

Housing of Immigrants in the city of Copenhagen, Denmark

**A report in the framework of the CLIP-project
(Cities for Local Integration Policies)**

**Rinus Penninx
Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies
Universiteit van Amsterdam
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1. Background information on the country¹

1.1. History of migration and composition of migrant populations

Denmark has known substantial immigration as early as the 16th and 17th century, including Dutch farmers and Jews, and a continuous inflow of Germans between the mid-17th and 19th century. In the second half of the 19th century many workers arrived from Germany, Sweden and Poland. In 1885 the foreign population of Copenhagen constituted 8 percent of the total population. The two world wars furthermore brought many East Europeans, Jews and Germans (Hedetoft 2006)

Notwithstanding these past experiences of immigration Denmark did not regard itself and still does not want to be an immigration country in the period after WWII. Actually in the early post-war period more people emigrated from Denmark (predominantly to the new world) than settled as newcomers, and the ones that came used to be from Nordic and Western countries. Denmark's post-war immigration started, like most of its neighbours, with the recruitment of 'guest workers' in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Compared to its southern neighbours, however, such recruitment was relatively late and small. Workers came mainly from Turkey, Pakistan, (former) Yugoslavia and Morocco. At the moment of the first oil crisis (and stop of recruitment) in 1973 their total number was only about 15,000.

After 1973 immigration in Denmark was predominantly supply driven. Firstly refugees from Chile and Vietnam in the 1970s, followed by refugee and asylum migration from Bosnia, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan and Lebanon since the 1990s. Secondly, family members and later spouses of migrant workers and refugees came to Denmark in significant numbers. And thirdly, recent immigration comes from the new EU accession countries, particularly from Poland and the Baltic states, estimated between 5,000 and 10,000 in 2006 (Hedetoft 2006, 2).

These inflows have led to a significant growth of the immigrant population in the country, since the beginning of the 1990s coming predominantly from non-Western

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countries². UN-publications give the following key data on residents with an immigration background, based on the criterion of place of birth outside Denmark:

Table 1. Total population and migrant stock in Denmark 1985-2005.

	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
Total population*	5114	5140	5228	5320	5431
Migrant stock**	190	220	250	304	389
%	3,7	4,2	4,8	5,7	7,2
of which					
Refugees*		33		71	65
<i>* in thousands</i>					
<i>** criterion is born outside the country</i>					

The percentage of immigrants in the total population was only 3,7 % in the mid-1980s. In twenty years (by 2005) that percentage has doubled: 7,2 percent of the total population of Denmark is an immigrant (i.e. has been born outside Denmark).

Alternative definitions³ indicate different percentages: as per January 1st, 2006 the number of registered foreigners (nationality criterion⁴) is 270,051 (5,0 % of the total population). The number of immigrants at that date amounted to 350.436, and descendants (2nd generation immigrants) was 112,799, totalling to 463,235, or 8,5 percent of the total population. Of these 327,511 (6,0 % of the population of Denmark) originate from a 'non-Western country'. The six largest immigrant groups – in order of size – are from Turkey, Iraq, Germany, Lebanon, Bosnia and Pakistan. Muslims from Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Lebanon number around 200,000 and account for nearly half of all non-Western foreign residents in Denmark.⁵

² According to Statistics Denmark, the number of resident persons from non-Western countries increased by 520 % between 1980 and 2005, forming 90 percent of the total increase of resident foreigners in that period.

³ Statistics Denmark has introduced two novel sets of definitions that are frequently used: the first one is that of Dane (at least one of the persons parents is a Danish national and was born in Denmark), Immigrant (person is born abroad) and Descendant (child of an immigrant born in Denmark). The second is that of Western (all EU-countries plus Iceland, Norway, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Switzerland and the Vatican State) versus non-Western Immigrant and Descendants (all other countries): see Ministry 2006b, 18/19.

⁴ Between 1995 and 2005 more than 54,000 foreigners acquired Danish citizenship (Hedetoft 2006, 2).

⁵ More detailed figures on flows and stocks in: Ministry 2006b.

Stock data of Danish Statistics as per January 1st, 2007 indicate that the three largest cities in Denmark also have the highest percentage of 'immigrants and descendants': Copenhagen 19.8 %, Århus 12.9 % and Odense 12.4 %, against 8.5 % for the country as a whole. Non-Western immigrants and descendants in these same cities represent 13.9, 9.6 and 9.4 percent.

1.2. General national integration policy

As a general background it is important to realise that Denmark developed since WWII a universalistic welfare state based on high levels of public provisions in such areas like public health, education, unemployment benefits and old age pensions, accessible to all residents in the country. Policies relating to immigration and integration developed relatively late. From the mid-1980s on there were policy efforts to restrict immigration to Denmark. The Aliens Act of 1986 was devised to be able to restrict immigration and applications for asylum in Denmark. In 1992 the law regulating family reunification removed the automatic right to reunification and tightened up possibilities for entrance for this category, among others by imposing a 'breadwinner condition' for resident spouses.

In the 1990s the issue of immigration and integration developed into a controversial and politicised issue, particularly after the establishment of the Danish People's Party (DPP) in 1995 that mobilised electoral support on the immigrant issue above all others. The party did so successfully, also in the electoral campaigns of 1998, 2001 and 2005. Although the DPP was never part of the government coalition, their influence on policies has been great. In Hedetoft's (2006, 5) formulation: "It is particularly the DPP, supported by the media, which managed to keep the debate alive over the past 10 years and has been successful in placing it squarely at the centre of political attention. The strong support for DPP's articulate anti-immigrant policies has meant that, by and large, all other parties in the Danish Parliament have chosen to mobilise on this issue and have prioritised migration and integration policy area in their policy statements and legislative proposals."⁶

⁶ Although few discard the substantial influence of the DPP on the immigrant question, it is also indicated that other factors have made that influence possible, and that other parties obviously have bought into the

It was in this political climate that the Social Democratic-Radical coalition introduced the 1999 Integration Act. Important features were that it put the main responsibility for integration in the hands of municipalities in order to improve the management and coordination of formerly disparate governmental and private bodies (such as the Danish Refugee Council). The integration period for refugees⁷ was extended to 18 months, in which they should learn Danish, familiarise themselves with Danish history, culture and society, acquire skills and competences to find jobs. During that period refugees would receive a monthly integration allowance (that was in the original proposal lower than regular welfare benefits, but after strong protest changed to the regular level). Family dependents, EU and Nordic citizens and immigrants coming on the so-called Job Card Scheme, i.e. recruited workers, were not obliged to follow, but were allowed to join the introduction programme.

Under the Liberal-Conservative government that since November 2001 took over from the Social Democratic-Radical coalition, tougher governmental policies brought an end to what was labelled as lenient immigration policies and practices of the former coalition. A new Ministry for Refugees, Immigration and Integration was formed, taking over the former tasks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This new minister prepared a legislative package on immigration and integration to the Parliament, the principal purpose of which was “to restrict the number of immigrants and refugees, to introduce tougher requirements on access to permanent residence and citizenship, to ensure the loyalty of newcomers to “Danish values”, and to speed up the integration of immigrants, particularly of women and young, second generation males, into the labour market” (Hedetoft 2006, 9). The lower monthly integration allowance that was rejected in 1999, was now re-introduced. These proposals were passed in Parliament in the summer of 2002 with the support of the DPP.⁸

content of the discourse. The phrase of ‘a firm and fair integration/immigration policy’ can be found in almost all party programmes. See also Jens Peter Frólund Thomson (2006), *Konflikten om de nye danskere*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.

⁷ The group of immigrants for which the municipalities have these obligations are “persons who 1) got residence permit after January 1st 1999, 2) were 16-64 years of age when they got their residence permit, 3) are from non-EU and non-Nordic countries, and 4) are refugees or family reunified” (Skifter Andersen, Heinesen & Husted 2005, 1).

⁸ Interestingly it was (re-)introduced as a general rule regarding ‘all persons who have not lived in Denmark for the last seven years’. In practice few Danish citizens fall into that category, while most immigrants do. In 2006 the allowances corresponded roughly to 50-70 % of the normal allowances. “The incentive to take

A number of concrete measures followed⁹. In 2003 the minimum age of 24 years was introduced for marriage migration, apart from other requirements like 'affiliation' (ties with Denmark), economic independence and proper housing.¹⁰ Conditions for naturalisation, that used to be strict already through the *ius sanguinis* principle, were tightened: requirements of nine years continuous residence, fluency in Danish, proper housing conditions and economic self-sufficiency were formulated. Similar requirements were introduced for acquiring a permanent residence permit. On the other hand anti-discrimination instruments were introduced. In 2003 the Act on Ethnic Equal Treatment was adopted and the Act on Unequal Treatment in the Labour Market was amended in 2004. In 2003, the Danish Institute for Human Rights became the National Equality Body and established the Complaint Committee for Ethnic Equal Treatment to review individual complaints (Ministry 2006b, 70/71).¹¹

As from January 1st, 2004 a new Integration Act and a new Act on Danish Courses for Adult Aliens and Others entered into force. It was based on an agreement with the social partners and local authorities on promoting integration in the labour market and fitted the general policy of the government of 'More people in Work'. Amendment in the law had the purpose of securing flexibility and personal development for newcomers to the labour market. The public sector's efforts were re-directed to three tasks: counselling and upgrading; job training in private and public companies; and employment with a wage supplement. The duration of the formerly 3 year individual integration contract has been extended (until the immigrant receives a permanent residence permit, which is normally after 7 years) and the form has been changed in order "to underline the responsibility of the individual foreigner for his or her integration into the Danish society"(Ministry 2006b, 61).

work is considerably enhanced by the new rates" (Ministry 2006b, 65). The qualifying period was by 2006 extended from three years to seven years.

