URBAN II Evaluation
Case Study Report - Aarhus, Denmark

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1.0 Introduction

Aarhus is located on the peninsula of Jutland and is the second largest city in Denmark, with over 300,000 inhabitants. The URBAN II programme which received some €5m focussed on the neighbourhoods of Gellerup, Hasle and Herredsvang, which together were identified as the most deprived area in Denmark on the basis of a number of socio-economic measures. Located at the eastern fringes of the city and adjacent to extensive recreational areas and green belts, the target area is dominated by high-rise housing estates which were built to address the housing shortages that suddenly emerged in the late 1960s, following a significant influx of guest workers from abroad.

At the start of the programme, the target area had a population of just over 20,000, representing approximately 7% of the city total\(^1\). Notably, the area experienced rapid population growth during the 1990’s, largely on account of significant immigration of asylum seekers. Indeed, between 1985 and 2000 the population in the target URBAN area grew by 20% compared with 13% locally and 4% nationally. Reflecting this issue, the area’s population was characterised by a relatively high proportion of ethnic minority groups - over 50% compared to 10% in the municipality of Aarhus and 7% in Denmark as a whole\(^2\). Notably, the area also had a relatively high proportion of young people - 33% compared with 23% locally and 24% nationally were aged 0-19 years in 2000.

Worklessness represented a significant problem in the area, as indicated by a relatively low economic activity rate and one of the highest unemployment rates in the country. In 1999, 54% of the resident population (aged 16-66 years) were economically inactive in the target neighbourhood compared to 29% locally and 26% nationally. The unemployment rate was also markedly higher – 13.5% compared to 5.5% locally and 4.8% nationally. Largely reflecting the worklessness problem, the area accounted for 19% of all benefit receivers (aged 20-66 years) in the municipality, whilst only accounting for 7% of the resident population.

With regards to the educational attainment, a significantly smaller proportion of the resident population in the URBAN area had attained post-compulsory qualifications (upper-secondary school education) – less than a third compared to two-thirds in the municipality as a whole\(^3\). Reflecting the relatively low educational attainment levels and the occupations of the resident population, the average earnings were generally relatively low in the area - 74% of the average annual salary in the municipality as a whole.

The URBAN area was also characterised by high levels of crime, in particular violent crime, and drug problems. The overall crime rate in the URBAN area was more than double the local average.

\(^1\) Gellerup was identified as the neighbourhood with the most significant social and economic challenges, but had to be combined with the other two adjacent neighbourhoods in order to meet the minimum requirement in relation to the resident population (20,000).

\(^2\) In Gellerup, the proportion of the population from ethnic minority groups is over 80%.

\(^3\) Notably, a third of the resident population's educational attainment, principally immigrants, has not been recognised in the statistics. However, it is recognised that most of these would not have achieved post-compulsory school education.
and almost double the national average (65 crimes per 10,000 population compared with 31 locally and 36 nationally). To a considerable extent, the high levels of crime were consequences of the other deprivation challenges that the area were facing, including economic inactivity.

More positively, the area has since 1991 benefited from an extensive programme of housing renovations funded partly through the National Building Fund. The area also enjoys abundant green spaces in and adjacent to the target neighbourhood, however, these public spaces were not well utilised and participation levels in organised leisure activities were generally low.

1.1 Background to the URBAN II Programme

As noted above, the main challenges which the programme aimed to address were first and foremost socio-economic in nature (including crime, worklessness, low educational attainment and low participation in leisure activities). A particular challenge also related to the integration of the growing share of ethnic minority groups, some of which lacked the necessary skills (language and/or vocational) to enter the labour market. The approach of the URBAN II programme also recognised that significant investment on housing estate renewal and renovation had already been injected into the area prior to the start of the URBAN programme, which meant that the physical aspect of the regeneration agenda did not represent a key focus for the URBAN programme.

