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

Urban Policies on Diversity in Copenhagen, Denmark

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1. Introduction

Copenhagen has as its declared goal to become the most inclusive metropolis in Europe by the year 2015. While the measures for determining this might be unclear and the success of the goal thus hard to establish, the goal itself speaks of the importance put on creating a city with room for diversity. Consequently, diversity-related considerations are incorporated explicitly into municipal policies and documents as well as into the daily work of municipal employees. In the context of a small and rather homogenous country like Denmark with a fairly recent history of immigration, the report will show how Copenhagen stands out as a pioneering municipality and a role-model for other municipalities with respect to diversity. Copenhagen is thus an interesting case to study with respect to its approach to diversity.

This report analyses how diversity is understood and handled in Copenhagen. On a national level, discourses and policy on diversity, migration and citizenship have gone from a guest-worker policy in the 1960s, through an integrationist/intercultural policy following the 1973 crisis, over a gradually intensifying assimilationist policy during the 1980s and 1990s, to the recent introduction of more integrationist/intercultural policies in the 2010s. In contrast, the dominating discourse in Copenhagen is pluralistic, focusing on the advantages of diversity and striving to create a city with room for diversity. Mainstreaming is taking place as a strategy for achieving coherent and successful initiatives with diversity-related considerations being integrated into the everyday management of the city. The direct resource allocation for diversity-related initiatives is therefore limited. However, to mirror the intensified focus on diversity, the municipal departments annually publish estimates of their expenditure on diversity within the city's integration policy. In line with the positive view on diversity, an intentional rhetorical change from integration to inclusion has been introduced, mirroring a change in political focus. While the reasons for this change might be good, the actual implications are questionable as the change has not been carried through consistently. Despite a declared broad definition of diversity, ethnic and socio-economic aspects become the primary focus of the everyday work. Challenges in the implementation of the formal policies limit the scope of their impact.

In general, the non-governmental actors applaud the Copenhagen Municipality for their diversity discourse. However, they find that the implementation and realisation of the policies pose substantial challenges. NGOs highlight how the success of diversity initiatives depend on cooperation between municipality, state, NGOs and local citizens and on policies being locally anchored in neighbourhoods, estates, associations, etc. Ambivalent attitudes exist within the interviewed NGOs as to whether the NGOs are given too much responsibility or not enough, and the municipality is criticised for being a rigid organisation with inefficient procedures. In the conclusion to the report, issues are raised as to the implications of the mainstreaming effort, the risk of gentrification as a consequence of area-based urban regeneration projects and the potential challenges that diversity entails.

The remainder of the report is divided into three chapters. Chapter 2 describes the political system and governance structure in Copenhagen. A context of this overview is then provided with an analysis of the general development of national discourses and debates on diversity, migration and citizenship in Denmark over the last decades. The first part of Chapter 3 analyses discourses and priorities of key governmental actors in Copenhagen as well as the resources allocated to diversity policies. The second part of Chapter 3 analyses non-governmental views and reflections on diversity policies as well as the openness of the policy-making processes. Chapter 4 summarises and concludes on the analysis.

2. Overview of the political system and governance structure in Copenhagen

2.1. Governance structure for urban policy in Copenhagen

Denmark is divided into 5 regions and 98 municipalities. The small scale of Denmark (being a country of only 5 million people) means that the distance from national politics to local politics is short; institutionally, legally and in practice. As the largest municipality by far, Copenhagen Municipality[1] is the dominant actor amongst local governments, and in many cases Copenhagen Municipality plays a more important role than the regional council of The Capital Region of Denmark[2]. On the local level, Copenhagen Municipality is divided into ten areas, all of which are governed by a local council consisting of both politicians and representatives of local associations. However, the municipality is not obliged to follow proposals by the local councils, and the main decision-making authority of Copenhagen Municipality is the central administration[3]. Copenhagen Municipality is the body around which urban policy in Copenhagen is generated as it possesses the main decision-making power in the everyday administration of the city (see Figure 1).[4] Copenhagen Municipality is governed by City Council which consists of 55 members elected for a four-year term. The council is made up of seven committees, each chaired by a mayor. The Finance Committee is the over-arching and coordinating body, and its administration manages the finances of the city and formulates long-term strategies for the physical, commercial and financial development of the city on a macro scale. The top management of the Finance Committee is the responsibility of the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen.

The other six committees of the municipality administer different subject fields. They are each chaired by a mayor and serviced by a corresponding administration. Regarding urban policy formulation, the key player is the Technical & Environmental Administration, which is in charge of local planning, urban regeneration, environmental issues and construction policies. They manage the cooperation with the social housing sector, the city's area-based programmes and community regeneration programmes. The coordinating body of these efforts is the Department of Urban Design. A very central player in the formulation of diversity-related urban policies is the Employment & Integration Administration and especially the Department of Inclusion & Employment. The Employment & Integration Administration manages income-support payments and employment activities. It is also responsible for coordinating the city's general diversity strategies and efforts and for the integration of foreigners into the labour market. The Department of Inclusion & Employment is responsible for formulating, coordinating and monitoring efforts regarding inclusion and integration of ethnic minorities, as well as equality of treatment and antidiscrimination regarding gender, sexuality, age, etc. The Employment & Integration Administration is also home to the Copenhagen Business Service, which services and supports local businesses and entrepreneurs. The Children & Youth Administration manages the public schools, day-care institutions and youth clubs of Copenhagen, making it a key player in the social and cultural inclusion of the city's young inhabitants[5].

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[1] The official English name of Copenhagen Municipality is City of Copenhagen. However, for the purpose of this report, the name Copenhagen Municipality is used.

[2] For the purposes of this project, the most important role of the regional government is the funding of free counselling and guidance for local entrepreneurs and company owners.

[3] Moreover, the local councils are currently in danger of being abolished.

[4] A part of Copenhagen is governed by a different municipality, Frederiksberg. Frederiksberg Municipality is much smaller than Copenhagen Municipality (100,000 inhabitants compared with 560,000) and generally more affluent.

[5] The remaining three committees and their administrations play a less prominent role in the formulation of diversity policies in Copenhagen. However, they are in no way unimportant. A central part of the municipal strategy on diversity is to mainstream diversity efforts making it a responsibility of all administrations (see Chapter 3).

Figure 1. Mapping of key institutions and organisations with influence on policies and discourses on diversity from national to municipal level. Denmark/Copenhagen, Feb. 2014
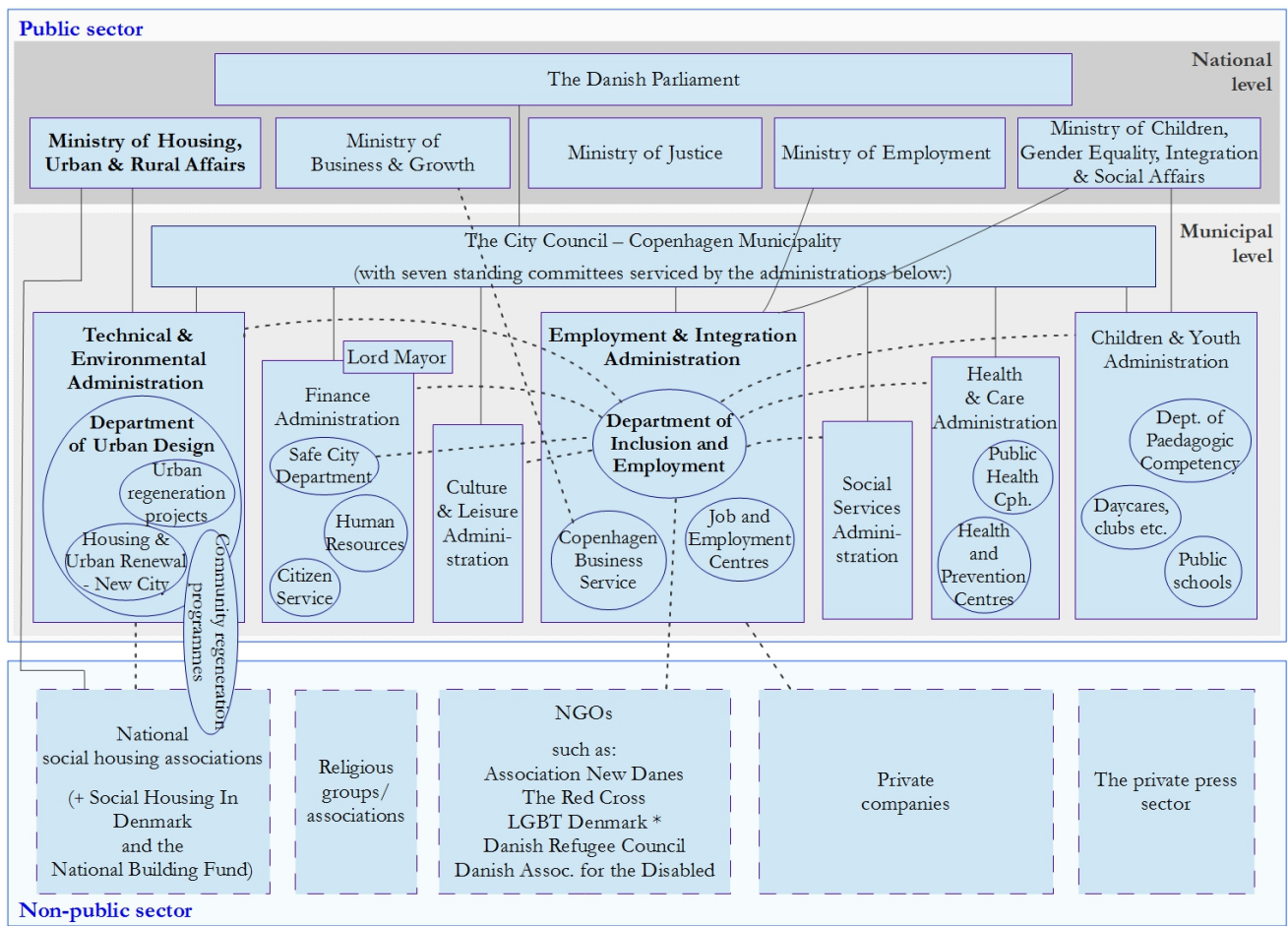
Besides the public sector, urban policy in Copenhagen is influenced by the work of NGOs, private actors, etc. However, Denmark is a country with a comprehensive welfare system, in which the public sector has a far-reaching influence and covers almost all areas of everyday life e.g. healthcare services, education services and social services. Consequently, a strategy on diversity can be implemented extensively and in all policy fields if so desired by the municipality. Mainstreaming of diversity-related efforts potentially widens the opportunities for this. Furthermore, the prevalence of private actors such as private hospitals and private educational institutions is limited due to the extensive welfare state. They do exist of course, but mainly as specialised alternatives oriented towards specific target audiences. In Copenhagen, the most important non-governmental actors regarding the formation of diversity-related urban policy are organisations representing specific population groups (i.e. unemployed ethnic minorities, highly educated foreigners) along with locally-based organisations and private institutions (i.e. private schools, youth clubs based on volunteers and drop-in-centres). Furthermore, the social housing sector plays an important role as this sector accommodates a great number of economically and/or socially marginalised people. In Denmark, social housing organisations are independent, but legally subjected to and financially supported by both the national government and local municipalities, situating them in the quasi-public sector.