⁹ For an overview of the categories of entrance and conditions attached to each see Ministry 2006b, 37-56.

¹⁰ This had consequences both for native Danish and foreign residents in Denmark who want to bring a spouse from abroad. Conversations in Malmö, the city in the south of Sweden that is very near to Copenhagen since the new bridge connects the two cities, indicated that many Danes use Malmö and the more lenient Swedish rules to evade the new Danish restrictions.

¹¹ It was indicated that access to and competence of this Committee are limited. For example, the Committee can only accept complaints from trade union members, if the complainant does not get help from the union. The Committee may advise complainants to go to court, but cannot take itself cases to court.

In May 2005 a new Integration Plan 'A new Chance for Everyone' was launched by the national Government, after approval by Parliament. The intention, in the words of the official summary (Ministry 2005a) is "to enhance its current integration efforts through several new initiatives intended to boost education and employment among immigrants and their descendants, counter ghettoisation in vulnerable neighbourhoods and prevent and combat crime." The text is again framed generally – for everyone – but will primarily affect people with immigrant background. As to education and employment new and more compulsory measures are proposed such as 1) provide more pre-school training; 2) more vocational courses and apprenticeship schemes for youngsters; 3) oblige young people (18-25) who receive cash assistance to commence a job-qualifying course; 4) stimulate parents' responsibility by adjusting the family allowance scheme "so that only young people of 15-17 years who have started a qualifying course or have a job with an educational perspective will be eligible for the allowance"; 5) "the Government suggests that where both spouses receive cash assistance, the cash assistance to one of the spouses should be replaced by a lower spousal allowance if that spouse has not had ordinary paid work for 300 hours in the preceding two year period"; 6) "In future, the local authorities must be obliged to provide offers to all recipients of cash assistance – also people who have passively received maintenance for several years".

As for reducing ghetto problems, the Government has introduced, among other things, a new legislation for renting with the aim of creating a more varied composition of tenants in deprived urban areas. By changing the rules for the municipalities' right to fill vacant apartments, the housing associations may refuse applicants on waiting lists if for a period of 6 consecutive months they have received public income transfers. Instead, applicants will be offered housing in less-distressed areas, based on the municipalities' right to fill 25% of vacancies in the housing associations. In January 2007 in Copenhagen the new rules of renting are introduced in five areas with a high number of tenants outside the labour market (Erlandsen, E, J. Lundsgaard & F.Huefner 2006).

As to preventing and combating crime the government envisages, among others, to change the rules for expulsion 'as a clear warning to criminals'; to strengthen parental responsibility by offering them programmes that they should follow on penalty of reduction of family allowance.

Hedetoft (2006, 7) characterises the integration policies of Denmark as follows: “The official Danish position has been that ethnic minorities should be treated on an equal footing and that the ambition should be to have as few specially designed laws as possible (..) there is little sympathy for multicultural policies or positive discrimination (...) nor are there formalized rules for how institutions may adapt to cultural diversity. The ground rule is that minorities must learn how to come to terms with Denmark – not vice versa.”¹² Consequently, there is also little space for collective organisation of migrant interests. There is freedom to organise, but such organisations are not given much influence. The Council for Ethnic Minorities (CEM) at the national level, and the local Integration Councils at the local level are meant to be sounding boards to governmental agencies.

The general picture of national immigration policies of the last two decades is thus one of consistent efforts to restrict further immigration, the only exception being the Job Card Scheme of 2003 that made it easier for highly skilled migrants to enter Denmark.¹³ Integration policies are based on a specific approach: generic policies of equality in the domains of education and labour - increasingly mandatory for newcomers - to fit into Danish society; policies to be implemented at the local level. Anti-discrimination policies is the logical corollary. Cultural and religious factors, however, only appear in their negative forms (of undermining social cohesion): crime, ghettoisation and problems of new religions like Islam.

2. Background information on the city and its integration policy

2.1. General structural data of the city

Copenhagen (literally Merchants’ Harbour) is situated on the eastern shore of the Øresund, the strait of water between Denmark and Sweden that connects the North Sea

¹² The Ministry for Integration recently launched a Diversity Programme in February 2007: www.nyidanmark.dk

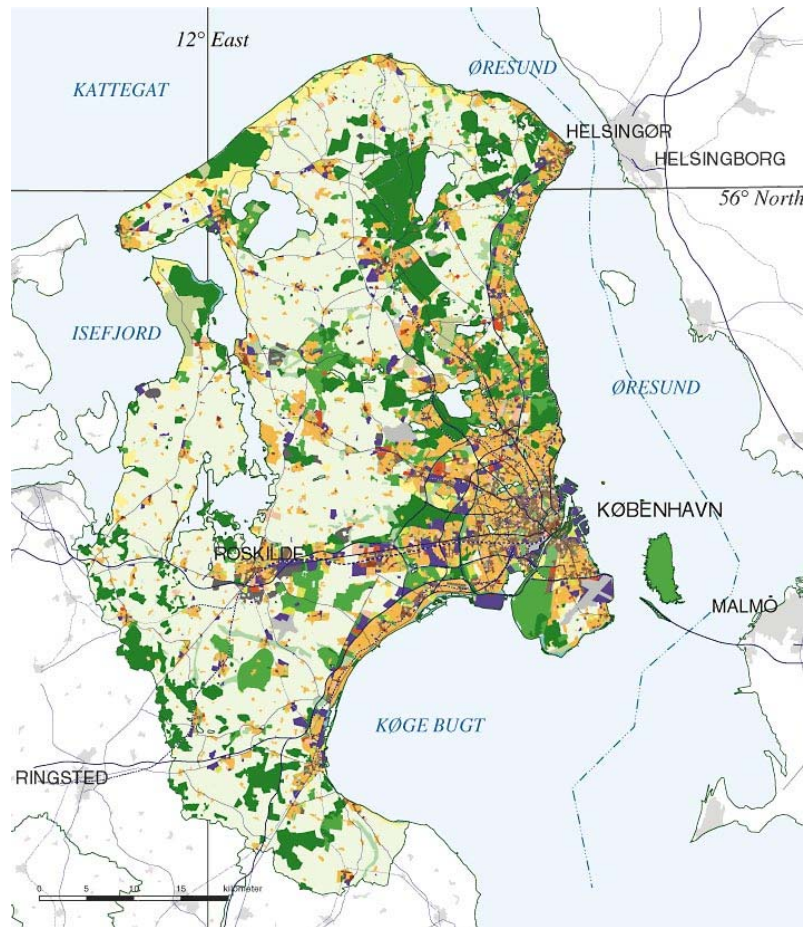
¹³ The most recent data seem to confirm that on the one hand the government is successful in restricting the unsolicited immigration, but that on the other hand demand driven immigration is increasing. The Copenhagen Post (February 9-15, p. 7) reports that 46,500 aliens were given a temporary residence permit in Denmark in 2006 “nearly 30,000 of those coming either for work or study. In 2001 that number was a mere 13,000, making up only one third of all residence permits issued.”

with the Baltic Sea. The city, founded in 1167, developed into an important trade city. During the Napoleonic wars Copenhagen was severely damaged in 1807, but recovery took place in the second half of the 19th century based on industrialisation, new crafts, trade and banking (Skifter Anderson et al. 2000). Since 1850, the city expanded beyond the original ramparts and the old city was re-planned with wide boulevards.

In 1901 the municipality of Copenhagen was extended by large tracts of land to the north, south and west, actually making the still independent municipality of Frederiksberg an enclave within the city. Under the Social-Democratic majority regime modern, subsidised council housing was built in the outlying areas, together with parks and sporting amenities in the 1920s and 1930s. This period is referred to as the golden period of cooperative housing. The population grew strongly. (Skifter Anderson et al. 2000).

A few years after WWII slum clearance and urban development was started to fight the widespread housing shortage. The so-called 'Finger Plan' from 1947 was an example of modern urban planning, creating a city with housing and commerce positioned along radial roads and railways, retaining large green areas. New housing estates with single-family homes and council housing proliferate in the suburbs. A zone-wise expansion of the city in four rings – outside the borders of the municipality – took place (Skifter Anderson et al. 2000).

Nowadays Copenhagen is the capital of Denmark and the country's political and financial centre, with 503,752 inhabitants as per January 1st, 2007. The limited physical size of the city – 91 km² - leads to a remarkable high population density of some 5,800 people per square kilometre. The economic profile of the city has changed significantly in recent decades towards an international service based one: around the turn of the century the city had around 307,000 jobs, 28,000 of them in manufacturing industries, 48,000 in trade and tourism, and 191,000 in other services (Skifter Andersen et al. 2000, 15). Around 15% of the country's gross national product is produced in Copenhagen City. Among the larger and well-known companies are the Carlsberg Breweries, the Novo Nordisk pharmaceuticals, the Maersk shipping conglomerate, the Danisco conglomerate, and the FLS Industries.