Interestingly, rather than focussing on existing and traditional social and economic measures, the programme set out to concentrate on more positive and developing aspects – such as participation in culture and leisure activities, promoting personal responsibility, community cohesion and self-organising, entrepreneurship, vocational training, IT skills and upgrading green recreational facilities. Whilst these measures all have different primary objectives, they all contribute to an improvement in the quality of life and social conditions.

The approach taken by the programme also attached a significant weight on how the programme was delivered through local partnerships; particularly resident empowerment and involvement (reflected in the programme bid title: ‘Sustainable community through local partnerships’). In the original programme documentation, local partnerships were described as crucial for turning the URBAN measures and activities into a long-term success: “the residents must become involved, engaged, and must learn to be happy and proud to live in their neighbourhood”.

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1 Stakeholder consultations recognise that there was a demand for physical regeneration in the area, but that the regeneration agenda at the time largely focussed on social and economic regeneration. Physical regeneration has more recently been recognised as a key part of the future development of the area and has been included in the new neighbourhood plan for Gellerup. Stakeholders also noted that several lessons have been learnt from urban areas in the Netherlands where physical regeneration has been an important part of the regeneration agenda for a while. Equally, Aarhus have exchanged experiences in terms of social regeneration, for which Denmark are recognised as being one of the leaders.

The diagram below provides a summary of the programme vision, objectives and priorities:

As noted above, the focus of the programme has very much been on social and economic regeneration and this is further illustrated in the table below.

Table 1.1 Funding Allocations (€)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority</th>
<th>EU</th>
<th>National co-financing</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of total funding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skills and Jobs</td>
<td>1,305,234</td>
<td>1,590,876</td>
<td>2,896,110</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment and entrepreneurship (1.1)</td>
<td>1,068,996</td>
<td>1,320,270</td>
<td>2,389,266</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT skills (1.2)</td>
<td>236,238</td>
<td>270,606</td>
<td>506,844</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of social and organisational resources</td>
<td>1,240,266</td>
<td>1,540,938</td>
<td>2,781,204</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime and drug/alcohol abuse (2.1)</td>
<td>944,964</td>
<td>1,202,682</td>
<td>2,147,646</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident involvement (2.2)</td>
<td>295,302</td>
<td>338,256</td>
<td>633,558</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration through culture and leisure</td>
<td>2,480,542</td>
<td>3,157,048</td>
<td>5,637,590</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure and culture (3.1)</td>
<td>2,221,541</td>
<td>2,832,481</td>
<td>5,054,022</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green recreation (3.2)</td>
<td>259,001</td>
<td>324,567</td>
<td>583,568</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical assistance</td>
<td>273,958</td>
<td>334,524</td>
<td>608,482</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management and operation (4.1)</td>
<td>238,522</td>
<td>289,428</td>
<td>527,950</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information, evaluation, analysis, seminars etc (4.2)</td>
<td>35,436</td>
<td>45,096</td>
<td>80,532</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,300,000</td>
<td>6,623,386</td>
<td>11,923,386</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indeed, leisure and cultural activities (3.1) accounted for 42% of total funding allocations, whilst activities to support employment and entrepreneurship and to prevent crime and drug/alcohol abuse have also accounted for a significant share of total allocated funding (20% and 18% respectively). Spending on physical regeneration per se has only accounted for a small share of the overall allocation of funding (5%).

1 In addition to the three priorities set out in the diagram, the programme has provided funding for technical and administrative assistance (4.1 and 4.2) in relation to the management of the URBAN II programme.
1.2 Has this programme theory been realised on the ground?

The URBAN II programme in Aarhus was managed by the local authority in Aarhus (Århus Kommune). The day-to-day management of the programme has, however, been undertaken by the secretariat, which was a new ‘department’ set up by the local council specifically for the URBAN programme, located in the URBAN II area and employing three members of staff.