2.2 Key shifts in national approaches to policy over migration, citizenship and diversity

The main focus in the Danish debate on diversity has been and continues to be on immigration and integration issues. These are the issues causing the most heated debates where attitudes conflict the most, in the public as well as between the political parties. Therefore, immigration and integration policies have been subject to more changes as different times and different ruling parties have led to tightening-up and loosening of legislation and initiatives (Hedetoft 2006). Table 1 presents an overview of selected key points in relevant Danish legislation.

Table 1: Selected key points in Danish legislation on migration, citizenship and diversity

Year	Description
1973	Complete stop for immigration, immediate effect
1978	Passing of Act on Equality of Treatment: Main focus non-discrimination based on gender
1983	Passing of The Aliens Act: Right to asylum for all refugees and right to family reunification. Right to residence in Denmark while asylum applications are processed
1989	Legalisation of registered partnership between same-sex individuals
1992	Revision of The Aliens Act: Applicants of family reunification must have lived in Denmark for a minimum of seven years prior to application
1994	Revision of The Aliens Act: Applicants for family reunification must be able to support their family members; tightening of requirements for obtaining asylum
1996	Passing of The Act on Differential Treatment: Against discrimination in the workplace
1998	Revision of The Aliens Act: Restriction on family reunification with parents from other countries. Passing of The Integration Act: Lower transfer payments for immigrants and refugees
2000	Annulment of The Integration Act The Social Housing Act: Introduction of flexible allocation rules
2002	Revision of The Aliens Act: Tightened requirements for obtaining permanent residence permit; family reunifications limited to people aged 24+ and subject to economic and housing demands; restriction of classification of refugees; reintroduction of lower transfer payment rates Revision of The Naturalisation Act: Limitation of special application rules for descendants
2002-2008	Parliamentary agreements on stricter naturalisation requirements: no debt, no criminal record, economic self-support, relinquishing other citizenships, knowledge test
2004	Revision of The Act on Differential Treatment: Discrimination based on age and disability included in the legislation Government strategy against ghettoization
2005	Revision of The Naturalisation Act: Knowledge test when applying for Danish citizenship
2009	Right to child adoption granted to same-sex couples
2010	Introduction of annual list of deprived social housing estates
2012	Revision of The Aliens Act: Abolishment of lower transfer payments and family reunification point system Legalisation of marriage of same-sex couples (including in churches)

Despite the attention given to immigration and integration issues, diversity regarding age, gender and sexuality are on the agenda as well. While the rights of homosexuals and compulsory paternity leave have been contested issues, the overriding tendency over the years has been towards more equality. Denmark has long considered itself a progressive country and, in the period studied, equality has almost been beyond discussion. Since 1978, Denmark has had the Act on Equality Treatment (primarily focused on the equality of women in the labour market). As the first country in the world, Denmark legalised registered partnerships in 1989. In 2012, marriage including religious weddings between two people of the same sex was legalised. In 2009, homosexuals were granted the right to adopt. Since December 2013, two women who are expecting a child through artificial insemination can be the legal parents of the child from birth.

As the examples show legislation changes are centred on achieving equality. A central discussion has revolved around the effectiveness of this kind of legislation as it aims at enhancing equality *of opportunity* rather than equality *of outcomes*. This has fostered new legislation focused on equality of outcomes, e.g. preferential   treatment of female applicants for executive positions in an attempt to increase the gender equality of corporate executives. However, it remains a contested issue whether or not to secure equality of outcomes by measures such as gender quotas and compulsory paternity leave. While discussions of gender and sexuality discrimination have only periodically entered the scene, immigration and integration have continually been central themes.

From guest worker policy in the 1970s to the integrationist/intercultural policy of the eighties
In the late 1960s and early 1970s, when migrant workers started to arrive in Denmark, the political focus on immigration and integration was very limited. A guest worker policy was in place (Syrett & Sepulveda 2012): Migrants were seen as guest workers who would cover a periodic shortage in the labour force and then return to their home country. As a consequence of the international oil crisis in 1973 and the ensuing financial crisis, foreign workers were no longer given work permits. During the 1980s, refugees from dictatorships such as Vietnam and Chile were granted asylum and the right to family reunification on the basis of the Aliens Act of 1983. This was considered a very liberal act. The general attitude in the country towards these newcomers was predominantly positive. Politically, the focus was on the financial crisis and not on immigration and integration policies. Some right-wing politicians voiced critical stances on the juridical approval of refugees into the country, posing it as a threat to the Danish welfare society. However, these comments were not taken seriously by the wider public and the political opinion.

The 1990s and 2000s: An intensifying assimilationist policy
From 1980 to 1990, the share of immigrants and descendants living in Denmark rose from approx. 3% to 4.3%. This 40% rise was a consequence of a substantial wave of refugees arriving in Denmark. Meanwhile, it became apparent that many guest workers chose to stay in Denmark and have their families reunited with them. This led to changed attitudes towards immigrants in and a more assimilationist policy (Syrett & Sepulveda 2012). With the beginning of the 1990s, minority groups of a substantial size were present in Denmark and immigration rates were still increasing. This gave rise to gradually intensifying debates in both the political and civil spheres. In the early 1990s, the municipalities west of Copenhagen initiated a debate on the spatial distribution of immigrants. They problematised the concentration of immigrants in the areas already dominated by residents in a socio-economically weak position. This led to a focus on concentration and to policies on redistribution and placement of refugees. In 1993, the Danish government of that time was accused of juridical tampering in order to prevent family reunification of Sri Lankan refugees (Green-Pedersen 2002). This forced the government to resign. In 1995, the Danish People's Party was formed, and over the following years it gained growing support for its highly critical stance on immigration, especially from Muslim countries. The Aliens Act was tightened gradually on several occasions through the 1990s. In 1998, lower transfer payment rates for immigrants were introduced in an attempt to "force" these citizens into the labour market. As this measure was aimed at a specific group, it was in direct conflict with the universal Danish welfare model, which offers the same social security to all citizens[6]. The general attitude towards immigrants became more and more negative, and it became acceptable to publicly voice negative attitudes towards immigrants (Gullestad 2002; Hervik 2004). The debate was fuelled further by the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 and the war in Afghanistan, which polarised the public image of Muslims and the inhabitants of Middle Eastern countries. Diversity was to some extent seen as a threat to social order. During the Social

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[6] The 1998 act was the object of intense criticism from humanitarian organisations and this lead to an annulment of the act in 2000. However, its core points were reinstated as part of the Aliens Act in the revision of this in 2002.

Democratic reign of the 1990s, immigration policies were tightened. Public opinion, however, demanded further tightening, leading to the Social Democrats losing the election in 2001. The Liberal Party came to power with the Danish People's Party enjoying the position of supporting party and thus playing a significant role in the passing of restrictive legislation on integration and immigration in the following years. During the liberal rule, policies were tightened as much as possible without violating international laws (e.g. restriction of the right to family reunification).

New issues arising in the 2000s
Since 2004, the open borders internally in the EU have given rise to new issues of immigration. The annual immigration rate from the new EU member states to Denmark has increased from approx. 3,200 in 2003 to more than 15,000 in 2012 (Statistics Denmark). The thousands of migrants travel to Denmark to find employment, often working for lower wages and under poorer conditions than Danish workers. Typically they are employed by companies in their home countries, which do not have to follow Danish collective agreements. Hence, this is seen as undermining the national trade unions and consequently the Danish labour market model (Hedetoft 2006). In an almost circular narrative, this new situation draws parallels to the situation in the 1970s when the guest worker policies were seriously challenged by unemployment and economic crisis in Denmark. Additionally, heated discussions of Romas travelling to Denmark and allegedly committing organised crime have surfaced in the public debate. General discussions of the open borders of the European Union are predominant. The discussion revolves around the implications for the Danish universal welfare system of a population that no longer consists of a homogenous body of native Danes (Hervik 2004, Olwig & Paerregaard 2011).