Map of the City of Copenhagen and adjacent region. Source: Greater Copenhagen Authority

Together with the enclave Municipality of Frederiksberg (92.234 inhabitants) and 18 suburban municipalities, Copenhagen City used to form the Wider Territorial Unit for the Urban Audit, with a population of approximately 1.2 million inhabitants (23% of the country's population). The Copenhagen Metropolitan Region, made up of the Wider Territorial Unit and the counties of Frederiksberg and Roskilde, constituted a still larger infrastructural and geographical entity with around one third of the country's population. This administrative structure has been changed as of January 1st, 2007 (see 2.3.)

Since 2000 the Øresund (railway and road) bridge connects Copenhagen with the south of Sweden, particularly Malmö, thereby creating a transnational economic Øresund zone, facilitating cooperation and exchange on all levels.

2.2. *Municipal migration and integration – history and policy*

The growth of the national immigrant population as described before is reflected in the figures of Copenhagen, but on a significant higher proportional level: Copenhagen has always been the attraction pole for immigrants in Denmark. The figures given in any recent policy documents, however, do not relate to immigrants in the broader sense, but to the target groups of policies: “immigrants, the descendants of immigrants and refugees from non-Western countries” (Ministry 2005a, 5). This category was about 9 percent of the population of Copenhagen in the mid-1990s and grew to 14 percent in 2005.

Copenhagen’s integration policy has not escaped the general development and politicisation in the country described above, but the latest municipal policy document entitled ‘Integration Policy’ (City of Copenhagen 2006) differs somewhat from the national documents in its framing and tone, thereby reflecting the different political orientation of the capital, traditionally predominantly social-democrat. Copenhagen’s vision in that document is summarised as follows: “Copenhagen will be an integrated city in which citizens are able to live together safely and securely, sharing a respect for diversity and common basic values such as freedom of speech, democracy and gender equality. Integration is a mutual process in which all citizens, irrespective of ethnic origin, create and form their society. Integration policy is designed to promote equal opportunities for all” (City of Copenhagen 2006, 5). Hints at ‘diversity’ and ‘the mutual process’ indicate the specific Copenhagen flavour of the policy, as compared to national policies. It is also more comprehensive than the national documents, including besides the classical topics of labour, education and housing also the domains of security, culture and leisure, and health and care.

The three main principles of the city policy underline this: 1) integration is a joint responsibility; 2) integration requires diversity, and 3) integration must be attractive. These principles should be applied in five priority areas of policy for which concrete targets should be attained by 2010. For example: in the domain of labour the proportion of employed among immigrants should be increased from the present 47 percent to 57 in five years. That should be done by a range of measures including job creation projects, joint action with trade unions and employers, language training, but also by increasing the

number of immigrants among city employees and applying 'contract compliance' to stimulate the private market to do so.

Zooming in on housing, the document states this vision: "As a city, Copenhagen will be a cohesive unit. The negative spiral in vulnerable housing areas is to be reversed. All of Copenhagen's housing areas should contain diversity in terms of both inhabitants and types of housing." (City of Copenhagen 2006, 25). The term 'vulnerable housing area' is constructed in the document by combining the following elements:

- a) 2 out of 10 residents in the city as a whole are unemployed or on social benefits, but they are not randomly distributed;
- b) In public housing there is a strong concentration of residents on social benefits (4 out of 10) and of immigrants;
- c) Public housing can be divided into four types of areas: 1) 'vulnerable areas', having more than 50 % residents on social benefits¹⁴; 2) 'high risk areas', having between 40 and 50 % residents on social benefits; 3) 'risk areas', between 30 and 40 %, and; 4) 'neutral areas', below 30 %.
- d) There turns out to be a direct correlation between the level of dependence on benefits and the percentage of 'immigrants'.

There are five 'vulnerable areas' in the city of Copenhagen, that is: specific social housing parts within a larger district with more than 50 % of its residents on benefits and at the same time 7 out of 10 being immigrants: Mjølnerparken, Lundtoftegade, Aldersrogade, Tingbjerg and Akacieparken.

The objective of the housing policy is "to have no new vulnerable areas in Copenhagen and to reduce the proportion of people in vulnerable housing areas who have no connection to the labour market by 10 % by 2010" (City of Copenhagen 2006, 26). This has to be done by 1) creating jobs in the areas; 2) new allocation rules for these areas to prevent increase of inhabitants on benefits; 3) incentives for people on benefits to move elsewhere; and 4) attract high resource families.

As to the organisation of policies within the city of Copenhagen: the highest political authority is the chosen City Council of 55 members. In the preceding period

¹⁴ This categorisation was taken from the city policy document. The categorisation of the Ministry of Social Affairs adds another criterion: size. In that categorisation areas are 'vulnerable', if they have more than 1200 inhabitants in public housing of which more than 40 percent of adults are on social benefits, while 'high risk areas' are smaller and have more than 40 percent adults on social benefits.

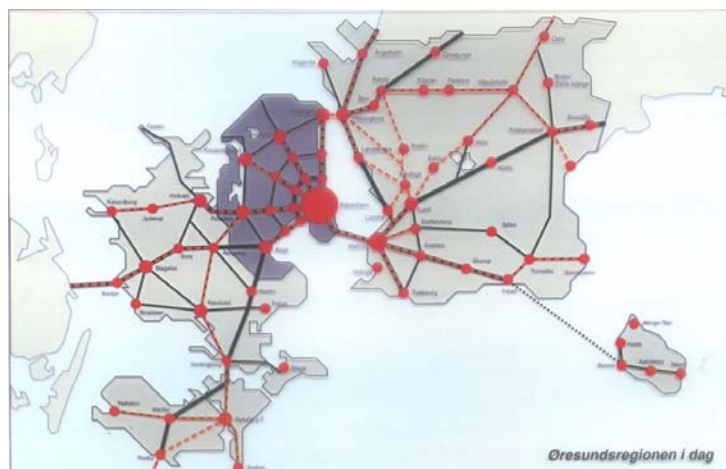
(2002-2005) there were seven committees of this council, each having a corresponding executive administrative department: 1) Finances; 2) Culture and Recreation; 3) Education and Youth; 4) Health and Care; 5) Family and Labour Market; 6) Building and Construction, and 7) Energy, Water and Environment. Integration policies for immigrants had to be coordinated across these departments. After the elections of 2005 a special Committee for Integration was formed, located in the new Department of Labour Market and Integration, in order to strengthen the coordination and implementation of policies. The Office of Integration within that department has incorporated a number of experts of other departments.

Copenhagen has an Integration Council since 1998. The Council used to consist of nominated representatives of ethnic organisations, experts and representatives of the social partners, housing corporations and education. The Council should a) 'attend to the interests of the ethnic minorities and act as their mouthpiece', and b) 'guide the politicians, the standing committees and the administration of the city on how to secure an efficient and coherent integration policy'. It is thus a consultative body with a specific domain. It advises directly to the City Council, the highest decision making body of the city. The newest Council is, different from the previous ones, chosen by officially organised elections¹⁵ among immigrants in the city in November 2006 and consists of 23 members of (non-Western) immigrant origin.

¹⁵ Notwithstanding a great investment of the city in the electoral procedure (making the lists of (non-Western) voters under conditions of protection of privacy, making different ways of voting possible, etc.) only 11,5 percent of potential voters actually voted. There have been complaints about too little information to the public and confusing messages and procedures. From circles of immigrants it is furthermore reported that the Council is not broadly accepted, partly because many do not feel represented and partly because the council is not seen as influential.

Other sources suggest that the low level of participation is also due to the fact that some local politicians have suggested to abolish the Council. (Since January 2004 such a local Council has become optional, while formerly it was an obligation (§ 42 of the 1999-law), if more than 50 adults of immigrant origin would request so).

The difficult position of the Council seems also symbolised in the fact that its chairman stepped down briefly after I had interviewed him during my field visit.



A few facts about Denmark and Copenhagen plus the surrounding region 2004-2005

	Area km ²	Number of Municipalities*	Dwellings 1.000	Population 1.000	Jobs 1.000
Municipality of Copenhagen	90	1	286	500	320
Copenhagen Region	2.900	29	900	1.830	980
Øresund Region	21.200	79	1.750	3.600	1.720
Danish part	9.800	46	1.200	2.440	1.230
Swedish part	11.400	33	550	1.160	490
Denmark	43.100	98	2.630	5.410	2.700

* 1.1.2007

Map: The new administrative division since 1-1-2007.

2.3. Inter-city cooperation

The city of Copenhagen used to have a complicated and layered system of relations with its immediate environment as explained in 2.1.. Since January 1st, 2007 a new structure was put in place that has reduced the number of municipalities from some 275 to 98, abolished the counties and defining five regions. The new situation (Copenhagen city – Copenhagen region - Øresund region¹⁶) is given in the map above. Frederiksberg is still an enclave within the city.