On the basis of consultations with the programme manager and the audit authority (the Danish Enterprise and Construction Authority), the programme has generally been delivered according to the original programme strategy and theory set out at the inception stages of the programme with only minor adjustments to the funding allocations. For example, small changes were made following the mid-term evaluation where funding from the crime and drug/ alcohol abuse measure was transferred to the employment and entrepreneurship; and the leisure and culture measures – without any changes to the overall output and outcome targets. [This was a consequence of residents being more involved in these measures – often with the dual purpose of activating people and preventing crime and drug/ alcohol abuse – as they focussed on something that is positive (i.e. leisure and culture; and economic activity) rather than something negative (i.e. crime).

To a considerable extent, the relatively minor changes to the original programme strategy and theory can be linked to the comprehensive socio-economic analysis, using bespoke statistics from the National Statistical Office of Denmark, and the analysis of previous experiences that was undertaken in connection with the programme development. Because this evidence gave a strong context to the programme's development it tended to encourage its activities to remain focused on the original plans.

In terms of overall spending, the programme spent all of the allocated EU and national co-financing funding (approximately €5m from the EU and €7m from national co-financing). Importantly, the programme also attracted an additional €6m that was spent in the area from other sources. Indeed, already after two years the programme had managed to attract an additional €1.6m to the area (including €0.7m from the Danish Foundation for Culture and Sports Facilities for the multiactivity centre (Globus1); €0.5m from the Realdania Foundation for the future development of Hasle Hills; €0.1m from the Ministry of Integration for enterprise support and guidance).

In terms of project delivery, a total of 69 projects were established in the URBAN II area over the programme period. However, at the start of the programme, many of the projects lacked sufficient resident involvement and were largely developed by the local authority. This was largely a consequence of the n+2 rule, which required the programme to spend a specific amount of the EU funds by the end of 2003. As the programme was only approved during the summer of 2002, this requirement meant that there was not sufficient time to involve the resident, in the development of projects at the start of the programme. Indeed, it was recognised that a ‘bottom-up approach’ to project development tends to be more time consuming than a ‘top-down approach’ meaning early community empowerment was limited. However, during the final few years of the programme, the number of projects and the level of resident involvement increased significantly through conscious
efforts to involve residents and community organisations in the development of ideas for specific projects and project management

2.0 Impact, outputs and results of the Programme

2.1 How has the target area changed?

The table below sets out the performance against the key success criteria for the URBAN programme:

Table 2.1 Success Criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Baseline (2000)</th>
<th>Target</th>
<th>2004¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment rate</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>+3% points per annum</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of the population from ethnic minority groups²</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>-10% points</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of the population with post-compulsory education</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incidence of crime (per 10,000 population)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation by children and young people in leisure and culture activities</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB: Following the mid-term evaluation, the definitions of some of these success criteria were altered to better reflect the available official data sources.

From the table above, it is clear that the socio-economic situation have largely remained the same in the URBAN area during the period of the programme:

- At the start of 2004, the overall employment rate was largely unchanged at 47%, which means that the ambition to increase the employment rate by 3 percentage points per annum had not been achieved. Notably though, the proportion of the population (from third countries) in employment and/or active labour market measures increased from 33% at the start of 2000 to 41% at the start of 2004 (the employment rate increased from 29% to 31%).

- Notably, the labour market improvements was achieved in the context of a growing share of the population from ethnic minority groups, which tend to less connected to the labour market - up 10% between 2000 and 2004. Moreover, it should be noted that the area has been burdened by a negative employment and income effect, i.e. people with improved occupations and income tend to move away from the area, and without this effect the change in the area would have probably been more positive.

- With a growing level of ethnic minority groups, the programme has not been successful in decreasing the relative proportion of the population from ethnic minority groups by 10 percentage points.

¹ As no final evaluation of the programme has been undertaken and as the statistics for the URBAN area is not readily available from official data sources, it has not been possible to establish whether the positive trends in some of the overall key success criteria continued beyond 2004

² Through attracting more people with Danish origin into target areas.
• With regards to the educational attainment of the resident population, there has been a small improvement in the share of residents with a post-compulsory school education or higher – from 53% to 54%. Consequently, the target of 55% with a post-compulsory school education or higher had almost been achieved at the start of 2004.