Today: Returning to integrationist/intercultural policies?
In 2011, a new government was formed as a coalition of the Social Democratic, the Social Liberal and the Socialist parties, to some degree changing the course of migration policies. The lower transfer payment rates were abolished, and the criteria for granting family reunification have been lowered. Yet, other policies have remained in place such as "the ghetto list[7]" and the age criterion for family reunification. Concurrently, press stories of people taking advantage of the social security system have changed the primary focus of public debates on the challenges to the welfare state. This has taken some of the pressure, so to speak, off non-Western immigrants in the public debate as immigration is no longer seen as the main threat to the welfare state. Yet, integration of immigrants is still on the agenda. A central discussion is the issue of social cohesion. Sceptics of immigration argue that social cohesion is founded in cultural homogeneity. Hence, diversity and multiculturalism will undermine the social cohesion of the Danish society (Olwig & Paerregaard 2011). In contrast, others argue that social cohesion has its foundation in equality as equality generates a society of mutual trust. These two perspectives each influence the political debate. A second point of discussion is the low employment rate of non-Western immigrants. Questions have been raised as to whether immigrants are more of a burden to the Danish welfare state than an asset. Critics of the lower transfer payment rates for immigrants have stated that there are good reasons for the lower employment rate as health issues, lack of educational qualifications and language barriers constitute serious barriers for the integration of immigrants into the labour market. A third key issue is spatial segregation. Since the 1990s, governments and municipalities have employed a number of strategies to make the stigmatised areas more attractive and to achieve a mixed composition of residents. One initiative is a change of the allocation rules for social housing making it possible for the municipality and the social housing associations to give priority to people in employment or education to specific estates where a change in residential composition is wanted. Spatial segregation thus remains high on the national, political agenda.

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[7] The list was introduced in 2010 (its official name is the List of Disadvantaged Housing Estates). The purpose is to pin out the areas with the greatest problems in order to make them subjects of intensive social and economic efforts.

3. Critical analysis of policy strategies and assessment of resource allocations

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse policy strategies and discourses on diversity and the resources directed towards diversity-related initiatives in Copenhagen. The questions in focus are: What weight is put on diversity-related issues? How is diversity defined? Are some aspects of diversity prioritised at the expense of others? As a basis for this chapter, qualitative interviews were conducted with 17 governmental and non-governmental policy actors with key positions within the diversity-related field in Copenhagen. The first part of this chapter (3.1) focuses on governmental perspectives based on interviews with employees at the municipality as well as on central policies. The second part (3.2) focuses on non-governmental perspectives based on interviews with representatives of non-governmental organisations and private companies cooperating with the municipality.

In general, the interviewees found that diversity is something to be valued and to strive for. Furthermore, they agreed that this was also the prevalent discourse in the Copenhagen Municipality in general. However, a number of challenges were still to be addressed in working with diversity, the overriding one being how to cope with the negative aspects in practice: How to help disadvantaged citizens, how to overcome differences in cultures and lifestyles in a tolerant way, and how to implement the visions of a pluralistic and open city in practice?

3.1 Dominant governmental discourses of urban policy and diversity

Diversity is a declared goal for Copenhagen. Policies aim to support the diverse types of needs and lifestyles in the city. The diverse city is celebrated as a socially rewarding and dynamic place to live: *'A diverse city life is an important part of a socially sustainable city'* (Metropolis for People). Diversity is embraced and seen both as a necessity and a strength for the city, crucial for both the international competitiveness and the social cohesion of the city. The latter is based on diversity being seen as the opposite of segregation: *'The Copenhagen Municipality wants to create a socially responsible and diverse city where safety and cohesion is a given'* (Policy for Disadvantaged Areas). Thus, the overarching discourses presented in official policy documents and strategies on diversity are pluralist (Syrett & Sepulveda 2012). When working with diversity in relation to ethnicity, the municipality has made a deliberate rhetorical choice initiated by the Department of Inclusion & Employment: When the city's integration policy was to be renewed in 2010, the term inclusion was introduced in the title of the policy. Based on communication with ethnic minority citizens, the term inclusion was considered less negative than the term integration, and the department thus changed the formulations in 2010. An employee (30 October 2013) elaborates:

> *"If you have assimilation on the one hand, then the minority has to adapt and the majority doesn't have to change at all. Integration, then, is a two-step process where both parts have to do something. The greater responsibility is still on the minority but difference is tolerated. Regarding inclusion, then, the minority and the majority actually have an equal responsibility for making the process succeed. And diversity and difference are not just tolerated, they're actually perceived as a strength".*

The rhetorical change was to reflect a change in the approach to integration policy: a shift from an assimilationist or integrationist policy in line with national discourses (as seen in 2.2) towards a more multicultural and pluralist diversity policy (Syrett & Sepulveda 2012). This positive and pluralist discourse on diversity is evident in the interviews with key municipal employees as well. One interviewee describes how diversity can foster both joy and tolerance, i.e. supporting the social cohesion:

> *"[Referring to children speaking] 'That's funny, at your place I saw you celebrating the Ramadan' and 'I was at your place and saw that you have two mothers and no father'. You know, life is strange and fun and wonderful in Copenhagen, and by God, the children should experience this"* (project manager, The Children & Youth Administration, 5 November 2013)

Copenhagen Municipality is seen by several of the interviewees as a pioneer municipality in a Danish context. Furthermore, Copenhagen is perceived as the only real metropolis in Denmark. Being a metropolis typically means that the diversity is greater, the concentration of ethnic minorities higher and the history of immigration longer. Diversity has thus been on the agenda for longer and is of greater importance than in other parts of Denmark. Therefore, according to the interviewees, the discourse on diversity is broader in that the focus is not to the same degree on ethnic and cultural aspects but also on social aspects. This could be linked to the greater need of a metropolis with a wide range of businesses and sectors to be internationally competitive. The interviewees know of other municipalities formulating policies similar to those of Copenhagen. However, they did so seven to ten years later than the Copenhagen Municipality. One reason is that the potential problems arising from a multicultural society are new in some of the smaller municipalities. According to an interviewee, the greater familiarity with immigrants in Copenhagen than in smaller Danish towns contributes to a Copenhagen understanding of diversity reaching *beyond* ethnicity:

> *"There is, after all, no national inclusion policy. It is still called integration. But in Copenhagen, a discursive choice has been made, saying: 'We talk about inclusion in a much broader context. In reality, we talk about social integration more than we talk about culture. […] Because Copenhagen differs from the rest of the country. […] It is because of the influx of people […] but it is also about the size [of the city]".*

The interviewees generally perceive Copenhagen as more tolerant and inclusive towards ethnic minorities than other parts of the country. Every year the Department of Inclusion & Employment conducts a survey in Copenhagen. One aspect relates to the feeling of belonging in Copenhagen and Denmark respectively. The employee at the department (30 October 2013) describes the results in the following way: *"We see quite markedly that […] ethnic minorities feel the same extent of belonging in Copenhagen as the majority does but that they to a much lesser degree feel like part of Denmark compared with natives".*

Discourses on diversity in Copenhagen are thus seen as more pluralist and multicultural. This contrasts with the discourses on national level (in correspondence with the image posed in 2.2). In the national discourse marked lines are drawn between 'us' and 'them'. This may be an explanation of why members of ethnic minorities feel more accepted and included in Copenhagen than in Denmark as a whole. However, despite the positive approach to diversity, the interviews show that diversity does not come without problems and challenges. Diversity entails difference, and tolerance towards those who are different from oneself is not a given. According to our interviewees this is a challenging issue to address, both in the formulation of policies and in the mind-set of municipal officers, politicians and Copenhageners. An employee in the Financial Administration (8 October 2013) puts it this way:

> *"It's easy to say that diversity can be rewarding, but in order to be culturally competent and actually benefit from diversity and not just be like […] 'do as we do, or leave' […] then you have to challenge your own way of thinking […] And I'm not sure that this is always positive in Copenhagen Municipality, and that it is received in a positive manner"*

The following parts will analyse the challenges to governing diversity in the city of Copenhagen and the approaches taken by the municipality to meet these challenges.

Planning for diversity: Four central policies
As a consequence of the strong focus on diversity in Copenhagen Municipality, diversity-related issues are incorporated in a range of policies and initiatives. The Policy for Disadvantaged Areas in Copenhagen states: '*Copenhagen should be a diverse, coherent and safe city with a place for everyone and where everyone is needed*'. In the city's integration policy, an ambitious goal is set: '*Copenhagen wants to be the most inclusive metropolis in Europe*'. Furthermore, the term is used frequently in a wide range of municipal publications. Especially four policies are fundamental for understanding and working with diversity in the Copenhagen Municipality (see Table 2). They create the framework and set up the guidelines for managing diversity in Copenhagen. Despite the emphasis on diversity, none of them has an actual budget for reaching the goals set out. The policies are to be implemented through the general budget.

Table 2. Central municipal policies on diversity in Copenhagen

Policy	Year of introduction	Type
Policy for Disadvantaged Areas in Copenhagen Responsible: All administrations (formulated by the Technical & Environmental Adm.)	2011	Area-based
Areas of stagnation and deprivation are perceived as a threat to social cohesion. The objective of this area-based policy is to raise the living standards (regarding employment, education, schools, day-cares, leisure time activities, public health, physical maintenance, safety, city life, and social housing) in disadvantaged areas to the average level. As an example, two of the goals of the policy are that 95% of the local youth should finish upper-secondary education, and that the public health condition in the disadvantaged areas should be on the average city level. This is to be achieved through preferential treatment, mainstreaming of the efforts and better cross-sector cooperation in the municipality.		
Get Involved in Your City. Citizenship + Inclusion Responsible: All administrations (formulated by the Employment & Integration Adm.)	2010	City-wide
'Get Involved in Your City. Citizenship + Inclusion' is the municipality's integration policy for 2011-2014. Three key concepts are introduced: Inclusion (as a sense of belonging and being a part of the city), integration (as a process of interaction between people of different backgrounds) and citizenship (as the possibility for all citizens to participate in the democracy in a responsible and accommodating way). The vision is to create an inclusive city focusing on citizenship and diversity. The focus of the policy is predominantly on (non-Western) immigrants and refugees, but to some extent on socio-economic factors as well. Four themes are identified: 1) a good start in life for all children and young adults; 2) inclusion in the labour market; 3) supporting deprived groups and areas; and 4) the open and welcoming city.		
Metropolis For People Responsible: The Technical & Environmental Administration	2009	City-wide
The objective of Metropolis For People is to make Copenhagen a great city to live in, offering public spaces for a diverse urban life. This is seen as an important part of being a socially sustainable city. Three goals are identified: 1) More city life for all, 2) more people walking more, and 3) more people staying longer. These goals are to function as guidelines for the physical urban design and city planning, managed by the Technical & Environmental Administration. Results are measured and evaluated annually.		
Action Plan for the Inclusion Policy Responsible: The Children & Youth Administration	2011	City-wide
Action Plan for the Inclusion Policy is the municipality's policy on the children and youth area for incorporating 'Get Involved in Your City' as well as other policy areas. The action plan aims to strengthen diversity, integration and language of immigrants and descendants and inclusion of children with social difficulties or learning disabilities in public day-care centres and schools. The plan consists of a number of		

initiatives including educational and social support for bilingual children, mother-tongue teaching, counselling for bilingual families regarding choice of school and extra support in day-cares and schools for children with special needs.