In the policy domain of housing, it appears that cooperation within the old units has been rather problematic or absent altogether. National rules on local taxation and on planning of land use and building do not seem to have stimulated cooperation between independent municipalities, to say the least. Copenhagen, with its limited territory, its high costs for land and building and its typically stronger low-income population, ends up

¹⁶ Skifter Andersen (2007a, 30) notes that “there has actually been a movement from Copenhagen to Malmø which in 2004 has increased to about 3000 persons per year.”

with a – not-chosen – division of tasks in housing in the wider region. It is not clear how the new structure will work out.

3. Housing situation of the city

3.1. Housing stock and housing market in general

As indicated above, Denmark has a long tradition of social housing, going back to the 1920s. In the post-war period the 1960s and 1970s have been the heydays of building in general and of social housing in particular. This is still partly reflected in the housing stock. Recent trends, however, indicate a reversal of this historical outline in several respects, as the following overview explains.

The present state of housing policy in Denmark has been characterised by Skifter Andersen et al. (2000) as follows:

- 1) “Housing construction is at a relatively low level. Non-profit housing has been reduced to the lowest level since the 1950s because the municipalities do not want to finance their part except for houses for elderly and the disabled. Private housing construction has increased a little but probably not enough to satisfy long-term demand. Share housing as well as private owned housing of various kinds is growing.”¹⁷
- 2) “The renewal policy is changed from comprehensive and costly plans to moderate modernisation of old buildings in deprived community areas with partly private investments and with contributions via negotiated rent increase. Many of the non-profit residence areas erected during the 1960s and 1970s are upgraded to make them more competitive on the local markets to be attractive for more diverse groups of households.”

¹⁷ In Denmark local taxes are the most important source of income for municipalities (about one third of the income). This has an influence on building policies of municipalities (to build to attract well-to-do versus social housing that by definition attracts low-income residents). This is compensated to a certain extent by redistribution through national regulations for building social housing. The choices actually made by municipalities often reflect dominant political orientations of municipalities (see Skifter Andersen 2007a, 28).

3) “The non-profit housing associations¹⁸ are however still obliged to serve social purposes by agreement with the municipality that have the right to allocate families to at least 25 percent of available flats. Although attempts have been made to include private owned flats and co-operative houses¹⁹ in the social allocation process to avoid more segregation these efforts have not been successful.”

In terms of ownership the history of social housing is still reflected nowadays in a pattern at the national level.²⁰ Owner-occupied housing consisting of single-family and multi-family houses and condominiums (owner-occupied flats) accounts for 52% of the housing stock. Co-operative housing is an indirect form of ownership which was institutionalised in 1979. Co-operatives currently account for 7% of the stock. Private rental housing provided by landlords operating on a for-profit basis currently accounts for 17%.²¹ Social housing is provided by housing associations operating on a non-profit basis, and was mainly established in the post war period. Reflecting the financial advantages attached to this segment, the proportion of the dwellings belonging to this segment has doubled since 1960 and currently accounts for 20% of the total housing stock. Other types of housing account for 4 % (Erlandsen et al. 2006, 15/16).

Since 1995, Danish house prices have increased substantially with an average yearly growth rate of 8% (6% real). At the same time it has become easier to borrow money as mortgages became more flexible and interest rates were low. Regional house price developments are quite unequal, but the capital stands out with the highest price increases (Erlandsen et al. 2006).

¹⁸ Denmark has a relatively large social housing sector, which is organized as non-profit housing associations. These are subjugated to a strong public regulation and local authorities are empowered to supervise their activities and administration.

¹⁹ In co-operative housing the property or estate is owned by the housing co-operative and each resident owns a share of the co-operative. When a dwelling is sold the newcomer has to pay a price for this share. The prices of shares are regulated and are determined as the difference between the mortgage debts in the property and the taxable value fixed by the authorities. This value is determined by principles used for private renting with rent control and is fairly low. That is why prices of shares often are well below market values (Skifter Andersen 2007a, p. 8).

²⁰ The Danish pattern differs a bit from the average of other Nordic and European countries, with a smaller share of owner-occupied housing and a higher share of rented housing, particularly social housing.

²¹ Private renting in the older stock decreased with about one-third from the middle of the sixties to the end of the eighties. Besides demolition of old and worn-down buildings the main reason was a transformation of dwellings to owner-occupied flats, which were made possible from 1966. This transformation of tenure was, however, partly stopped in the seventies and totally prohibited after 1980. Instead a great number of private lettings in the following years were transformed to co-operatives after an act was passed in parliament. This act ordered landlords, with the intention of selling their property, first to give an offer to sitting tenants who want to form a co-operative (Skifter Andersen 2007a, 10-11).

The city of Copenhagen takes a specific place with significant deviations from the national pattern of the Danish housing market, outlined above. Firstly, the percentage of owner-occupied housing is relatively low, reflecting the history of strong social housing of the city on the one hand²², and prices that are far too high for the major part of the population.

Table 2. Housing stock in Copenhagen as of 1-1-2004 according to tenure status:

Dwellings total	279.925	100%
1) Inhabitant owns the house	55.919	20
2) Private rental dwellings	72.936	26,1
3) Non-profit rental dwellings	55.510	19,8
4) Private cooperative houses	91.785	32,8
5) State of municipality owned rental houses	3.775	1,3

Data provided by The Technical and Environmental Administration, City of Copenhagen.

Secondly, the category of cooperative housing in Copenhagen is nearly five times higher than the national average. There are particular reasons for that. One of them is that the city of Copenhagen, when it was nearly bankrupt in the mid-1990s, sold most of the 20.000 flats it owned to its tenants, mostly in the form of cooperative housing. Another is the general rule that if a privately let house is sold, the tenant has a first right to buy. This is mostly done in the cooperative format. And obviously many private owners of rental house have sold their property to tenants during the last decades.²³

Thirdly, the percentage of social housing owned by housing corporations is very similar to the 20 percent at the national level, but the city itself owns very few housing units (since the mid-1990s).

²² During the period 1960 - 1990 a significant out-migration took place that was mainly connected with general growth in the economy, higher incomes combined with tax rules (deductible interest and inflation), lack of building sites in the municipality and high building activity in the surrounding region (especially in the 1970s), plus the outdated housing quality in the municipality of Copenhagen (high percentage small, old fashioned flats). As a result net out-migration 1970-79 was in the order of 125.000 inhabitants (app. 20 % of the population of the city).

²³ The market of cooperative houses has thus developed into a very specific part of the market: it often concerns older houses with substandard amenities. A large part of the occupants are young people/ students (by ownership or by subletting). It means a high turnover of residents in that market. The sector is not open for outsiders, but works through informal networks and procedures. There are no publicly controlled waiting lists.

The specific distribution of housing over different sectors has consequences for the quality of housing. According to a survey (Kilde: Københavns Kommunes Boligbarometer, June 2005) the number of dwellings with a lack of installations in Copenhagen has fallen gradually over the past years. The public urban renewal has resulted in less outdated dwellings in the city. However, there are still 42.000 dwellings without private bathroom. These dwellings accounts for 15 % of the housing stock and are mostly found in old buildings in co-operative housing and private rental housing. In the rest of the metropolitan region dwellings without private bathroom make up 3 % of the total housing stock.

The appreciation of the present housing market of Copenhagen of officials in housing (of both the Technical and Environmental Administration and of Housing Corporations) is that:

- there is a severe shortage of housing in the city;
- the housing stock has too many small flats; there is a shortage of larger housing units;²⁴
- the social housing percentage in the market is too small in relation to the tasks and obligations of this sector to house the vulnerable part of the tenants²⁵;
- new building in the social sector is low, hindered by a combination of factors, such as high land prices, high building costs, constraints of 'balanced rent rates'²⁶, investments required from the city that cannot/ is not always willing to invest, and the changed national regulations for social housing.

3.2. *Accessibility of the housing market system for migrants and minorities*

Access to the different sections of the housing market, and rules applicable, differ significantly, and they have specific consequences for immigrants. Firstly, access to the

²⁴ In the cooperative sector of the market individual owners sometimes decide to join two small flats into one larger one.

²⁵ Lack of (low cost) housing has become an important election theme. Thus the recently elected mayor, Ritt Bjerregård, campaigned with the promise "to build 5000 units of a monthly rent of 5000 Danish Krone".

²⁶ The principle of 'balanced rent rates', introduced by national housing policies, is that rents should equalize costs/expenditure and at the same time rents should be low. High land prices and building costs thus become a structural impediments for building new social housing.

owner-occupant sector is reserved for those who have a steady and relatively high income. Typically, 30-year mortgages with interests²⁷ finance the house in this sector. Prices have gone up recently and the tax deductable of interest has been lowered nationally and locally. Furthermore, building in this sector within the city has decreased to less than 1000 houses built yearly (from 3000 annually before). This sector is thus in practice inaccessible for immigrants, unless they are well-to-do.

The cooperative sector has its own specific dynamics. On the one hand there is the mechanism of transforming a rental house into a cooperatively owned one: that is only possible for tenants that rented the house already, in combination with an owner that wants to sell (and has to give first rights to buy to the tenant). It is reported that at least part of the early labour migrants that settled in Copenhagen in the late 1960s and early 1970s have profited from these regulations and have become cooperative owners. For newcomers, however, that market seems to be factually closed, since taking over such houses, or sub-renting them requires networks, information and knowledge how the complicated system works. The accessibility of the sector is not publicly controlled.