• There have also been some positive trends in relation to crime. Indeed, the incidences of crime (as measured by the number of convictions) have fallen from 65 to 52 per 10,000 population. Consequently, as of 2004, the programme was on course to achieve the overall target of decreasing the incidences of crime rate to 45 per 10,000 population¹.

• In terms of participation in leisure and cultural activities, the target for children and young people was set at 80% which had almost been achieved by 2005. Indeed, 68% of the young people surveyed were actively participating in leisure and cultural activities².

Given that the above sections only cover changes up until the start of 2004, when the programme had been operational for less than two years, it is difficult to draw any firm statistical conclusions on change in the area since the start of the programme. However, on the basis of the stakeholder consultations it is noted that the programme has not resulted in a significant change in terms of employment. To a considerable extent, this relates to the difficulties in recruiting residents that are ‘work ready’ to the programme, with a significant proportion already in municipal or private active labour market measures. Moreover, many of the residents are relatively far away from being ‘work ready’.

More positively, the stakeholder consultations suggest that positive developments have been evident in terms of business start-ups and crime reduction. More specifically, some stakeholders suggested that the incidence of crime in the URBAN II area had seen more positive developments than other similar areas (including Vollsmose in Odense and Bispebjerg Syd and Mjølnerparken in Copenhagen). The stakeholder consultations also suggest that there have been some positive developments in relation to participation in leisure and cultural activities and educational attainment.

2.2 Outputs

The direct impact of the programme has been measured across 23 project specific output indicators distributed across the six themes (see table below).

¹ However, in the mid-term evaluation, this indicator was not considered to be useful, as it measures the efficiency of the police force rather than reported crime incidences and the general fear of crime. Positively though, the overall rate of reported crime relative to the national average has also been reduced, particularly in relation to burglary and fraud. Violent crimes have, however, increased both in absolute and relative terms.

² In the mid-term evaluation, it was however noted that some children and young people may be involved in leisure activities not covered by the definition used in the survey, and hence bringing the proportion of children and young people active in leisure activities closer to the target value.
Table 2.2 Programme outputs as of 1st July 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Output Indicator</th>
<th>Target</th>
<th>Actual</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Establishment of new enterprises</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>415%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Establishment of an enterprise centre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Establishment of 'sparring partner' contracts</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Job creation</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>267%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>People in job search and guidance activities</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>115%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>Unemployed people into employment</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Establishment of a virtual community centre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Participants in IT-introduction courses</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Participants in IT-courses</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>146%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>IT-courses</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>145%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Crime prevention activities (person years)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>233%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>People in socio-pedagogical activities</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>125%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Crime preventative activities</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>220%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Establishment of new associations</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>160%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Cooperation between associations</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>1,410%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Cooperation between associations - Agenda 21\footnote{Overarching development strategy for Aarhus}</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Membership in associations</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,483</td>
<td>248%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Indoor facilities for leisure and cultural activities (sq m)</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>2,870</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Average use of new/ improved facilities (per day)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>206%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Establishment of new sports represented by associations</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>140%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Job creation (leisure jobs)</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>105%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Ethnic population active during leisure (%)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Physical regeneration of land (hectares)</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>149,700</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: En bydel blev sat i bevægelse (2007) Aarhus Kommune

The table above shows that:

- 18 output indicator targets has been achieved or exceeded, including 7 that exceeded the target by more than 100% (i.e. 200%);
- 4 output indicator targets with a 75 - 100% achievement
- 1 output indicator targets with a 25 - 50% achievement

This suggests that the projects (and the programme) have been successful in achieving the output targets. According to the stakeholder consultations, the ongoing evaluation and monitoring (biannual) has been an important factor in terms of the performance against the output indicators. For example, it has allowed the secretariat to praise and acknowledge successful project managers, as well as resolve any issues relating to underperformance at an early stage. There

\footnote{Overarching development strategy for Aarhus.}
were also other factors of success, such as resident empowerment and involvement and networking/ cooperation, which are outlined later in the case study.