The conceptual framework of Fincher & Iveson (2012) identifies three types of diversity policies: policies for equity and the (re)distribution of resources; policies aiming to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation between groups; and policies for diversity and the recognition of multiple voices. All these are present in the Copenhagen policies on diversity.

Policies for equity and (re)distribution of resources are found in the Policy for Disadvantaged Areas aiming to improve the well-being of those in need related to material, economic, professional and housing aspects, but often with an additional social aspect. Some policies focus on improving the living conditions in deprived housing areas i.e. through community regeneration programmes and renovation of housing estates. Others focus on raising the employment rate and level of education among citizens in disadvantaged areas through a variety of programmes for the unemployed and for children and youth. For instance, an after-school job programme tries to facilitate access to the labour market for youngsters from disadvantaged families, often with parents on transfer payments. These kinds of policies are also found in 'Get Involved in Your City', but centred on ethnic diversity. Efforts aim to assist ethnic minority citizens in finding employment through qualification courses, internships, etc. Other policies in 'Get Involved in Your City' focus on equity and (re)distribution of resources in a different way: Campaigns aimed at private companies and organisations try to promote diversity in employment, e.g. through campaigning for international employment or through a diversity charter for both private and public workplaces. By signing the charter, the enterprises commit to making an effort to hire employees with a minority background. These initiatives are based on the willingness of the public and private sector employers to consider diversity when hiring: except legislation on equality of treatment regarding gender, employers are not legally obliged to do so. In the action plan of the Children & Youth Administration, efforts aim to improve the educational competences of bilingual children and children with learning disabilities. Overall, inclusion of citizens into the education system and the labour market play a significant part in the municipality's policies for equity and (re)distribution of resources:

> *'The residents of the disadvantaged areas are a big untapped potential that should be realised to the benefit of all individuals as well as the city in general. All Copenhageners should have the opportunity to utilise their qualifications and competencies'* (Policy for Disadvantaged Areas 2011).

Policies aiming to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation between groups are found in 'Get Involved in Your City' in the form of mentor programmes where Danes function as mentors for new immigrant colleagues, or programmes pairing middle-class families with families from housing estates on the so-called ghetto list. In the Policy for Disadvantaged Areas this type of policies focuses on the city itself or local areas as the arena for social contact between groups who do not usually interact. Locally founded programmes (such as area-based urban regeneration) try to establish fora for daily interactions and communication in the local neighbourhood. Policies regarding the social housing sector seek to create a socio-economically diverse composition of residents on the estates (by promoting the influx of resourceful residents into these estates and through community regeneration programmes). Metropolis for People 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 others:

> *'Public spaces in the city are where we interact with other people. A short chat on a bench or maybe just eye-contact and a smile enhances the quality of life and increases mutual tolerance and understanding'*

Policies for diversity and the recognition of multiple voices play a central part in 'Get Involved in Your City'. Campaigns and political statements endeavour to spread the notion of inclusion and diversity as a strength and an asset for the city (e.g. changing the term integration to inclusion, promoting campaigns for diversity, handing out financial means to diversity-promoting projects, etc.), and equal opportunities are considered a prerequisite for a thriving diversity:

> *'Everybody should be able to feel at home in Copenhagen and to engage in local decision-making. We must respect each other's differences [...]. Only in this way is it possible to make sure that everyone has equal opportunities for engaging in and contributing to the city'*
> (Get Involved in Your City, 2010)

The Action Plan for the Inclusion Policy endeavours to foster integration and a better social interaction between children of different ethnic backgrounds, and between children with and without special needs. Focus is on tackling the negative consequences of diversity. The policy endeavours to combat discrimination by strengthening the language skills, learning capabilities and social competences of those who need it, as well as increasing diversity in public schools by distributing bilingual children to schools all over the city. Metropolis for People tries to combat discrimination through a heightened focus on accessibility, making sure that a stroller, a wheelchair and a walker is not a hindrance for participation in urban life, thus improving access to public services and public spaces for all citizens. To reach the objective of Copenhagen becoming a city for everyone, the aim is that urban areas should offer a lot of different activities for all, irrespective of age, social status, ethnic background, economy and disabilities.

Increasing social mobility, social cohesion and economic competitiveness are directly or indirectly key themes in the diversity policies. Securing social mobility is a key aspect of the policies focusing on raising the employment rate and level of education among citizens in disadvantaged areas. The focus is on the unemployed as well as children and youth. Special attention is given to non-Western ethnic minority groups. This is seen as simultaneously raising the economic competitiveness as it realises a big untapped potential. Social cohesion is an underlying goal of all the policies in that tackling the socio-economic differences, creating spaces of encounter and making room for diversity are seen as crucial for securing social cohesion. Initiatives are instigated to combat discrimination, one of the means for social cohesion. A specific example is mentor programmes. They aid social cohesion through creating networks and enhancing knowledge of other ethnic groups but can also potentially lead to social mobility and in turn heightened economic competitiveness. However, while the goals of the policies are admirable and desirable, relevant criticisms can be raised, as will be clear from the remainder of this section.

Leaving the project-based approach: Mainstreaming diversity efforts
The central policies on diversity build on the idea of mainstreaming diversity-related efforts by integrating them into the core services of all administrations in the municipality. An example could be that part of the job as a health visitor in Copenhagen is to guide immigrant families on matters such as health, nutrition and the Danish day-care system. Thus, the goal is to integrate diversity efforts into the way of thinking and as an everyday working tool throughout the municipality. This is especially seen in the Policy for Disadvantaged Areas and 'Get Involved in Your City' as they cut across all administrations. The purpose is to create more coherent efforts, where administrative borders and time limits do not hinder the successfulness of the efforts. The mainstreaming effort is mentioned both in policies and by interviewees:

> *'We want to incorporate accessibility into all projects […]. It has to be a matter of course that we design a city where everyone can participate in the life of the city'* (Metropolis for People 2009)

> *"The more we can do that is simply a part of the core services and normal practice, where you don't think about what you do, the better it will work, I think, and the more effect it will have in the city"* (Employee in The Technical & Environmental Administration, 15 October 2013)

Thus, the aim for every municipal employee is to implement diversity considerations in his or her everyday work. Though some isolated projects are still undertaken in the municipality, they are only instigated if they support the core services or if a specific diversity-related goal cannot be reached through the core services. Previously, numerous smaller projects ran concurrently with the core services, targeting specific diversity-related challenges. However, it was hard to document the effects of the projects and this resulted in an unfocused effort within the various policy areas. At times different diversity-related projects and initiatives even worked against each other, as a special consultant in the Health & Care Administration (18 November 2013) explains:

> *"It was a scramble for the deprived […] It was like this: the children from Mjølnerparken [a deprived housing estate] said that they couldn't attend school as they had to take part in the projects. That was a disaster. An admission of failure. But this has changed for the better. Both from the side of the housing associations and Copenhagen Municipality. Copenhagen Municipality is in charge of the core services, we are the authority. We are in charge of the initiatives, we run it. What the housing associations can do is to support some initiatives. It has become a lot better. The project-making has been pruned, I think".*

As diversity related measures are being mainstreamed, defining and pinpointing the resource allocation for diversity policies in Copenhagen is a difficult task. A very limited amount of resources are allocated to specific isolated projects. Examples from previous years include the 'Get Involved in Your City'-pool of approximately €80,000 distributed in 2013, the three-year Hotspot programmes of €2.4 million for the period of 2011-2014, and the two sets of Inclusion Agreements of €1.2 million in total. The vast majority of the resources spent on diversity-related work are thus part of the general running costs of the different administrations. As a consequence, extracting the exact amounts of resources spent on diversity-related initiatives is difficult. Whether this is the intention, is not touched upon by the interviewees. Furthermore, the mainstreaming approach means that when quantitative estimates *are* actually made, they only declare the total amount of money spent without information on how much is spent on staff, physical conditions, campaigns and financial support for external projects.

The Department of Inclusion and Employment does however publish an annual status report of the 'Get Involved in Your City' policy. As a part of this report, each of the seven administrations estimates the amount of money they plan to spend that year on policies of inclusion and integration. This is the only actual estimate of the resources allocated to diversity-related policies in Copenhagen Municipality, even though it only covers one of the central diversity policies. Thus, estimates from the 'Get Involved in Your City' status report are presented in the following.

Table 3 lists each of the seven administrations of the Copenhagen Municipality's estimates of their own resource allocation to diversity (that is, inclusion and integration[8]).