Accessibility of the rental sector is to a certain extent dependent on general rules for the renting sector.²⁸ Two principles are relevant here. Firstly, “the rent for public, social housing is fixed and controlled according to the ‘rent balance’ principle, whereby the overall rent for every single housing estate must at all times be sufficient to cover the unit's operating expenses and savings for future maintenance. The rents are thus dependent on the historical costs and funding of every estate, which produce big differences in capital costs and rents between newer and older estate. These differences are to some extent equalized by transfers to a central fund for all social housing.” (Skifter

²⁷ According to the Koran muslims are not allowed to pay interest, which could be a possible obstacle to buy own property. It is reported that a new model of financing owner-occupied dwellings is introduced in January 2007 that could solve this problem. However, no traces of such loans have been found yet.

²⁸ The most important element in the regulation of private renting is rent control. Other kinds of regulation concern tenants' rights and influence. Especially important is tenants' security against being evicted from their apartment. Other rules exist concerning tenants' rights to information and influence on maintenance, improvements and administration in general. The use of vacant dwellings has also been regulated. In Denmark tenants have a right to change apartments with other tenants from inside and outside their estate, which means that the landlords in many cases are not able to decide on who is going to move in (Skifter Andersen 2007a, p. 7/8).

Andersen 2007a, 8).²⁹ Secondly, as for the renters, two types of individual housing benefits are available in Denmark: rent allowance and rent subsidy. Rent allowances are granted to pensioners and rent subsidies are awarded to non-pensioners. Both rent allowances and rent subsidies are primarily aimed at households in rented dwellings.³⁰

The private rental market in Copenhagen does not differ essentially from the cooperative sector, when it comes to accessibility for newcomers who want to rent. Both sectors are strongly regulated in the sense that rents are fixed and prices are well below market levels. This means that there is a long queue for such dwellings where people with good contacts to landlords and residents in co-operatives have a great advantage.

The social housing sector has a system of waiting lists from which new tenants have to be taken. These lists can be quite long, which means that households coming from other regions have difficulties to get into social housing. Moreover, residents inside the sector have a special and much shorter waiting lists which means that it is much easier for them to move to a new dwelling inside the sector than for outsiders. (Erlandsen, E, J. Lundsgaard & F.Huefner 2006).

The social housing sector of the city of Copenhagen has some 55.000 housing units, owned by some 20 to 30 housing corporations. In principle there are two ways to come into the social housing system. The first is the general one: candidates enlist themselves on open waiting lists, paying a small registration fee.³¹ In principle one can enlist for more than one housing corporation. Vacant flats are allocated according to the place on the waiting list (that can be long, also through early enlisting for which a minimum age of 15 has been set by national regulations recently).

²⁹ This leads to considerable differences between rents in older private rented dwellings and newer ones – differences that only partly can be attributed to differences in quality and location. In fact much of the older housing stock has an attractive location central in cities.

³⁰ The use of both systems is significant. According to Skifter Andersen (2007a, 8) in 1998, an average of 333 000 households received rent allowances, while an average of 166 000 households received rent subsidies. The total 499 000 households, equivalent to approximately 21 per cent of all households in Denmark, received an average of DKK 17 000 in individual housing benefits in 1998. For households that received housing benefits in 1998, the average benefits covered 50 per cent of the rent (60 per cent for pensioners and 30 per cent for non-pensioners).

³¹ Housing association do cooperate when it come to service to applicants. There are certain points in town that supply information and where clients can register.

The second way to get in is through special allocation by the municipality: the city has the right to fill one third³² of all vacant flat for categories that need housing for social reasons, such as elderly, disabled, drug addicts. Here the category of new immigrants and refugees comes in. National integration policies, as described earlier, have regulations for access to housing for the specific category of refugees (Ministry 2006b, 61 ff) and it goes hand in hand with the three-year introduction programme. Refugees and immigrants allocated to Copenhagen city³³, are placed into the one-third vacant housing units of the housing corporations by the Department of Social Affairs of the city. On the basis of the new national and local housing policy this has to be done - as per January 1st, 2007 - in such a way that tenants on benefits (so new refugees by definition) will not be placed in 'vulnerable areas' and 'high risk areas'. These two types comprise some 14.000 dwellings, or one-fourth of the housing corporation stock in the city. The regulation is so new that there is no notion yet whether and how it works.

The municipality of Copenhagen reports that at the moment there isn't any systematic information and data on discrimination of migrants in the local housing market. However, the city is about to implement different initiatives concerning monitoring discrimination. Besides monitoring, the city of Copenhagen intends to strengthen the Citizens Advice Service³⁴, particularly related to guide citizens with complaints. The Citizens Advice Service can take complaints of discrimination on account of race, skin colour, religion, political persuasion, nationality, social status or ethnic origin and mediate the complainant and the city. Since January 2007, the CAS has been given its own operational competences: it may take up cases of a principle nature of

³² The general rule is that municipalities may allocate 25 percent of vacant rental dwellings. However, Copenhagen has negotiated a higher percentage with the housing corporations some ten years ago.

³³ In principle the Danish Immigration Service decides where refugees and accepted asylum applicants come to live. This allocation is based on an agreement on the number of refugees municipalities can receive, or if such an agreement fails, a scheme for allocation will be fixed by the government. Individual preferences of refugees will be taken into account as such schemes allow. With allocation for housing the municipality also takes responsibility for the introduction programme, which is financed nationally. Once allocated to a municipality the refugee is free to move, but the new municipality should accept responsibility for the introduction programme.

³⁴ The Citizens Advice Service (equivalent to Ombudsmand) is created by the Copenhagen City Council to make it easier for citizens, users, traders and businessmen in the City of Copenhagen to lodge complaints. The Citizens Advice Service is an independent body, operating outside the control of the City's Administrations, Committees and Mayors. At the Citizens Advice Service, anyone can complain about the City's case handling, the behaviour of staff and the provision of public services, such as housing, teaching, childcare, home help and street cleaning.

(lacking) service delivery or city administration for systematic investigation. Additionally it was given the task to report annually on discrimination, including the city administration. It was furthermore decided that that CAS should be made more visible through campaigns.

3.3. Spatial concentration and housing situation of residents with migration background

There is significant analytic material on concentration and segregation in Copenhagen³⁵, but most of it is on the level of Greater Copenhagen, covering a much larger area than the city itself. This is, however, more an advantage than a disadvantage, since it turns out that the city forms a specific part of a pattern within that larger area. To get the general picture let us look first at an early study (Skifter Andersen, Andersen & Ærø 2000) based on data of 1996.

“The geography of Greater Copenhagen is marked firstly by a zonal structure, which differentiates the population due to life cycle stage. In general, the more distant from City, the higher the number of families and the lower the share of elderly. However, during the last 5-10 years the inner suburbs have replaced central Copenhagen as the zone with most elderly people and fewest youngsters.

Secondly, the social pattern has a clear sectorial dimension regarding socio-economic status: The northern most sectors have concentrated the socio-economic elite in Copenhagen - high incomes, professionals, managers etc - and in contrast low incomes and marginalised people are concentrated in South and South West. However, the general level of segregation in Greater Copenhagen is relatively low compared to other metropolises in Europe and the United States.

There are, however, major differences between municipalities within the same sectors of the region; this cannot only be explained by variation in attraction or general forces of segregation. Instead these differences are linked to the composition of the housing market in each municipality. (..) (M)ore than half of the segregation of

³⁵ The most prominent scholar in this field is Hans Skifter Andersen of the University of Copenhagen and the Danish Building Research Institute. I thank him for making many of his studies, some of them in manuscript form, available.

marginalised people between sectors in the region can be explained by differences in housing supply. (...) (I)nside each tenure the segregation is much smaller than between sectors and rings.

Ethnicity has appeared during the last two decades (1976-1996, rp) as a dimension of some importance; the most striking characteristic is the concentration in a few selected areas. This is partly a consequence of the segmentation of the Danish housing market; as many immigrants belong to low income groups, their opportunities on the housing market are limited to the more unattractive parts of the social housing sector and the private rental sector. There are, however, also signs that immigrants either have tried, by themselves, to concentrate in certain estates, or that they to some extent have been excluded from social housing in other municipalities.” (Skifter Andersen, Andersen & Ærø 2000)

As can be expected on the basis of such conclusions, the segregation of ethnic groups is more extensive than of income groups. The situation of two years later, 1998, is outlined in table 3 (Skifter Andersen 2007a, 26):

Table 3. Segregation of ethnic groups in the Copenhagen region 1998

Region	Centre	Northern suburbs	South-Western Suburbs	Eastern suburbs	Outer Suburbs
<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Over-representation in parts of the region, per cent</i>				
Denmark	-4.5	2.5	-0.7	6.1	4.4
High developed countries*	33.1	18.9	-32.4	-18.6	-35.9
Eastern Europe	57.7	-46.8	-2.4	-73	-29
3 rd world countries	35.9	-39.5	32.1	-66.5	-41.1
Index of segregation	42.8	23.6	15	4.9	22.1
* Western Europe, USA, Canada, Australia, Japan and New Zealand					

Source: Skifter Andersen & Borgegård 1999, appendix 5.

