the three main objectives

Governance arrangements	Social cohesion	Social mobility	Economic performance
Residents' Project Bispebjerg	***	**	
Club Guides in Bispebjerg	***	**	
Market Day in Fuglekvarteret	***		
Parental Association Use the Public School	***	**	
Lab2400 Talents	*	***	**
Pastry Hill Integration House	**	***	*
Young 2400	**	***	
Glad Foundation	*	***	***
DesignLab Råstof	*		***
Danish Supermarket Group Ltd.	*	**	***

* = low contribution; ** = medium contribution; *** = high contribution

Conceptualisation of diversity

Diversity is on an overall level conceptualised as openness, tolerance and the inclusion of all citizens in the life of the city, in society and to the extent possible in the labour force. This is in line with the general approach to diversity in Copenhagen Municipality, as shown in Andersen et al. (2013). As was the case for the municipal understanding of diversity, the majority of the investigated governance arrangements take a pluralist approach, with the exception of a few arrangements taking (to some degree) a more integrationist or intercultural approach (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012). Diversity is about the inclusion of everyone, not just selected groups, and everyone is seen as having something to contribute with if they are taught how and engaged. In the aim of inclusion of all citizens lies also the inclusion of resourceful citizens. Those most well-off can be the hardest to involve in common initiatives as they are too busy and have the money to choose not to make use of common institutions such as public schools and hospitals. Use the Public School is an example of a project which strives to engage resourceful citizens. More projects targeting resourceful citizens are imperative in terms of creating social cohesion in particular. One of the means of spreading the notion of diversity as a positive asset to the city and to a neigh-

bourhood is the quest towards breaking down dogmas and prejudice, thereby limiting the negative consequences of diversity such as racism and discrimination. Thus it is necessary to be constantly alert to identify where problems are arising and how to deal with them in order to limit the negative aspects of diversity.

Hyper-diversity is on the agenda of a range of the initiatives. Though the arrangements each have their own specific target audience, they are all built on the philosophy that society should make room for a variety of differences. The arrangements aim to take a broader, more unified approach as opposed to considering one aspect only, such as unemployment. At times however, it can be difficult to realise this when cooperating with the municipality. The goal is to understand each individual's life world and problems in order to achieve real, realisable and sustainable change. The acknowledgment of hyper-diversity is also seen in the focus on both the hard and the soft aspects of inclusion, e.g. both employment and social relations:

“There is something about getting on with your neighbours, well-being, feeling secure, community. The kind of soft values (...). They are insanely important for all the other things [the hard aspects of inclusion]” (consultant B, BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark)

Localisation of the main factors influencing success or failure

The most important factors influencing success and failure respectively are interlinked; revolving around the same key issues which can then be solved either successfully or unsuccessfully. The key issues are the following: the inclusion of all groups in society; empowerment and involvement of citizens; the role of the governmental system and the welfare state; and the perception of success measurement.

In order to ensure the inclusion of all groups in society, it is imperative to offer a wide range of initiatives targeting different groups. Likewise, the involvement of different actors such as non-governmental actors and businesses is crucial as it can be a way of reaching more and different people. Nonetheless, it is proving problematic to reach both the more isolated groups (i.e. lonely single men sitting alone in their flats) as well as more resourceful citizens (as mentioned above). The diminishing role of manual labour challenges the inclusion within the labour market of people without academic skills. Realising the inclusion of all citizens will fail if ways of including these different groups are not found. This constitutes a continuous task for the arrangements.

Empowerment is imperative as a means of ensuring the inclusion of all residents. Inclusion depends on aiding people in taking a role and getting heard, teaching them how to do so and inviting them to speak up. Achieving involvement takes time but is necessary, as the effect of the arrangements depend heavily on it. Arrangements are perceived as meaningless if they are employed top-down. A bottom-up approach needs to be employed instead and is imperative for the immediate success of the arrangements as well as the continued maintenance of the arrangements in the future. Achieving participant involvement depends to a large extent on personal relations created within the arrangement, through which a sense of ownership and attachment can be created. For the professionals, the creation of personal relations can be easier if they are not perceived as coming from the municipality, whether actually funded by it or not: Firstly, some citizens have a strained relationship with the system and secondly, non-governmental professionals can often react quicker and more appropriately due to their local knowledge and local anchoring. However, while you can give citizens space for participation, it does not necessarily mean that they know how to use it. It is thus a fundamental task for employees and volunteers constantly to strive for empowerment and involvement in as many ways as possible:

“It is so vitally important that the young boys, in my case [as she works with young ethnic minority boys], are given a voice in society. And it might be a different voice than the one I went out to look for. The framework for a project like this has to be much looser and more open than one might think” (project manager Copenhagen Business Service)