Table 3. Estimation of resource allocations to inclusion and integration measures in the Copenhagen Municipality, 2013

Administration	Resource estimate (million €)	Percentage of total budget*
Employment & Integration Administration	€21.5	2.3%
Technical & Environmental Administration[9]	€3.6	1.4%
Financial Administration	€2.4	0.4%
Children & Youth Administration	€29.2	2.2%
Health & Care Administration	€1.3	0.2%
Culture & Leisure Administration	€2.0	0.9%
Social Services Administration	€15.9	1.9%
Total	**€76.0**	**1.7%**

* Shares have been calculated based on the total budget amount taken from the overall budget for Copenhagen Municipality and thus come from a different source than the annual status report.

The administrations estimating the largest amounts spent on integration and inclusion measures are the three administrations responsible for the four central policies. Thus, focus on diversity (or in this case, the integration-related aspects hereof) is in fact relatively great in these administrations. In addition to these, the Social Services Administration estimates allocating almost €16 million to inclusion and integration, that is the third largest amount of money. Their main objectives, according to the status report, are preventing youth crime, supporting children from marginalised families and preventing exclusion of poor citizens (e.g. being put on the street). Looking at the relative shares of the different budgets being allocated to integration and inclusion measures, it is worth noting that these four administrations are not only allocating the largest absolute amounts, they are in fact also the ones prioritising the largest relative shares of their total budgets to this purpose. Besides the allocation of economic resources, diversity enjoys a certain priority in the institutional organisation of the municipality, an example being the recent establishment of the International House, a physical gathering of municipal and private service functions for foreigners in Copenhagen in one building in central Copenhagen. This does not entail any allocation of financial resources, but does indicate an institutional priority of the inclusion of foreigners into the city and a focus on spaces of encounter.

According to the status report, the total estimate of resources spent on inclusion and integration in the Copenhagen Municipality in 2013 is approximately €76 million. We do not, however, know how the administrations have defined whether operations and efforts are related to diversity or not. Besides this, other precautions must be taken. Firstly, the amount of resources spent on diversity-related measures can vary significantly between the individual parts within the administrations. Secondly, estimating how many resources each actor devotes to these tasks can be difficult to calculate for officials centrally in the administrations. Thirdly, the estimates do not

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[8] This being a part of a status report of the city's "Integration Policy", the figures are estimates of resources spent on "inclusion and integration" as formulated in the report. The estimates are for the year of 2013.

[9] It should be noted that even though the Technical & Environmental Administration manages the area-based urban regeneration projects, the community regeneration programmes and the social housing allocation system, the funding hereof is a joint expense of the municipality, the social housing associations (regarding the last two) and the state represented by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs.

relay how the money is spent i.e. how much is spent on staff, donations, campaigning and premises respectively. In addition to the municipality's own resources, diversity-related policies on city-level are sometimes co-funded by state institutions (funds, ministries, etc.), but always in cooperation with local authorities or associations. Despite these precautions, the estimates constitute a useful guide for resource allocation. The fact that an actual inclusion department in the administration exists and that a status report with estimation of resources is made each year shows that diversity is a prioritised policy area in Copenhagen Municipality.

The opacity of the mainstreaming approach could possibly be a way of deliberately seeking to hide a lack of spending or budget costs. This is however refuted by some of the interviewees: They state that even though no separate funds are allocated to any of the four central policy documents analysed in 3.1, the formulation of these policies entails a higher priority being given to diversity measures when negotiating municipal budgets. As an employee in the Children & Youth Administration points out, 'Get Involved in Your City' entails that more resources have been allocated to the inclusion area since 2012. Additionally, as another interviewee states, the formulation of policies without separate resources demands of the administrations that they subsequently provide the funds for initiatives subject to these policies: *"It does not mean that no resources are allocated to diversity measures, they just don't necessarily come along like that, you know, 'here is the framework and here is a large bag of money, so let's go'…"*. Other interviewees, however, question this. As an interviewee puts it, in times of the financial crisis it is prioritised by the city government to focus on the absolutely imperative challenges and the basic running of the municipality, thus leaving little room for innovation and creativity including the introduction of new diversity-related efforts. Interviewees imply that cutbacks and lack of resources might be part of the explanation why the municipality has aimed to mainstream diversity policy and thus reduced the number of and funding for separate projects:

> *"Focus has been shifted onto the core services, and in a retrenchment period efforts are limited to 'business as usual' and not innovation work. That is my impression. We have sort of been told not to do so much social work and fieldwork as previously, but instead sit more at the computer and make things happen…"* (Project manager, area-based urban regeneration, 14 October 2013)

Another criticism of the mainstreaming approach is that the interviewees don't feel that the preferential treatment announced in i.e. the Policy for Disadvantaged Areas is actually realised. The project manager at an area-based urban regeneration project is sceptic as to whether the objectives of the policies are being communicated to the entire municipal staff:

> *"Those tending the parks will keep tending the parks in the same way as they always have… They are not suddenly giving special attention to the parks in disadvantaged areas even though they should, according to the policy, because they are not familiar with the policies …"*

The scope of the preferential treatment approach in city planning is questioned as well, e.g. with respect to the extent of the efforts to attract resourceful residents to deprived areas of Copenhagen. An employee explains: when planning a number of new metro stations across the city, a station in the deprived neighbourhood Tingbjerg was not included in the new line layout, despite being isolated with regards to public transportation[10]. Such a measure could have made a real difference. He finds that when they as a municipality are planning massive investments the

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[10] However, the construction of a new light-railway-line running through Tingbjerg is currently being debated on the city council, but no decision has been reached yet (Feb. 2014).

focus on the relational perspectives is lacking i.e. what the unplanned development conditions become for the deprived areas when other areas are developed. Furthermore, some interviewees question whether the diversity line-of-thinking has in fact been integrated into the core services of every part of the large administrative body. As the special consultant explains, diversity is not a familiar word in the Health & Care Administration (18 November 2013):

> *"I must admit that in my view diversity is a concept that primarily prevails in the Employment & Integration Administration… Perhaps a bit in the Technical & Environmental Administration as well, but other than that I do not think the diversity concept is, well, present, really, in our administration"*

Managing diversity in practice: Challenges to the implementation of the policies
The interviewees point out a set of challenges to the implementation of policies endeavouring to enhance diversity in Copenhagen. Firstly, a central foundation for a successful mainstreaming of diversity policies is a well-functioning cooperation between the different administrations and departments of the municipality. In order to integrate diversity into the core services of the entire municipal organisation, the implementation of policies cutting across administrative boundaries ('Get Involved in Your City' and the Policy for Disadvantaged Areas) is crucial: *'In order for the policy to be implemented, it is crucial that the municipality act as a unity'* (Policy for Disadvantaged Areas 2011). However, some of our interviewees criticised the lack of cross-sector cooperation within the municipality. This is pointed out as an important problem. The seven administrations are led by mayors of different political parties with different agendas, and inevitably none of them are willing to relinquish political power. In the municipality, there is no executive power in an overruling position, and often the different administrations seem to work against each other, the interviewees stated. According to our interviewees the municipal employees are in general positive regarding working across administrative boundaries. Nevertheless, the cross-sector cooperation is of poor quality and not fully implemented:

> *"It is often a problem. You know, everybody says that they really want to cooperate across the administrations and that it is really important, but as soon as it comes down to […] especially the budgeting process and all that, then everybody becomes extremely oriented towards their own fields of responsibility"* (special consultant, Health & Care Administration, 5 November 2013)

According to interviewees, the problems with cross-sector cooperation generate difficulties not only for the administrations, but also for citizens having to deal with a different administration on a given matter, often making it especially difficult for those worst off as they are most in need of help. As an employee puts it: *"A saying goes that it is expensive to be poor"*.

Secondly, the interviewees criticised the objective of the Policy for Disadvantaged Areas of raising the living standards in the city's disadvantaged areas to the average level of the municipality: This can risk pushing out certain groups of the city in a gentrifying process that will ruin the diversity of the city, they stated. According to an administrative officer in the Technical & Environmental Administration (15 October 2013), the area-based urban regeneration projects are an attempt to avoid this as a reaction to the more radical urban renewals of the 1990s where neighbourhoods were *"bulldozed"*. The reason for this, she argues, is that the area-based urban regeneration projects take into consideration the conditions specific to each local environment:

> *"The principal idea is that you cannot just fix everything from above. […] When working in the different neighbourhoods you have to view things in a bottom-up perspective and lift things from below. Having an eye for the full picture is central to this. You cannot just say 'all right,*

we will just renovate the streets in all the disadvantaged areas, and then the job is done'. Because that is not the right way to do it. You must say 'right here, in this specific neighbourhood, what do people need?'"

The municipality has instigated these projects since the 1990s, and currently six area-based urban regeneration projects are in progress across the city with more under way. As the interviewees stated, the idea of the area-based urban regeneration is to include local residents and create a locally based commitment and social attachment to the areas. According to the project manager of one of these projects, the bottom-up perspective opens up the possibility of empowering the more disadvantaged local residents, and he sees it as a central responsibility of the project employees to act as a mouthpiece for these groups of residents.

Thirdly, it can be a hindrance for the implementation of diversity policies that initiatives are often met with a demand to document its effects, an interviewee stated. According to her, everything has to be documented and demonstrated. This poses a problem as diversity initiatives are often long-term and the effects are difficult to measure: *"It's not like the municipality makes a 3 euro profit the minute Mrs. Jones and Ibrahim move in next to one and other…"* (employee, Technical & Environmental Administration, 15 October 2013).