With regards to the individual themes, the output indicator performance has been particularly strong in relation to sub-priorities 2.1 (Prevention of crime and drug/ alcohol abuse) and 2.2 (Resident empowerment and involvement). Indeed, all output targets have been achieved and/ or exceeded in relation to priority 2 (Improvement of social and organisational resources), with particularly strong performance in relation to the establishment of, and cooperation between, associations (local leisure and cultural clubs), as well as the membership of these. The programme has also been successful in terms of developing a range of crime preventative and socio-pedagogical activities\(^1\), despite some redistribution of funding from this measure.

The projects (and the programme) have been less successful in terms of establishing formal 'sparring partner' agreements\(^2\), however, on the basis of the stakeholder consultations this output indicator masks many informal 'sparring partner' agreements that have not been recorded as outputs. The programme has also been less successful in terms of getting unemployed people into employment. However, as noted above, it has been difficult to recruit residents that are 'work ready' to the programme, as many of them already benefit from municipal or private active labour market measures, including training schemes and employment subsidies.

With regards to the projects supported through the URBAN programme, most have attempted to learn from and respect those activities that were established prior to URBAN II rather than generate new or previously established project ideas. Indeed, residents active in local associations and organisations have been encouraged to provide ideas for project which have subsequently been formulated and implemented through local partnerships. Notably, the projects have also been careful not to displace or duplicate existing services and tried to involve them directly or indirectly in their delivery. For example, the Improvement in IT-skills project (see below for more information) identified other IT-groups and associations and tried to cooperate with them by sharing resources and facilities.

A number of projects, mentioned as having a particularly strong impact, are described briefly below:

- **Education and employment guidance for young people and parents** – This URBAN II project supplemented the guidance already provided by schools and social services, to motivate young people to stay in education and hence improve their job prospects. In addition to the two residents directly employed by the project (one as project manager), a number of local volunteers also contributed to the project as role models. Using local human resources (project staff and role models) was particularly important in terms of outreach and accessing young people and parents, as it ensured that they had a common background to the

\(^1\) This is essentially activities directed at developing a better understanding of society.

\(^2\) Sparring partners are established businesses/ organisations offering advice and guidance to new or established businesses.
beneficiaries (place of residence, ethnic minority background etc) and removed the direct link to the local authority. The involvement also generated greater ownership of the project which intensified the local engagement. Indeed, the project activated nearly twice as many role models as originally estimated (59 compared to a target of 35). Notably, in 2005, the project was awarded, by the Ministry of Integration, for its local engagement to secure young people from ethnic minority groups better opportunities to start and stay in education.

- **Improvement in IT-skills** - The main objective of this project was to contribute to a general improvement in ICT skills among the residents of the URBAN area. The IT courses were provided at the local library and generated a significant interest among the resident population (particularly among women, which were one of the key target groups). In addition to the basic IT-skills acquired, the courses were also seen as an important activity to integrate different ethnic groups and communities at a neutral venue. Importantly, the project resulted in two permanent and three temporary jobs, as well as the foundation of the Association of IT-guides. The IT-guides are part of a team of volunteers with knowledge of IT, who train other residents in the URBAN area through the provision of free IT-courses. Notably, in 2004, the libraries in Aarhus were awarded with the Bill Gates award (worth €0.5m), partly as a result of the IT-guides. In 2006, the Association of IT-guides also received the Culture Award from Aarhus Library Association, worth €1,400.

- **Nywirk Enterprise Centre** – This was an enterprise centre established by two entrepreneurs active in the URBAN area. The enterprise centre was located next to an ethnic shopping centre, Bazar Vest, where many entrepreneurs were active and where many residents would pass on a daily basis. The enterprise centre worked with both new and established entrepreneurs. In order to reflect the resident population and improve outreach, the staff at the enterprise centre were largely from ethnic minority groups. Since 2003, the centre has provided guidance and advice to 150 residents in Aarhus that have subsequently established a business and to 200 existing businesses.