This table is based on nationality. It shows that immigrants from poorer countries are very much concentrated in the Centre and in the south western suburbs, while immigrants

from more wealthy countries often have settled in the northern part. They are also found in the Centre, but more seldom in the south.

Following up “the signs that immigrants either have tried, by themselves, to concentrate in certain estates, or that they to some extent have been excluded from social housing in other municipalities” of the foregoing conclusions, Skifter Andersen (2007b, forthcoming) recently published a study of housing choices among ethnic minorities in Denmark, based on 1) a database of all moving households in the year 2002, and 2) a survey among a sample of moving families of foreign ethnic origin and among households moving to and from three selected multiethnic neighbourhoods. I take the liberty to quote extensively and literally Skifter Andersen’s conclusion, since he brings empirical evidence to some crucial assumptions on the role of segregation. His study shows *“that immigrants in Denmark to a great extent move to social housing and to neighbourhoods with many ethnic minorities among the residents – called multiethnic neighbourhoods. Especially immigrants of Arab, Somali and Turk origin have gathered in multiethnic neighbourhoods.*

One of the reasons for this is shown to be that ethnic minorities have difficulties in getting access to the highly regulated private renting and co-operative sectors in Denmark. This points to that either discrimination or to lack of social network could be explanations. Moreover, ethnic minorities often are located in the largest and least attractive estates where most of the Danes do not want to live.

Another explanation has been formulated as 'preferences for living in ethnic enclaves', which means neighbourhoods where a certain number of residents belong to the same ethnic group as the family in question. The Danish study supports this explanation. Ethnic minorities explicitly express preferences for living in neighbourhoods with many countrymen, but even more important for them is to live close to family and friends. Statistical analyses showed that the moves of ethnic minorities to multiethnic neighbourhoods cannot be explained by the usual variables as income, employment, family situation etc. The presence of countrymen in the chosen neighbourhood was showed to have a strong statistical effect in our analyses of housing choice. The analyses pointed to that the most important factor is if there are a certain number of countrymen

in the neighbourhood to create a viable ethnic society. The total number of countrymen in the neighbourhood – or the share of residents – is not so important.

The study moreover tried to test two different theories on multiethnic enclaves. The 'Spatial Assimilation Theory' says that immigrants will leave the enclaves in the course of time as they get more integrated in their new society. This theory was to some extent confirmed by the Danish evidence as it was shown that ethnic households moving away from the multiethnic neighbourhoods had higher incomes and employment, more often had obtained Danish citizenship and had stayed longer in the country compared to newcomers at the same time as the employment level in the neighbourhoods did not change over the years. The study points to the fact that many of the immigrants moving to Danish multiethnic neighbourhoods are newly arrived and are not in work. Some of them move away again after some years when they have got employment and a better economic situation.

Competing theories, called the 'Ethnic Resources Theory' or 'Cultural Preference theory' say that the advantages for ethnic minorities to live in enclaves are so strong that they will tend to stay in the neighbourhoods and try to make their housing career inside the enclaves. This theory was in the first time tested by comparing ethnic households moving inside the multiethnic neighbourhoods with newcomers, households moving out and all residents. This evidence did not support the theory. It points to that only the weaker and less integrated immigrants try to make their housing career inside the multiethnic neighbourhoods while the more successful immigrants move away. It was, however, also shown that some of the more integrated ethnic minorities had stayed in the neighbourhood for more than 10 years. A possible explanation for this could be the strong importance ethnic minorities ascribe to live close to family and friends.” (Skifter Andersen (2007b, forthcoming, 9-10).

These conclusions lead Skifter Andersen to a discussion with policies of Denmark: “In Denmark and in many other countries there has for some years been a political focus on multiethnic neighbourhoods as a big problem in society. This focus has to a great extent been a result of increasing social problems in these areas with a high concentration of both Danes and ethnic minorities with low incomes and high unemployment. There is much evidence for that this focus is justified (Skifter Andersen 2003). But in Denmark in recent years there has been a growing conception of

multiethnic neighbourhoods as an obstacle for integration of ethnic minorities. There has been created a picture of these neighbourhoods as a place where ethnic groups are accumulated and form 'parallel societies', which hamper or obstruct their integration in the Danish society and from which they will never escape. This conception has led to measures, which hampers the access for ethnic minorities to move into multiethnic neighbourhoods, and to proposals of demolition of estates.

Our study has shown that this picture is not accurate. The neighbourhoods are far from being static and many immigrants use them as a temporary station on their way into the Danish society. Some are staying in the multiethnic neighbourhoods but we don't know if this is a problem.” (Skifter Andersen (2007b, forthcoming, 10).

Skifter Andersen's foregoing argument should be taken as a discussion on the assumptions of policies, not on the necessity of taking action. In another article (Skifter Andersen 2001) he is more explicit on what policies can and cannot do. In that study he evaluates the Danish urban policy and area-based initiatives in 500 social housing estates in the last part of the 1990s (the so called Kvarterløft programme) . He propose to make an analytic distinction between three “*types of strategies*:

- 1. Efforts against exclusion of neighbourhoods: Initiatives that focus on how to stop and reverse the self-perpetuating processes in the areas that make them increasingly stigmatised and unattractive compared to the rest of the city.*
- 2. Area based efforts against social exclusion: As a supplement to general welfare policies it can sometimes be relevant to have efforts concentrated in deprived urban areas for two reasons: 1. to combat special effects produced by area deprivation that tend to increase social exclusion and 2. because local private resources perhaps could be mobilised to support public efforts*
- 3. General efforts against segregation: Initiatives that attack conditions, which tend to increase segregation. It could e.g. be differences between tenures or rules for allocation of dwellings in social housing.” (Skifter Andersen 2001).*

With this analytical tool he analyses the initiatives planned to take place from 1994 to 1998 in the Kvarterløft programme. These involved significant efforts from several ministries, local governments and the National Building Fund. These involved both investments in physical upgrading, rent decreases, social workers and activities and education initiatives. In his conclusions Skifter Andersen signals that evaluations of such

programmes vary significantly: *“One of the main reasons for this disagreement on the effects of area based initiatives is an inadequate understanding of the nature of deprived urban areas. In much of the literature deprived neighbourhoods have been interpreted as ‘pockets of poverty’ – a spatial concentration of poor people in parts of the cities caused by social inequality and segregation. This kind of understanding has led to that the potential purposes of area based efforts have been seen as limited and the effects of them to some extent been misinterpreted. An alternative understanding was proposed where deprived urban areas are understood as ‘excluded places’, which themselves contribute to spatial inequality and segregation.*

Based on this understanding of area based initiatives, Skifter Andersen distinguishes within the 500 social housing estates that were part of the Kvarterløft programme” *four strategies: 1. To strengthen social networks and reduce social problems in the areas (combat social exclusion), 2. To improve the ability of the estates to compete on the housing market (combat exclusion of the place), 3. To reduce segregation in general and 4. To reduce other consequences for local authorities of deprived neighbourhoods. The main instruments for the two first strategies were rent decreases, physical upgrading and social and organisational support.”*

Although Skifter Andersen is critical in pointing to the fact the resources, for political reasons, have been spread to too many estates with smaller problems and limited efforts, his evaluation is balanced: *“Marked positive effects of the improved competition strategy have (..) been observed, which has stopped the negative development in most of the estates and especially in the areas with the largest problems and the strongest efforts. Especially rent decreases have shown to be a strong instrument. But the problems have not been removed yet and it is necessary to continue the efforts.*

For many of the estates their reputation has been improved, which has had an effect on the mobility among tenants and the social composition of newcomers. The moving frequency has gone down – especially among tenants in employment - and more people in employment are found among the newcomers. As a consequence the earlier strong development in the composition of tenants,(..) more people on public transfers and less in employment, has come to a halt.

What has not been achieved is a suspension of the growth in the number of immigrants on the estates. There has thus been an increase in the share of immigrants in

the period 1996-97 after the measures were implemented. This can partly be explained by a general increase in the number of immigrants and refugees seeking dwelling in the period. Moreover, the rate of increase for immigrants on the estates was larger in the previous period 1994-95. So actually there have been some effects.

The local network strategy has in many estates succeeded in creating co-operation between the estates, local authorities, residents and other local actors and has to some extent reduced social problems. Especially problems with crime and vandalism have been reduced by efforts targeted against young people.

The Danish case thus confirms the conclusion made by Power (1997) and others, that area based initiatives have a purpose and that they also can work. But we are 'swimming against the tide' (Power and Tunstal 1995) and the initiatives must be of a sufficient long duration and extent and also combine physical, organisational, financial and social aspects. It is a costly effort but the alternative is to let the areas decline to the bottom where the consequence is abandonment and demolition. .” (Skifter Andersen 2001).

Most of the material on segregation presented thus far applies to the national level or to the Greater Copenhagen region. At the level of the city of Copenhagen – following the principles of general policies – there is detailed data on socio-economic segregation, particularly for the social housing areas, and relatively little on ‘immigrants’, and if so, it uses the narrow policy definition of ‘immigrants and refugees’. The general impression – from scattered statistical material and interviews - is the following: social and ethnic segregation has in recent years become pronounced, the problem being exacerbated by municipalities being forced to allocate refugees in the social housing sector that already contained a high share of weak social groups. As many immigrants belong to low income groups, their opportunities on the housing market are limited to the more unattractive parts of the social housing sector and the private rental sector. It is estimated that more than 60 percent – and some mentioned higher percentages - of ethnic minority households are living in social housing.