Ethnic diversity and socio-economic inequality as the key challenges
The official municipal definition of diversity is based on a broad understanding, encapsulating all aspects of diversity. However, it still seems to pose a challenge to understand diversity in a broader way. As described above, the municipality introduced the term inclusion instead of integration in 2010, defining inclusion as: *'the feeling of belonging. If you feel like a Copenhagener, you are included in the city'* (Get Involved in Your City). However, the change is not as straight forward: The policy is still "the integration policy of Copenhagen" managing immigration and ethnicity issues in the city, and the administration in charge is still termed the Employment & Integration Administration. Our interviews showed as well that the term inclusion is still closely associated with integration and ethnic minorities. An employee at Copenhagen Business Service (8 October 2013) explains:

> *"When we talk of inclusion and integration, the first thing people think of is […] not social integration. It is cultural integration"*

Another example is the Policy for Disadvantaged Areas, in which the introduction is broad, referring to many aspects of diversity. In the main text, however, the focus centres almost entirely on ethnic minority issues and issues on the inclusion of marginalised or potentially marginalised groups in society. Issues such as gender, sexuality, age and disability are absent in the policy's objectives. Raising the living standards in the disadvantaged areas is seen as crucial to the coherence of the city, and the policy thus focuses on socio-economic differences and ethnicity (and the physical environment as well). This priority was mirrored in the interviews: If a diverse city is to function well, the interviewees stated, the distance between those best and worst off cannot be too big. If the living standards of those worst off are too poor, it becomes an issue for the entire surrounding society, an employee in the municipality explains:

> *"The biggest problem is that if the low is too low, you know, if we can talk of actual poverty where people lack clothes and food and heating because they cannot afford to pay the electricity bills, a range of problems will occur"*

Tackling socio-economic inequality is a central part of the diversity policies of Copenhagen. One way of doing this is through applying the voluntary national flexible allocation rules for social

housing: People in employment or under education can be given priority to a share of dwellings in deprived social housing estates in an attempt to create a more mixed composition of residents. Segregation and socio-economic inequality is thus seen as a threat to diversity.

Socio-economic disadvantagedness is a substantial problem amongst ethnic minorities in Denmark, and Copenhagen is no exception. Thus, the two dominating understandings of diversity in the city, ethnic and socio-economic diversity, often coincide. As a consequence, when diversity-related policies are translated into actual initiatives, the focus is often on the most disadvantaged ethnic minority citizens and the areas they live in. An administrative officer working with disadvantaged urban areas (15 October 2013) exemplifies:

> *"Ethnicity is one of the criteria that the areas are selected by. […] It's not that it's a bad thing in itself if a lot of people of ethnic minority backgrounds live in an area, but we know that when these different criteria are present simultaneously, it's important to launch initiatives as the area will often be challenged in other ways as well".*

While the most central policy areas are still ethnicity and socio-economic inequality, our interviewees detected a gradual widening of the diversity discourse. This is seen in policy initiatives as well. The Department of Inclusion & Employment have instigated a campaign to stop hate crimes, and a Strategy for Equality of Treatment is to be published in 2014. Previously, the municipality has formulated principles for equality of treatment, but in 2013 the area was given greater priority: an office working with equality of treatment was established and the city's first actual strategy is to be published in 2014. Thus, issues of tolerance and security in relation to other aspects besides ethnicity (especially gender and sexuality) are coming into focus. *"Since the […] introduction of the inclusion policy the way has been paved for talking about other aspects [of diversity] than ethnicity"* (project consultant at Copenhagen Business Service, 8 October 2013).

The Action Plan for the Inclusion Policy formulated by the Children & Youth Administration is another example of a widening of the diversity discourse. The action plan's objective of *'an inclusive school'* focuses on both social aspects and on learning capabilities, thus its definition of inclusion is considerably wider than that of the Department of Inclusion & Employment. In the Children & Youth Administration inclusion refers to having room for children with learning disabilities or social problems as well as for bilingual children. Previously, the administration relocated bilingual children to schools with smaller shares of children of Non-western backgrounds. This resulted in substantial criticism from the public, calling the programme discriminating. Thus, today the programme offers relocation of all children with linguistic challenges, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. The programme no longer mentions ethnicity as a concept, only language, even though many of the children affected by it are still of Non-western backgrounds. However, what could have been a rhetorical stunt has actually improved the effectiveness of the programme, according to our interviewee at the Children & Youth Administration (5 November 2013): today only children with actual linguistic difficulties, rather than all bilingual children, are accepted into the programme: *"When it comes down to it, we reach the same kinds of families [ethnicity-wise] as before, we just don't reach the resourceful families with well-functioning children, they no longer take up places in the programme".* Thus, the municipality still experience substantial challenges in relation to (some) ethnic minority citizens, but equalizing ethnic minorities with disadvantageness in urban policy is not accepted.

As this chapter illustrates, the Copenhagen diversity policies focus to a great extent on "the weak", whether they are ethnic minorities, socio-economically disadvantaged citizens, children with special needs, the disabled, residents of deprived housing estates or others. Municipal efforts often aim at helping these citizens to a better life in the city, but within this lies a risk of

assimilating their lives to that of the majority. The central municipal focus on socio-economic differences demonstrates how the local government tries to diminish inequality in this respect. However, the wide range of policies aiming at combatting discrimination, giving a voice to disadvantaged citizens and creating spaces for encounters between diverse groups shows that the municipality tries to avoid levelling out the differences and diversity regarding culture, lifestyles, sexuality, religion etc. As an employee at the municipality puts it: *"I think you could say that culturally speaking the vision of the municipality is that the different areas in the city stay different, but that socio-economically speaking the ambition is to create uniformity"*.

The interviews with municipal employees showed that this vision of socio-economic equality along with cultural diversity does in fact seem to permeate the municipal initiatives to a great extent (as this does not, of course, come about without challenges). And rather than the risk of tipping over in an assimilation policy, the serious challenges to realisation of an inclusive and diverse city seem to be of an administrative and organisational nature.

3.2 Non-governmental views on diversity policy

The dominating positive and pluralist discourses expressed by the governmental actors are mirrored by the interviewed non-governmental actors. Diversity is seen by the NGO interviewees as an asset and as a positive feature of a city. It is what gives life to a city: *"To me, diversity is for a large part, maybe not synonymous with, but at least closely connected with life and living"* (head of a voluntary social organisation, 28 October 2013). The interviewees applaud the municipality for recognising that it is important for the city to be able to attract foreign visitors as well as foreign labour. In this respect, the primary focus is not so much on manual labour but primarily on creative labour and knowledge workers. Interviewees from the NGOs consider the municipality both innovative and pro-active in this regard. Thus, according to the NGOs the municipality's vision of Copenhagen is a pluralist vision of a multicultural and cosmopolitan city (Syrett & Sepulveda 2012). They find, that diversity is both a central focus and an explicitly addressed aim of the Copenhagen Municipality. Copenhagen is considered a pioneer in drawing attention to matters of diversity and inclusion and in prioritising these matters. A consultant at Social Housing in Denmark (18 October 2013) says: *"One could say that many cities have come far in this area, but Copenhagen is the one that has an actual policy committed to paper"*.

The interviewees applauded the municipality for writing down policies, putting the ideas into words and giving them concrete contents. This helps to draw attention to the problem area. In this sense, Copenhagen is more progressive than the rest of the country. However, the interviewees did not attribute this to a difference in political attitudes, but to the fact that the public attitude in Copenhagen is more positive than public attitudes in the rest of the country. It seems to be a case of politics of representation with the politicians feeling that they have to represent their electorates. As the attitudes of the electorates of Copenhagen are in general more positive towards diversity, so too are the politicians and thus the municipality. The interviewees representing private companies, however, have a somewhat different view on the municipal priority of diversity. They acknowledge the efforts of the municipality, but to them diversity does not appear to be a central policy area to the municipality. However, they also question whether this is actually desirable. The HR employee at a large international cleaning company stated that diversity should not be one of the main priorities of the municipality as this would be at the cost of others (e.g. social services, employment etc.). An HR employee at a large Danish supermarket chain believes that diversity thrives better if it is not forced and is not too much in focus. Thus, politicising and verbalising it too intensively can be a problem:

> *"Sometimes it can make too much noise [figuratively] if too much focus is put on [diversity] and attention is constantly being drawn to those who are different […] You don't necessarily*

have to chase it [diversity] so badly, it will come naturally if given time" (HR employee at a large supermarket chain, 22 January 2014)

Promoting the positive while tackling the negative: A key challenge
While diversity is predominantly regarded as a positive thing, the interviewees also acknowledge the challenges it can cause. A dilemma thus arises between promoting diversity as a strength on one hand, and realising and addressing the negative consequences of it on the other. The director of an association for highly educated foreigners (22 October 2013) in Denmark has a different view on this. According to her, an even more intensified municipal branding of diversity in employment and business is a necessary investment: *"Companies […] are still not aware of the great importance of this agenda. […] It needs to be branded, and branding comes at a price".*

According to the interviewees, issues and challenges are in fact realised and addressed by the municipality, often in the form of both policies for equity (focusing on employment or on improving the social, economic and physical conditions of deprived housing areas and their residents), and policies for creating spaces of encounter (focusing on locally funded programmes, mentor programmes, mixed composition of residents in social housing estates, etc.) (Fincher & Iveson 2012). Policies for recognition are primarily mentioned by the interviewees in the form of the diversity charter of 'Get Involved in Your City'. However, though no further specific policy measures of the recognition category are mentioned, the overarching view of Copenhagen as an inclusive and diverse city (as expressed by the interviewees) can to some degree be attributed to policies of recognition: Promoting this image of Copenhagen is a central part of the 'Get Involved in Your City' policy (e.g. through campaigns and through the goal of being the most inclusive city in Europe etc.). The Policy for Disadvantaged Areas is fundamental for the work of those NGOs representing the housing sector or neighbourhood-oriented organisations. It lays the ground rules for the structuring and focus of their work. As the head of a voluntary social organisation puts it (28 October 2013): *"It lays at the root of pretty much everything".*

Ethnic diversity and socio-economic inequality are key aspects of the diversity discourse of non-governmental actors. In that way, the non-governmental and the governmental focuses are similar. However, the weight given to the two differs, as the NGOs focus first and foremost on socio-economic inequality. Ethnicity holds a central place as well, but in no way to the same extent as in the municipal views and policy documents.