- **Outsiders2Insiders** – This project was set up by four previously convicted criminals, in partnership with a housing association and a family centre, with the aim of activating people and preventing crime. The project focused on 12 young people, with the aim that these would act as role models in the community. Notably, six of these now have a job (including three with state subsidised jobs), whilst a further five are in education. This project highlights how the use of local resources can create positive role models within the community.

- **8220 in year 2020** – This was a working group of 30 volunteers, which aimed to create more resident involvement in the future development of the neighbourhood. Together with consultations with the residents, the working group developed a vision for the area, including plans to develop a pedestrian ‘boulevard’, with cafés, shops, fitness centre and a cinema, between the two main shopping centres in the area, Bazar Vest and City Vest. The proposal has subsequently been included in the neighbourhood plan for Gellerup developed by the local council.
2.3 Wider Impacts

Whilst the above sections have outlined some positive developments in the URBAN II area, it is the case that the area has not experienced extensive change on the basis of conventional impact indicators (such as the employment rate). However, through the stakeholder consultations it is clear that the programme has resulted in an improved perception of the target area among the residents and local organisations, as well as within the local council. Indeed, as part of the mid-term evaluation, a survey of residents showed that a clear majority mentioned that more positive things are happening in the area (66% of respondents); the area's prospects are looking brighter (64% of respondents); and that there are more opportunities than before the start of the programme (73% of respondents).

More importantly, given the strategic objective of resident empowerment and involvement, the survey also showed that a significant majority of the residents considered that the URBAN II programme has tried to involve the residents and that they now have more influence over the future development of the area. However, a significant proportion of the population still feel that the state and the local authority largely determine the future development of the area. In other words, the URBAN programme has led to more resident involvement and influence, but generally the residents feel that the state and the local authority have the final say in terms of the future development of the area.

From the stakeholder consultations, it is also clear that the programme has resulted in greater social and professional networks, both for project managers and participants. Moreover, the interaction of residents and local organisations in the three neighbourhoods in the URBAN area has become more pronounced, creating stronger community cohesion. Notably, before the programme, many activities were restricted to the residents in the particular neighbourhoods.

The above sections highlight stakeholders views that it is important to measure the wider impact as well as the impact on conventional indicators in order to gain a better understanding of the achievement of the programme.

3.0 Links with Other Programmes and Policies

The involvement of directors (and other key staff) of the local council's various sub-departments, in the URBAN steering group and as partners in individual projects, has ensured that the URBAN II programme has complemented and supported a number of policies in Aarhus. These policies include Agenda 21 (the overarching development policy), the enterprise policy, the employment policy, the leisure policy, the immigration policy and the equality policy. However, having said that, it is important to note that the local council's role and influence, in terms of the content and

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1 Social affairs and employment; technology and environment; culture and resident services; and children and young people.
ownership of the project, was never allowed to take over from the initiator (often a community organisation).

4.0 **Factors of Success**

Through the stakeholder consultations and the documentary review, a number of factors stand out as having been particularly important to the successful delivery of the projects and the programme. These success factors are set out below:

**Empowerment and Resident Involvement**

By far the most frequently mentioned success factor of the URBAN programme in Aarhus is how it has focussed on resident empowerment and involvement in the delivery of the programme. Notably, at the start of the programme, the local council attached significant weight on explaining to the residents that the URBAN programme was not for the Council but for the residents of the area: the council staff (in the secretariat) would be paid regardless of what happened in the area, but the benefits to the area would only be realised if the residents got involved and shaped the programme. In this way the residents and the community organisations were considered as the final guarantors of the programme’s success.

In terms of the concrete implementation of the programme, residents and community organisations have been allowed direct influence through the contribution of ideas for specific projects and project management. The URBAN programme has also organised a number of major annual events (Vestbysamling) that brought together a few hundred people representing the neighbourhood, projects, politicians and public/private institutions that work with community regeneration and development. The events included thematic workshops and social and cultural arrangements; and allowed residents to meet and engage with each other as well as with politicians and decision makers. This in turn has created a better image and understanding of, and cooperation in, the neighbourhood.