In Copenhagen there are some 300 smaller areas, relatively dispersed over the city, with clusters of social housing. As we have seen earlier, a classification is made of these areas in 1) ‘vulnerable areas’: Mjølnerparken, Lundtoftegade, Aldersrogaade,

Tingbjerg and Akacieparken; in these areas 7 out of 10 are immigrants; about 14.000 people live in these five areas; 2) 'high risk areas'; in these areas 5 out of 10 are immigrants; some 18.000 people live in these areas; 3) 'risk areas', about 40.000 residents, of which 3 of 10 are immigrants; and 4) 'neutral areas', 34.000 residents, one in ten being an immigrant (City of Copenhagen 2006, 25/26). There is thus a direct correlation between this categorisation on socio-economic criteria and the percentage of 'immigrants' (defined in the narrow sense). This seems to follow from the selective system of allocation of housing and/or the socio-economic characteristics and possibilities of clients within the existing housing system.

In general immigrants within social housing areas are of different nationality groups, but there are a few signals that within this system concentration of specific nationalities of immigrants exists. One particular case is an area in which there is a significant concentration of Somalis, given the popular name 'Somaliparken'. This concentration, in a newly built area in the 1990s, is explained by officials through the fact that the arrival of this group and the availability of houses in this new area coincided in time. It is not clear – and there is no documentation in Copenhagen – whether part of existing concentration of specific nationality groups is caused by preferential moving, as described earlier by Skifter Andersen (2007b, forthcoming).

During my fieldwork in Copenhagen I visited one of the five 'vulnerable areas', Lundtoftegade, a social housing area in the district of Nørrebro. The 750 housing units of this area are arranged in rows of large apartment blocks, originally built in the 1970s and renovated in the 1990s.³⁶ Between the blocks are open spaces with green, playgrounds and smaller facility buildings. The whole area makes the impression of being well kept. The housing corporation employs an experienced social worker – having an office next to the housing area. He has four tasks: 1) to network with, contact and cooperate with

³⁶ The housing corporation (AKB) that owns this area is a relative large one, having some 7000 units all together. It practices an active social policy within the area of Lundtoftegade, employing special workers to organise residents. AKB recently merged with another big housing corporation (KAB) administering another 7000 units in Copenhagen. Apart from the 14.000 dwellings in Copenhagen the new corporation owns some 35.000 units outside the city.



Lundtoftegade, a social housing area in the district of Nørrebro, designated as `vulnerable area: 750 housing units arranged in rows of large apartment blocks, originally built in the 1970s and renovated in the 1990s.



Lundtoftegade: between the blocks are open spaces with green, playgrounds and smaller facility buildings.

various organisations within the wider neighbourhood; 2) to activate, organise and assist youngsters in the housing area; 3) to do mediation for residents to work; and 4) to monitor and activate the internal organisation in the area. This 'integration practice' at the most local level, organised and financed by the housing corporation, seems to function quite well, both for the residents and for the owner.

4. Institutional setting and relevant actors

As is evident from the preceding analysis, Copenhagen's housing policies for immigrants should be situated in a complex of various institutions at different levels, and a great number of actors related to this. On the national level two institutional fields are of great relevance. The first is that of national integration policies, with its very particular framing of both immigration and integration, its specific definition of what category of immigrants are target groups of such policies, and the regulations made for the allocation of these immigrants, their reception and the obligation of municipalities to implement these. The second institutional field is that of housing policies that are to a great extent nationally organised and regulated: both in terms of the physical part of building and renewal, and the social part of how social housing is organised and financed, how ownership is promoted, how rents are controlled and how individual tenants are supported by state regulations of rent subsidies.

Such national regulations, combined with the consequences of local tax based on income of inhabitants, lead to policies and strategies of individual municipalities that may differ significantly. This does not lead to planned strategies of cooperation between municipalities on the regional level, to say the least. The result for Copenhagen is a marked segregation on socio-economic criteria primarily, in principle also for immigrants (defined as a general category of people born outside the country). However, since the policy definition of immigrants is narrowed down to non-Western immigrants, low socio-economic status and immigrant tend to coincide.

The role of the local government within the institutional frame created at the national level can be summarised as follows: a) taking responsibility for the newly

arrived refugees and immigrants during their first three years (the introduction period of the Integration Act that has recently been extended) by providing courses in Danish and on Danish society and trying to place them in employment through an individual contract and plan of action. And b) provide diverse efforts in all domains for integration at the local level (after the introduction period). As indicated above, the city of Copenhagen has – in its local integration policy – followed this national framing of the integration question, extending it and making it more comprehensive. Since 2005 the city has decided to reinforce the political strength by centralising the coordination function of such local integration policies in a special committee on a higher political level and bringing expertise from various department together in the Office for Integration.

Housing corporations, owning some 20 % of the total stock of dwellings in Copenhagen, are crucial players in the field of housing of immigrants, since they house the great majority of the target group of integration policies. Not only because they have the legal obligation to house clients proposed by the city, but also because these immigrants do not seem to have realistic chances to get access to other parts of the housing market. These housing corporations have to deal with several ambivalent elements of their present system. Firstly, in Copenhagen they do not have much opportunity to expand their scope of action by building, for several reasons. (In that sense they state that is 'luck' that the inflow of 'immigrants' has decreased in recent times as a consequence of strict immigration policies). Secondly, by the generalistic framing of policies, they are not allowed to distinguish between natives and immigrants, but at the same time they are asked to implement a policy that reduces the concentration of immigrants (defined primarily as socio-economic category) in 'vulnerable' and 'high risk areas' (or prevent further concentration). Thirdly, they have to implement social policies within their housing areas that are again of a general nature, applicable to all residents. Specificity of problems of immigrants, expertise needed to solve these and work with these specific groups is thus delegated to the lowest level of policy implementation. Undoubtedly, this is done very well in some cases – as illustrated by the case of Lundtoftegade that I described earlier – but it is not guaranteed nor controlled for the field as a whole (and negative example have also been reported). This seems particularly important in a social housing system, like the one in Denmark, in which residents have been given all kind of (also legally binding) rights of participation. On the one hand, there

is the danger in areas with a minority of immigrants that they are not made part of that participation dominated by natives; on the other hand, in areas where they form a majority, such participation may be underused for reason of weak organisation.

Apart from social policies related directly to housing areas, such as described above, the city of Copenhagen also has implemented social policies related to wider areas, combining efforts from several social policy domains. One of these is the SSP-programme. SSP is a locally based co-operation between School, Social Services and Police. In Copenhagen the Culture and Recreation Administration is also involved in this specific policy initiative. The aim of SSP is to prevent juvenile crime. In SSP Copenhagen more than 270 school teachers, youth club workers, police officers, social workers, librarians and employees from other cultural institutions are organised in 15 local groups in the municipality of Copenhagen, each having its co-ordinating committee. At the management level of the city the central coordination committee in which the highest levels of the departments are represented coordinates these efforts. Furthermore the Police in Copenhagen has a close cooperation with the local schools. Officers teach the children about laws, democracy and other topics. If children under the age of 18 are being charged for a crime the local Police visit the family to talk about the well-being of the family.

Participation of immigrants at the city level, specifically through the Integration Council, is not without problems. Although this Council is elected since 2006 through a formal election and now consists mainly of immigrants³⁷, it did not gain influence in policy making. The Council is heard systematically as part of the decision making procedures of the city. However, within the Council itself and the immigrant communities there are severe doubts as to how serious the council is taken by municipal authorities in its consultative function. Criticism is voiced in terms of 'politicians that pick and choose from their advice' and the council finds it difficult to put their own priorities (like discrimination in the police force) on the agenda. As for the particular domain of housing, the council has given in principle a positive advice on the new policies to stop further concentration of immigrants in vulnerable and high risk areas, but has insisted on implementing such a policy without discrimination. There should be a fair

³⁷ Three experts and two general organisations are still members of the Council.

alternative offer for housing for those who are allowed in certain areas. The council also stressed that immigrants should be enabled to use the participation opportunities in housing.

It is difficult to evaluate whether the critical attitude of the council is caused primarily by the polarised debate on integration and immigrants at the national level (and the degradation in status of the National Council for Ethnic Minorities CEM)) rather than by developments at the Copenhagen city level. In any case, in the field of housing policy of immigrants I did not find any reference – in interviews with city officials and policy implementers – to (work or advices of) the Integration Council.

Finally, Denmark has a long tradition of `watch dogs' in civil society that follow developments from the perspective of human rights. In this particular domain of housing of immigrants a national Danish Report on Discrimination in Denmark was produced for the EUMC in 2005 through a cooperation of a number of institutes, among which the Board for Ethnic Equality, the Documentation and Advisory Center on Racial Discrimination, The Danish Institute for Human Rights, The Danish Institute for Social Research and the Council for Ethnic Minorities. This report suggests that there is evidence for systematic discrimination at the national level: *“The national reporting for Denmark indicates clearly that individuals are directly discriminated against in the housing field, both in relation to access and through harassment in residence neighbourhoods. (...) Data reveal sharp tenure variation by ethnic origin, with those defined as immigrants and descendants from third countries mainly living in public rental accommodation. There seems to be little evidence of strong governmental commitment to developing anti-discrimination policy, and there is apparently a current official preoccupation with dispersal of refugees, “and to some extent migrants as well”.*” (Harrison, M., I. Law and D. Phillips 2005, 18/19).