> *"[Talking about the challenges for creating thriving diverse neighbourhoods] We can tell from our statistics that the problems are of an economic character, that for a large part it is about poverty and social problems"* (consultant at Social Housing in Denmark, 18 October 2013*)*

> *"I think it is important to stay absolutely colour-blind. It is one thing to talk about employment or education, you know, but if we begin talking about ethnicity then we allow ourselves to loose people when talking diversity"* (head of social housing association, 12 November 2013)

It is striking how some of the NGOs thus differ from the municipality in the approach to ethnic diversity. There is an insistence on disregarding ethnicity as a criterion for their work. Nevertheless, the majority of the people affected by their efforts are in fact of non-Danish background. Thus, even though the non-governmental interviewees do not focus as much on ethnicity, they do point out in the same way as the municipal interviewees, that the ethnic and the

socio-economic aspects of diversity often merge in practice[11]. As a consequence, efforts centre on ethnic minority citizens in the socio-economically weakest positions. Some organisations, however, differ from this. A voluntary organisation representing highly educated foreigners in Denmark thus disconnects ethnicity from socio-economic difficulties.

Diversity regarding age is mentioned occasionally, but is in no way as central to the interviewees as socio-economic aspects. One exception is an association focusing on both ethnic minorities and young people, and another is a voluntary social organisation which bases its activities in a specific neighbourhood, thus offering activities for people of all ages:

> *"[Name of the organisation] is a bit special compared with other voluntary social organisations which often have a particular focus […]. [Instead] we are a locally founded voluntary organisation that basically offers activities from cradle to grave"* (head of organisation, 28 October 2013).

Apart from the above, diversity regarding gender, sexuality or disability is generally absent from the discussions amongst the non-governmental actors. The business actors differ from the NGOs as they have a much wider definition of diversity: An HR employee at a large cleaning company points out six aspects of diversity that the company's work revolves around: Ethnicity, gender, age, sexuality, religion and disability. For both business interviewees the overarching discourse is none of the above, but rather a definition of diversity as inclusion of those in the weakest position, regardless of the reason for this. As the HR employee at a large supermarket chain explains, the context defines which aspects of diversity are central in a particular situation:

> *"It comes as a natural thing for us to recruit from the local areas and these areas are of course very different. We debated the issue of wearing a headscarf at work in the beginning of 2013, and this is just not an issue in Hjørring [a provincial town in Northern Jutland] where there are hardly any non-ethnic Danes, whereas in Nørrebro [district in Copenhagen] there are many more, and this is naturally reflected in our shops where the share of non-ethnic Danish employees is remarkably higher in Copenhagen than in Northern Jutland, because that is how the population is"* (HR employee at large supermarket chain, 22 January 2014)

For the business actors, diversity is seen in an employment perspective. Their perception of taking social responsibility is to employ people with language difficulties, social challenges, disabilities, addictions and the like, thereby supporting the social mobility of the weakest groups in society. Diversity in employment is seen as getting brownie points, so to speak, and as a way taking care of the weakest in society. This perception entails a limit to how much diversity the companies allow, as a strategy of diversity in employment must not damage the company's performance, as the interviewees put it. However, our interviewees point out that diversity in employment can actually contribute to the economic performance of the company. The HR employee at a large cleaning company explains how a survey carried out in the company has shown that departments with diversity in employment actually perform better than the others. This view is supported by the director of an organisation representing highly educated foreigners (22 October 2013), but according to her the positive perspective on diversity in employment is overruled by discourses of foreigners and immigrants in Denmark as 'the weak':

> *"The first step for people [foreigners and immigrants seeking employment] in order to make use of their qualifications is to actually profile themselves as resourceful [… to say:] 'We can*

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[11] That is, many immigrants from non-Western countries are in a socio-economically weak position.

> *make a difference for companies. We do not see ourselves in a victim role' [...]. This works,*
> *it creates results".*

Working with the municipality: Challenges to the implementation of diversity policies
Cooperating with a politically controlled organisation such as the municipality has a number of implications, the interviewees posed. Firstly, it entails that a re-evaluation of priorities and efforts is never more than four years away. While this keeps the NGOs on their toes, it can pose challenges to the completion of long-term programmes, the interviewees stated. This, they believed, can be limiting for both NGOs and the municipal administrations. Interestingly, these issues are exactly what the municipality has tried to overcome by replacing separate isolated projects by an integration of diversity measures into the core services (see 3.1). The interviewees recognise that this has to some extent been successful, but they still experience issues in this regard. It thus seems that the municipality's efforts have yet to bear substantial fruit. Secondly, politicians sometimes welcome new initiatives which are then left stranded in the administrative system. There seems to be a discrepancy between the entrepreneurship of politicians and the precautions of the administrations based in structural, operational or procedural constraints, the interviewees stated. According to an interviewee the case handling processes of the municipality are too slow and the administrative procedures too bureaucratic:

> *"In general, things take time in the public sector in Denmark, whereas in the private sector*
> *we can usually react more promptly [...] But this is of course because the public sector is such*
> *a large machinery, so to speak. There is a lot of paperwork and a lot of procedures to be*
> *followed, and in cooperation with the private sector this can sometimes become a hindrance"*
> (HR employee at a large supermarket chain, 22 January 2014)

It is recognised that the coordination of and cooperation on the managing and implementation of diversity policies is a difficult task. But the interviewees still hold that there is obvious room for improvement with respect to the cross-sector cooperation within the municipality. The municipality is a huge administrative body, employing a total of 40,000 people from front workers to executives. The large size of the administrative system is repeatedly presented as a difficulty by the interviewees, posing a challenge in a number of ways: Firstly, the distance between a teacher in the local school and the central manager of the administration can be very long. It is even longer to the political committees. Thus, it becomes difficult to ensure and enable the implementation of the policies. Secondly, the seven-administration structure of the municipality can complicate cooperation between the different administrations as each of them has their own agenda and priorities, especially as the mayoral posts of the different administrations are in general filled by different political parties. This can be frustrating when cooperating with the municipality, as the head of a voluntary social organisation explains (28 October 2013): *"I would have to approach first one, then another, then another administration, when instead one could wish for a greater collaboration between the administrations".*

The Policy for Disadvantaged Areas is highlighted by those interviewees that work with it as a successful example of a transverse policy cutting across both district boundaries of the city and administrative boundaries in the municipality. The community regeneration programmes for social housing estates is another example of a successful policy according to the interviewees: Since social problems often transverse the boundaries between different housing estates and between social housing estates and other parts of the city, the community regeneration programmes must do the same. As the head of a social housing association puts it (12 November 2913): *"Problems know nothing of cadastral boundaries".* Cooperation between the municipality and the social housing sector thus becomes imperative. According to the interviewees, these partnerships are generally successful. The consultant at Social Housing in Denmark (18 October 2013) says:

> *"Efforts are continuously made to find the common ground between the local municipality, the residents and the social housing associations. That's what's so unique about the social residential work, that you really focus on the common cause. The work is organised within the framework of a 4-year programme, which aims to create a better residential area to live in. So you have an entire organizational set-up involving all key stakeholders around the social residential work, i.e. the 4-year community regeneration programmes".*

Besides the importance of diversity measures cutting across administrational boundaries, interviewees representing the NGOs highlight employing a bottom-up approach on diversity policy. The inclusion of local residents is considered a crucial element for the success of the policies. The interviewees state that efforts must be locally anchored and local residents must gain ownership to the projects in order for them to be successful. For instance, engaging local teenage boys in the construction of a new neighbourhood playground could make it less likely that they vandalise it subsequently. Involving local citizens, including the socially marginalised, is thus highlighted as an important task for the employees of all programmes and projects (municipal as well as voluntary and private). As pointed out by the governmental actors, the NGOs too believe that taking a bottom-up approach can minimise the risk of gentrification, that is, of pushing out the weakest groups of citizens. Generally, the interviewees state that local anchoring and inclusion of the citizens have become increasingly recognised and prioritised by Copenhagen Municipality, and they find that this has had a direct positive effect on the success of the policies:

> *"They [the municipality] have worked a lot on getting people to contribute and not just receive. People cannot just pay their taxes and then expect to be serviced, because then it doesn't add up. People need to be more active […]"* (consultant at voluntary organisation, 23 October 2013)

Thus, it is argued that better results can be achieved through the new localist agenda of anchoring the initiatives in the neighbourhoods and in the voluntary organisations in close contact with the Copenhageners. However, it could also be a consequence of a wish to cut the municipal expenditure on diversity measures. However, this is not mentioned by the interviewees, and they seem not to be aware of it if budget costs are the actual cause. In any case, they seem to favour the local anchoring, irrespective of its cause.

A related aspect of the implementation discussion is the division of responsibility between the public and the private sector: The director of a recently established NGO finds that the public administrative system in Denmark (i.e. Copenhagen Municipality) is too closed in on itself and unwilling to allow external organisations in. An explanation for this may be that the municipality tries to integrate diversity measures into their own core services rather than depending on external actors. In contrast, however, an interviewee representing a well-established voluntary organisation states that in his experience, the responsibility for what should rightfully be the task of the Danish welfare state is now being shifted onto civil society and voluntary organisations. He finds that this undermines the Danish welfare society. Thus, there is a schism between distributing actual responsibility to NGOs versus including them in less binding cooperation.