Community empowerment and involvement has largely ensured that residents and local organisations have taken ownership of the programme and the whole regeneration process. This in turn has been important in terms of the achievement of output indicators, as well as in breaking down the barriers between the residents and the local council. Moreover, it has provided residents and community organisations with social and professional networks as well as professional experience (project management). Stakeholders and project managers also note that the projects and the programme have given participants better self-confidence and lead to a sense of achievement, as well as creating role models within the community. Furthermore, the stakeholders and project managers note that resident empowerment and involvement has improved the chances of the impacts of the programme being sustained and further developed in the future.

**Programme management/ Secretariat**
Another frequently mentioned factor of success by stakeholders and project managers is the role of the secretariat in supporting the delivery and management of the programme. The secretariat, located in the URBAN area, was easily accessible for the local residents and employed dedicated as well as experienced and influential staff. Indeed, the secretariat manager was a former member of the Danish Parliament (and a former health and transport minister) and held a relatively senior position within the local council. At the programme level, the secretariat provided a key link between the residents/projects and the local authority (the main co-funding body), which helped to minimise any issues and delays in terms of securing funding. Notably, the relatively senior position held by the secretariat manager also made it easier to communicate with the senior management at the local council, which in turn reduced the time it took to make decisions in relation to the programme. At the project level, representatives on the Executive Committee as well as project managers reported that the secretariat provided invaluable guidance and expertise in formulating and designing projects, as well as finding suitable partners, securing funding and facilitating network opportunities. The ongoing evaluation and monitoring (biannual) by the secretariat has also been noted as an important factor in terms of the performance against the output indicators. For example, it has allowed the secretariat to praise and acknowledge successful project managers, as well as resolve any issues at an early stage.

Networking/ cooperation

Another important factor of success was the networking and cooperation between projects. For example, the projects were usually set up through a local partnership, where the initiative for the project came from a community organisation with close contact with the target group, cooperated with public and private institutions with professional experience (of project management and administration). Importantly, the programme secretariat ensured that the inclusion of the public and private partners did not take over from the initiator (community organisation) in terms of the content and ownership of the project. Importantly, as a result of the local partnership, participating organisations have developed a better understanding of the area’s needs and resources.

During the programme, quarterly networking events have also been organised, through Projectnet URBAN, where representatives from projects discussed a number of project and programme related issues, including project results and dissemination, project evaluation and project sustainability and legacy. Importantly, one or more representatives from each project were required to attend these events. Notably, towards the end of the programme the networking events were also open to projects not funded through URBAN, in order to create links with other initiatives and organisations and hence improve the sustainability of the network following the end of the URBAN programme. As a result of the networking events, most of the projects were acutely aware of other initiatives and hence could see where their project fitted in within the overall programme. The events also fostered cooperation between projects and generated a number of synergy effects. For example, Nyvirk and Jobkomite, a supplementing employment measure, cooperated in terms of entrepreneurship and are together expected to set up a Centre for Education, Employment and Commerce (CUBI) targeting the URBAN as well as other deprived areas.

Executive Committee
In addition to the programme secretariat, the Executive Committee has also played a key part in the delivery of the programme. The primary task of the Executive Committee has been to distribute the funding to projects, according to the priorities developed for the programme. The Executive Committee consisted of 25 people, of which ten were from the local authority/public sector, nine from the private sector (including not for profit organisations), and six from community/voluntary organisations.

The composition of the Executive Committee highlights a commitment to an integrated approach (with representation from a wide range of organisations and associations) and local partnerships (through representation of a number of local/neighbourhood organisations/associations). Importantly, the involvement of politicians and other local organisations in the executive committee has allowed them to gain a better understanding of the mechanisms and processes in place in the URBAN area, which is likely to have a significant impact on local government intervention in the URBAN area and other similar areas in the future.