The significant role of the municipal system and the welfare state is the third key point influencing success and failure. One success factor is the way in which the system provides a safety net underneath the arrangements, aiding the collaboration and cohesion between the various arrangements. The collaboration between state, civil society and the market is crucial for the success of the combined efforts of the initiatives undertaken in a specific neighbourhood. However, finding common ground can be hard. A balance between coordination and common goals on the one hand and freedom to do what makes sense in the local area on the other is necessary, as arrangements will fail if they are not tailored to the local context. Furthermore, the issue of balancing the responsibilities of the three sectors is imperative: On the one hand, the magnitude of governmental involvement can limit the role and responsibility of civil society to an extent where it undermines the trinity of state, civil society and the market. On the other hand, a tendency towards putting more responsibility in the hands of civil society is perceived by some actors as a way for the state to limit its own responsibility and thus its financial expenses. Furthermore, the collaboration with the seven different administrations of Copenhagen Municipality can be difficult. The interviewees describe the municipality as a seven-headed monster. Working together with one administration works well, in particular at the local level. However, when trying to work across administrations, collaboration becomes problematic. Thus, the administrative system is not geared to handling a hyper-diversifying city. This becomes a challenge to the idea that the individual should be approached as a whole person, embracing its whole situation as opposed to only one aspect of it. All actors, including municipal ones, want to solve the problem, but no one has as yet found a successful way of doing so. Financially, most initiatives are at least partly funded by governmental money. While this funding role of the governmental actors is essential for the arrangements, it also has its downsides. Firstly, the public support makes things happen but it can also undermine the continued existence of initiatives when the governmental focus moves on to a different neighbourhood or a different policy field. Secondly, the governmental system has during recent years required an ever-larger degree of documentation for the effects of the public money spent. This requires time and effort on the part of NGOs as well as municipally run projects. All in all, however, despite the various difficulties of working with the substantial governmental system in Denmark and the rather harsh criticism of the seven-headed municipal monster, the role and size of the public system's involvement is considered an advantage for the diversity efforts.

Finally, a fourth key issue that impacts the success or failure of the governance arrangements is the measurement of the effects and the success parameters of the arrangements. This of course also indicates the success of the arrangements but it also impacts their success or failure in the long run. Due to the focus on documentation, arrangements which cannot prove an effect struggle to manage. This relates to governmentally-funded or -supported projects but also to projects funded by e.g. private funds as these are beginning to require documentation of effect in a similar manner. The challenge of the focus on documentation is fourfold. First, the focus is very much on quantitative measures and evidence-based effect studies as well as short-term effects. However, not all effects can be measured quantitatively or proven through evidence-chains. Second, hard core aspects of inclusion, i.e. employment and criminality, are given preference, thus limiting the attention to the soft but no less important measures such as well-being and community. Third, major changes are expected to be identified in the documentation. However, some things happen in small increments, and these small steps also have their merits. And fourth, the big ef-

fects lie in preventive action but this is also where the effects are hardest to prove. Thus, the lack of evidence does not necessarily mean that the arrangements have no effect. In turn, one risks discontinuing a project which is actually successful. To some extent, a gradual change is taking place towards a greater acceptance of the importance of the softer aspects and of qualitative measures of evidence. However, to avoid the discontinuation of projects with long-term but hard to prove effects, a basic trust in initiatives is needed; a trust based on a more theoretical or common-sense argumentation for the expected effects of the project and not necessarily on effect documentation.

Identification of new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts

The innovative potential of the arrangements themselves relates in particular to three specific characteristics. First, the peer-to-peer approach is proving a successful basis for a meaningful and significant contact with a specific target audience. Second, the importance put on taking a case-specific approach based on an equal footing with the target audience and acknowledging the impact of hyper-diversity provides an effective strategy for making the arrangements relevant to the target audience. Third, rethinking resources and competences in a creative way is the key to finding unconventional solutions to problems and opening doors for those who do not fit into the established system. While the innovative ideas of specific arrangements can be inspiring, a key point emerging from the interviews is that arrangements have to be adapted to fit the specific local context in which they are to be employed. Two broader aspects of the Danish approach and the Danish system in general seem to present an innovative potential: First, the master plans for community regeneration are a unique Danish construction gathering a range of actors and initiatives in a combined effort. The encompassing design is a major advantage for the diversity efforts, in particular in acknowledging the impact of hyper-diversity. The funding of these master plans is also a unique construction: The funding is given through the National Building Fund which is based on the rent from the social housing sector. Thus, a share of the rent from all social housing estates in the country is used as a means of securing an improvement of disadvantaged social housing estates in a manner similar to redistribution through taxes. Second, the collaboration between state, civil society and market is a key characteristic of the Danish approach, one that is innovative in its extent. Implied in this is also the magnitude and diversity of arrangements based on the acceptance that not all of them will have an effect but that the comprehensive approach is nonetheless imperative for the combined success of the arrangements:

*“You have to let a thousand flowers bloom and then live with the fact that the nine hundred will wither again. And then you have to sow a new field” (Head, *The Settlement in Copenhagen*)*

4 Conclusions

The purpose of this report has been to identify and analyse a range of innovative governance arrangements with relevance for the case study area of Bispebjerg in Copenhagen. The focus was on understanding how diversity is conceptualised within the arrangements, describing the main factors influencing the success or failure of the arrangements and identifying new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts.

Briefly summarising the results of the report, diversity is clearly high on the agenda of the governance arrangements and viewed as an asset rather than a disadvantage (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012). Furthermore, hyper-diversity is acknowledged within most of the arrangements, understood to mean that an individual should not be approached based on one of his characteristics

(i.e. ethnicity or unemployment) but rather based on his specific, individual situation which derives from a range of characteristics and their interplay. For the governance arrangements to succeed with their diversity efforts, a range of factors is of importance. These factors relate in particular to the inclusion of all groups into society; empowerment and involvement of citizens; the extensive role of the governmental system and the welfare state; and the perception of success measurement which determines the evaluation and thus the continuation of the arrangements' efforts. The innovative potential of the arrangements themselves resides in the peer-to-peer approach; the importance put on taking a case-specific approach based on an equal footing with the target audience and acknowledging the impact of hyper-diversity; and the rethinking of resources and competences in a creative way in order to find unconventional solutions to diversity-related issues. In addition, the Danish approach and system holds an innovative potential as well through the unique and encompassing design of the master plans for community regeneration and the extensive collaboration between state, civil society and the market which implies a magnitude and diversity of arrangements.

Comparing the governance arrangements with the public policies from Copenhagen Municipality (Andersen et al., 2013), several overlaps are identifiable. In both cases, diversity is seen as an asset to the city, to neighbourhoods, to businesses and to people. However, it can also have negative consequences, and these need to be addressed concurrently with the promotion of the positive effects of diversity. Diversity is understood as the inclusion of everyone, as the provision of equal access to the services of the city or neighbourhood and as the opposition to segregation and ghettoisation. In both governance arrangements and public policies, bottom-up approaches, local anchoring, engagement of residents and an encompassing strategy of combined initiatives are buzzwords for the diversity efforts. Additionally, cross-sector cooperation is seen as one of the imperative means to coherent diversity efforts; however the difficulties in realising such cooperation are acknowledged by all actors as well.

There are however also clear distinctions between governance arrangements and public policies. The governance arrangements focus on breaking with existing categories and institutions in order to see the whole person, meeting them on an equal footing and acknowledging the interplay between the individual's characteristics and circumstances. The detachment from the public system is an advantage to the governance arrangements due to the strained relationship with public authorities that some individuals have. Furthermore, the arrangements put greater emphasis on the potential of diversity in terms of ensuring economic growth through creativity and unconventional thinking, and endeavour to realise this potential. The arrangements offer a wide range of tailored initiatives in close contact with the local level, i.e. based on the situation of local neighbourhoods and adjustable to changes within these. It is imperative that the public system coordinates the efforts and provides a safety net but also that the framework for the work in the neighbourhoods is wide enough to make room for innovation and adjustment to the local situation.

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Appendix

List of the interviewed persons

- Consultant A, BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark
- Project manager, Residents' Project Bispebjerg, Copenhagen
- Project coordinator, Young 2400, Save the Children Youth
- Manager, Pastry Hill Integration House, Copenhagen
- Partner, DesignLab Råstof
- Project manager, Use the Public School, Copenhagen
- Project coordinator, Use the Public School, Copenhagen
- Managing partner, Glad Foundation
- Project manager, Lab2400, Copenhagen Business Service, The Employment & Integration Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
- Project coordinator, The Club Guides, Residents' Project Bispebjerg, Copenhagen
- Coordinator, Market Day in Fuglekvarteret, Copenhagen Municipality
- HR Partner, Danish Supermarket Group Ltd.

List of the participants of the round-table talk

Date: 11 June 2014

Place: Aalborg University, Copenhagen

- Administrative officer, The Technical & Environmental Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
- Project manager, Copenhagen Business Service, Copenhagen Municipality
- Head of The Settlement in Copenhagen, voluntary social organisation
- Consultant B, BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark
- Project manager at a neighbourhood renewal project, The Technical & Environmental Administration, Copenhagen Municipality