Besides the more organisational and cooperative challenges, a number of financial challenges impact the NGOs' possibilities for carrying through projects and initiatives. Of course, in working with a public authority the amount of resources is not unlimited and the pressure on financial resources is felt among the organisations cooperating with the municipality. The interviewees are very aware of this and point it out repeatedly. Thus, a potential cause of the mainstreaming effort could be budget costs. It puts pressure on the NGOs as they have to offer

value-for-money solutions. Furthermore, their programmes and projects have to be in exact correspondence with current political priorities in order for the NGOs to be assigned tasks for the municipality, an interviewee state. Thus, scarcity of resources is felt, but at the same time all interviewees stress the importance of understanding the difficulty of the situation for the Copenhagen Municipality. The consultant at a voluntary organisation working with mentor programmes (23 October 2013) exemplifies with the statement of an administrative officer:

> *"We can grant ten hours a year to help this young boy get somewhere with his life, get an education, etc., he is severely disabled […]. On the other hand, we can pump money into mentor programmes and diversity efforts, but we can't do both. So what's more important?"*

In this sense then, the interviewees are not dissatisfied with the resource allocation for diversity measures, and in their experience attitudes towards the voluntary organisations are generally very positive and appreciative. However, problems regarding funding might be bigger for newcomers among voluntary organisations than for the well-established organisations with a long history of cooperation with the municipality. The director of an organisation founded in 2009 (22 October 2013) says:

> *"The municipality's focus on diversity has helped us build up a network etc. … but it has not helped us raise the funds that we obviously need to be able to sustain ourselves. At the moment we receive a great deal of recognition and appreciation especially with regards to making an excellent initiative to generate resources for Danish companies. However the municipality has promoted their own initiatives and they don't support others activities even though they are more relevant and achieve better results".*

Yet another challenge regarding financing is the issues of rent and land prices. For the social housing associations it can be very difficult to buy plots for construction in Copenhagen. Land prices are high and as social housing associations in Denmark are subject to municipally laid-out limits on construction expenses and rent levels for new estates, it becomes unprofitable to construct in Copenhagen. Securing low-cost social housing for less disadvantaged citizens thus becomes difficult. For voluntary social organisations it is becoming increasingly difficult to afford the rising rents on premises for non-profit activities. Often properties are owned by cooperatives or owners' associations that do not want to house activities for e.g. alcoholics or drug addicts, or who want to make money on subletting their premises. According to the head of a voluntary social organisation, this may cause raised rent levels, challenging the survival of voluntarily based social projects.

Overall, the general experience of the non-governmental actors is that Copenhagen Municipality has intensified their diversity-related policies and efforts during recent years. This has been mirrored in an acknowledgement of foreigners being both a necessity and an asset to Copenhagen, especially in relation to securing economic competitiveness. Interviewed NGOs generally state that cooperation with the municipality has increased and improved over the years. Policies and efforts have become more coherent and cross-sectorial, and at the same time more solidly anchored in local environments. The main challenges are considered to be in regards to implementation of the policies: cooperation horizontally and vertically is not always successful despite municipal efforts; and the system can be too closed in on itself as well as too rigid and slow. Furthermore, interviewees raise the discussion of the division of responsibility between the public and private sectors. The challenges are, however, not perceived as insurmountable, and the interviewees are in general happy about the approach of the municipality and the priority given to diversity in the municipal work.

4. Conclusion

It is clear from the interviews as well as the analysed policy documents that diversity is high on the agenda of Copenhagen Municipality. The declared goal of Copenhagen to be the most inclusive metropolis in Europe by 2015 demonstrates this. 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.

Overall, the main criticism of municipal policies and approaches relate to various aspects of governing diversity, making the key challenge to diversity efforts a governance problem more than a resource problem. Four aspects are highlighted above others: 1) the challenges arising from the municipality being a politically controlled and very large organisation; 2) cross-sector cooperation and coordination between the administrations of the municipality; 3) securing a bottom-up approach on policies; 4) integrating diversity considerations in the everyday approach of all municipal employees and 5) managing a limited amount of financial resources.

In recent years, a change has taken place away from targeting the diversity efforts through specific, isolated projects towards mainstreaming the diversity effort of Copenhagen municipality. The previous project-based approach had undesirable consequences e.g. projects overlapping and working against each other. Furthermore, making diversity-related efforts part of the everyday work of all municipal employees is seen as ensuring better opportunities for success. These reasons for focusing on mainstreaming are valid and meaningful, and both the municipal and the NGO interviewees support the idea. However, mainstreaming can have negative implications. First, it makes it very complicated to extract the resources devoted to diversity within the municipality. An attempt has been made by the estimation of the costs spent through the municipal inclusion and integration policy. However, these are estimates and relate only to one specific policy. Consequently, determining the total expenditure on diversity efforts and identifying potential cuts to these become difficult. Whether or not this is currently an implication is not possible to establish in this report; however it is a definite risk either now or in the future. Second, while there might be good and valid reasons for mainstreaming diversity-related efforts, an inherent risk is that such efforts are not realised or that they vary between administrations as they depend to a high degree on the individual municipal employees and the extent to which they focus on diversity in their everyday work. It can be hard to establish the extent of such an everyday effort when it is not conducted as separate, evaluable projects. As a consequence, success criteria for the diversity-related efforts have to be considered in depth. The report highlights the difficulties of the Copenhagen Municipality of ensuring and enabling the implementation of diversity policies. Third, another complicating aspect is that some challenges are harder to solve than others, meaning that in some fields, the impact of efforts and resources will be much bigger than in others, regardless of the equal amount of work put into them. Furthermore, some challenges are more sensitive than others. Mainstreaming could lead to a deflection away from such potentially sensitive discussions, whether the intention of the municipality or not.

Focus of both policy documents and the work of our interviewees are not only on promoting the positive aspects of diversity. Diversity in the city meaning a variety of differences also entails differences of opinion, of culture, of life styles, etc. This poses challenges to mutual tolerance, communication and understanding, as Copenhagen policies show. For instance, campaigns against racism and discrimination have proved necessary. Additionally, diversity also entails

differences in social, cognitive, economic and cultural resources in the population, posing challenges regarding the social and material living standards of some of the city's citizens. For instance, policies focus on increasing access to the labour market for the long-term unemployed. Furthermore, focus of Copenhagen diversity policies are often on the most marginalised and deprived citizens of ethnic minority background, entailing challenges of both social and economic resources, and of inclusion and cultural integration. Thus, in spite of the positive municipal discourses on diversity and the celebration of the diverse city, the variety of differences within the population necessitates that policies address the challenges and problems arising from this diversity. However, despite these challenges, Copenhagen municipality has chosen a more positive and pragmatic approach compared with the national approach, thereby embracing the diverse population of the capital.

The emphasis put on creating a good living environment in all Copenhagen neighbourhoods is in itself a positive goal. Area-based urban regeneration plays a central role in this. However, the implications of area-based urban regeneration can be gentrification: when a neighbourhood becomes more attractive, it attracts more well-off inhabitants. As such, ensuring a more mixed resident composition of the deprived neighbourhoods is an explicit goal. However, while such measures might solve problems for neighbourhoods, they do not necessarily change the situation of those in a socio-economically weak position who no longer finds housing in the regenerated areas and the areas subject to flexible allocation rules. Problems might be dispersed rather than solved. There is a fine balance between the notion of good living situations for all Copenhageners and gentrification. In this way, diversity can be converted into a policy vehicle justifying gentrification as a consequence of mixing policies. The neighbourhood initiatives are coupled with social and employment-related initiatives, aiming to ensure the basis for socio-economically good living conditions for all Copenhageners. However, it remains unclear whether there will still be room in Copenhagen as a whole and in the regenerated areas specifically for those who cannot be lifted socio-economically. This is made all the more relevant by the high cost of building, which makes it unfeasible to build cheap social housing: if old neighbourhoods are renewed with more expensive and more sought-after housing units as a consequence, and if building new and cheap social housing is not possible, then where are the low-income households to live? This begs the question: is there a limit to room for diversity?

The change in focus from integration to inclusion carries with it promises of visions of and aspiration for change. It highlights the differences between Copenhagen and the national level. However, there are grounds for questioning the actual realisation of this change and thus the real-life implications. There seems to be at least some way to go in realising the change both rhetorically and in the municipal approach. It is clear, however, that diversity-related issues will continue to be high on the agenda in the coming years. One aspect of this is to widen the predominant focus on diversity to include other aspects of diversity and ethnic and socio-economic aspects, e.g. gender equality. The launch in 2014 of the first actual municipal strategy for equality of treatment is a key part in this.

All in all, there are grounds for questioning aspects of diversity policies and initiatives in Copenhagen and room for improvement in order to better reach the diversity goals. At the same time, the efforts made by the municipality ought to be acknowledged as indicated by both the governmental and the non-governmental actors. Diversity is on the municipal agenda, even high on the agenda. And the approach is based on a positive view of diversity, stressing the advantages for Copenhagen of being a diverse city both with respect to economic competitiveness, social cohesion and social mobility of the inhabitants of Copenhagen. Time will tell whether the good intentions will be realised.

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6. Appendix: List of interviewees

Position	Organisation
For 2.2: Sources for periodisation of national policy	
Professor	Department of Sociology & Anthropology, University of Copenhagen
Administrative worker/ caseworker	Social housing association (Formerly: Administrative officer at the Technical & Environmental Administration, Copenhagen Municipality)
For 3.1: Governmental sources	
Project manager	Area-based urban regeneration project, Technical & Environmental Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
Employee	Copenhagen Business Service, Employment & Integration Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
Employee	Technical & Environmental Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
Project manager	Children & Youth Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
Employee	Department of Inclusion & Employment, Employment & Integration Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
Head of Office	Ministry of Housing, Urban & Rural Affairs
Pedagogic consultant	Children & Youth Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
Employee	Department of Finance & HR, Financial Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
Special consultant	Health & Care Administration, Copenhagen Municipality
For 3.2: Non-governmental sources	
Managing director	Social housing association
Consultant	Social Housing In Denmark (national organisation for social housing associations)
Consultant	Voluntary organisation working with employment, mentor programmes etc.
Head of Department	The National Building Fund
Director	Association for highly educated foreigners in Denmark
Head	Voluntary social organisation based in a Copenhagen neighbourhood
HR employee	Large supermarket chain
HR employee	Large cleaning company