What would be the specific situation of Copenhagen, evaluated by the data provided in the preceding paragraphs? As for the first, there are repeated statements in interviews that individual discrimination and harassment occurs also in Copenhagen, but no systematic research or reporting exists (yet). The city expects such reports soon as a consequence of the recently revised task of the CAS. As to the second, the sharp tenure variation at the aggregate level has been clearly demonstrated for Greater Copenhagen and the city itself, but whether one would define that as discrimination in the narrow

sense, or assert that it is the consequence of discrimination depends on the definition of discrimination³⁸. Thirdly, as to the commitment to develop an anti-discrimination policy, the city of Copenhagen plans indicate a deviation from national policies: the city has promised a significant effort to monitor and open possibilities for effective treatment of complaints.

5. Discourse, concepts and policy concerning housing

A first observation here is that public discourse on immigration and integration of immigrants is already for quite some time strongly politicised, expressing itself in articulate and often oppositional statements. This was also reflected in the interviews, in the media coverage of these topics and to a certain extent it also finds its expression (more indirectly) in policy documents.

This general characteristic of public discourse is translated also to the specific domain of housing policies for immigrants, a policy that at the level of Copenhagen follows national policies by defining the *problematique* primarily as a welfare state problem of people who are vulnerable on socio-economic criteria and who do tend to flock into certain areas. It is – in my view – remarkable that in this particular area there is much less of the polarised public debate, at least at the moment: there seems to be a general appreciation – shared by the Integration Council, officials of the city, housing corporations and even among policy implementers at the lowest level – that something has to be done to stop negative developments in certain areas, and that the recent proposals for such area-based (rather than immigrant targeted) policies should get a chance. This appreciation goes together - in the case of Copenhagen probably more than elsewhere – with the awareness among all these parties that such policies should imply a combination of measures (not just the re-allocation of low resource families). In this sense the new policies seems to have a basis to build on. At the same time the policy proposals have also raised numerous questions as to how to implement them and

³⁸ It can be called indirect discrimination through the selective mechanisms of access and allocation, as was shown before.

particularly how such implementation would work out for the (implicitly involved) target group of immigrants.

6. Conclusions and evaluation

In evaluating the Copenhagen case in comparative perspective, one first observation should be that Denmark is a welfare state in a rather pronounced form. In principle that means that it has inclusive policies, not only for its citizens, but for all legal residents. Equality and equal treatment are keywords in the political discourse.

It seems that the strength of these principles leads to the specificities of immigration and integration policies. Immigration is predominantly seen as a possible threat to the welfare state on the one hand and in recent years also as a threat to Danish identity and values (mirrored in the discussions of 'parallel societies'). Immigration policies are thus very defensive and restrictive, particularly for certain categories of immigrant that are perceived as embodying such threats. Integration policies are based on a particular combination of three principles: a) they are targeted at specific, problematic individuals, identified and named by general socio-economic criteria, not by the ethnic, cultural or religious characteristics (in statistics translated in the category of non-Western immigrants); b) they are formulated in general principles of equality (which means in practice equality with the native group in the same position); c) they are strongly oriented towards specific domains of work, education and housing. The combination of these principles lead to policies that – from the point of view of immigrant integration policies – are not comprehensive in terms of target groups (immigrant is not the defining characteristic, but problematic characteristics of some of them), and not in terms of the domains covered: the domains of culture, language and religion are not defined as policy domains in themselves, but appear predominantly as negative elements for the priority domains. Another consequence is that recognition of immigrants at the group level is weak and organisations of immigrants are not seen as a resource for policy making and

implementation³⁹. In the specific domain of housing this leads to 'replacement policies': area-based policies become the vehicle to solve problems of target groups. In international comparative perspective the Danish 'model' of integration of immigrants is clearly an inclusive one targeted at individuals and based on generalistic principles as opposed to inclusive models that explicitly define (ethnic) target groups and specific strategies that go with it.⁴⁰

The city of Copenhagen follows (or has to follow) the national model to a great extent, but also deviates from the national model in framing the integration process as a mutual process and naming diversity as a potential asset, thereby bringing in the possibility of including elements of the cultural and religious domain, by stressing less the mandatory nature of measures and more the engagement of various actors in society.

In the domain of housing the situation of Copenhagen is specific in a number of ways. The housing stock and its owner structure is the result of a complicated interplay of historical developments in the city, national institutional regulation on building and renting, and its specific place in regional developments. Copenhagen, like Denmark, does not have a policy for immigrants in general, but a specific policy for immigrants and refugees of non-Western origin, now 13.9 percent of its population. That category is housed in majority by placing them in that part of the market (some 20 percent) that is owned by housing corporations. The city has an obligation from national policies to place these immigrants, and the housing corporations in the city have the obligation to house them within the one-third category of allocations that the city is allowed to fill. Concentration of these immigrants in social housing in general, and within social housing in those areas where flats have become vacant (or available by new building) are the logical consequence of the system. Such initial concentration is possible reinforced by internal movement of immigrants on the basis of their preference to live near to their kin.

As far as immigrants are newcomers within the social housing system they find themselves in the least desired parts of social housing. In the Copenhagen situation, however, this does not necessarily mean that the physical quality of their dwelling is low, as compared to the whole of city dwellings: in general social housing in Copenhagen has

³⁹ City officials face – in their words – the problem that few immigrant organisations exist, that their existence is often fragile and that they rarely represent large groups of members.

⁴⁰ For an elaboration of such models and their internal logic see Penninx and Martiniello 2004.

a higher quality than for example the sizeable cooperative sector. The discussion on policies is not so much on the physical quality (apart from the lack of larger apartments for big families), but on the social aspects, particularly the 'vulnerability' of its residents and the (potential) negative effects of this for the social and physical environment in 'vulnerable housing areas'.

The new policies, introduced as of January 1st, 2007, aim at stopping the process of concentration of 'low resource families' in 'vulnerable areas' that have already more than 50 percent of such families (of which 70 percent immigrants) and preventing other areas to become vulnerable. It is clear – and nearly all partners involved in Copenhagen are aware of this – that displacing and replacing of a problematic category alone (and within the limited sub-market of social housing) will ultimately not solve the problem, even if that could possibly be done without discriminating individuals and categories involved. Much will depend on the ability at the local level (of these areas) to implement policies in the domains of work and education that prevents individual vulnerability on the one hand, and at the same time social policies of integration in residential committees, neighbourhood organisations, schools and the like, that prevent that living together of vulnerable individuals leads to vulnerability of the area as a whole. In that sense, integration policies in Copenhagen do frame problems in a more comprehensive context than national policies do. But if a large part of the populations in such area, and in some case a majority, is of non-Western immigrant origin, the crucial question is how much specificity one can bring to the policy efforts to be effective and how the practice of these policies are able to and enabled to tap into individual and collective resources of the groups concerned. The process of mutual adaptation and negotiation (mentioned in the Copenhagen policy document) is – by the logic of the framing of policy as a general one – delegated to this lowest level. It is only at that moment that it becomes clear that the economic and social vulnerable individuals are in majority also culturally and religiously different. That may have advantages in certain situations, but it may also have risks.

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Contacts and informants:

Torben **Agersnap**, Prof. At the Department of Organisation, Copenhagen Business School (ta.ioa@cbs.dk)

Khalid **Alsubeihi**, Chairman of the Integration Council of Copenhagen

Kent **Andersson**, City Commissioner, City of Malmö (kent.andersson.ks@malmo.se)

Jørgen **Dahl**, Town Planning Architect, Office for Integration, Employment and Integration Administration, City of Copenhagen (H932@bif.kk.dk)

Karima **Isert**, International Coordinator, Office for Integration, Employment and Integration Administration, City of Copenhagen (PG53@bif.kk.dk)

Ulrik Brock **Hoffmeyer**, Team Chef, Planning and Architecture, The Technical and Environmental Administration, City of Copenhagen (ilrhof@tmf.kk.dk)

Lotte **Holck**, former secretary of the Integration Council of Copenhagen, Office for Integration, Employment and Integration Administration, (...)

Martin Bak **Jørgensen**, Researcher, Aalborg Universitet (martinjo@ihis.aau.dk)

Jens Ole **Nielsen**, Technical Director, Planning and Architecture, The Technical and Environmental Administration, City of Copenhagen (jniels@tmf.kk.dk)

Gert **Nielsen**, Director of Boligselskabernes Landsforening BOGODT (National Association of Housing Corporations) (gn@bl.dk)

Anker **Pedersen**, Social worker for the housing corporation in Lundtoftegade, attached to the Neighbourhood Secretariat of Kvarterløft Nørrebro Park (ap@parkkvarter.dk)

Hans **Skifter Andersen**, Institute for Sociology, University of Copenhagen and the Danish Building Research Institute (hsa@sbi.dk)

Garbi **Schmidt**, Senior researcher of the Danish National Institute of Social Research and Academy of Migration Studies (gs@sfi.dk)