Moreover, as a result of the wide range of partners in the Executive Committee, the programme has been able to tap into the knowledge possessed by the various organisations so that the projects are designed and developed on the basis of the best local knowledge. Furthermore, it has been important to have relevant and good communication channels directly to the people affected by the projects. Notably, some of the members were also actively involved in a number of projects. This provided the projects with additional experience and local contacts. Some stakeholders noted that the composition of the Executive Committee, together with the resident involvement, represented a new and better way of organising local resources. In many other area specific projects/programmes, the local council together with housing associations tended to be the main organisations represented, with the housing association generally being represented by the older generation which is not representative of the overall population.

5.0 The Integration of the Programme

Whilst the relative share of funding was not spread equally across the six measures, it is clear that the programme has adopted an integrated approach. Indeed, the programme has provided funding to all types of regeneration (economic, social and physical regeneration). Importantly though, the relative share of funding to each of the types of regeneration reflects value for money and the identified needs and challenges of the area. Consequently, the focus of the programme has very much been on social and economic regeneration, through the activation of residents (economically and/or socially). A relatively small proportion of the overall funding was dedicated to physical regeneration, largely on account of significant investment in housing estate renewal and renovation prior to the programme.

Notably, at the project level, the expenditure by sub-priorities masks some of the interrelationships between the various measures and strands of regeneration (economic, social and physical) found in the programme. For example, projects funded through the leisure and cultural activities
measure, with the principal objective of activating and integrating residents also supported economic and physical regeneration, by providing employment and new and/ or improved facilities.

Importantly, most stakeholders considered the integrated approach to be a critical factor of success and helped provide a comprehensive framework for tackling the challenges in the neighbourhood. In particular, the integrated approach allowed all partners to be involved and for contact networks to be shared.

6.0 Programme Management

As mentioned above, the programme was managed by the local authority in Aarhus, with the Danish Enterprise and Construction Authority as the audit authority. Whilst the overall responsibility of the programme was with the local authority, through the steering group, the day-to-day management of the programme was delivered through the secretariat.

Notwithstanding the positive aspects of programme management and partnership mentioned above, the fact that the programme was managed by the local authority was not without complications. Many of the residents in the area did not trust the local authority, largely as a result of their social status (marginalised by society which is blamed on the state and the local authority) and previous interventions that had failed to engage residents. However, through the dedication of involving residents and local organisations in the design, implementation and delivery of the projects some of these barriers have been broken down. This is reflected in the survey findings from the mid-term evaluation, which showed that a significant majority of the residents considered that the URBAN II programme has tried to involve and engage the residents (75% of respondents) and that they have influence over the future development of the area (67% of respondents).

The municipality of Aarhus has been the main contributor of funding to the URBAN programme, but it has also been co-financed through state and regional funding. As noted above, the programme has also been successful in attracting a significant amount of additional funding to individual projects.

7.0 Networks

Aarhus coordinated Working Group 1 (WG1) and the Citiz@move project consisting of Aalborg (DK), Gera (DE) and Islington (UK). The working group focussed on the development of methods in relation to the involvement and participation of ethnic minority groups in local initiatives and processes.

In addition to a number of workshops and meetings between the participants, which helped spread information on key projects and benefits from other areas' experiences, the URBACT project was also used by Aarhus to reward successful project managers in the URBAN programme by inviting them to present and participate in the workshops. This in turn provided project managers with a
chance to go abroad and gain important professional experience, as well as being inspired by other successful project managers.

Consultations with a number of project managers, noted that at a personal level URBACT resulted in extended social networks. At the professional level, the network was particularly important in terms of sharing experiences and allowing the competences gained to be applied to other projects. Notably, this reward to the project managers could only be realised as a result of the extra funding provided by the Ministry of Integration.

8.0 Sustainability and Legacy

Whilst the actual projects funded by URBAN have not been sustained, much of the content of the projects have been incorporated in other activities. The programme manager estimated that up to 50% of the project activities have been sustained in some form or another. For example:

- The education and employment guidance for young people and parents project have been incorporated into a new youth guidance centre, funded through Brabrand Housing Association, the Ministry of Integration, the local council and the National Building Fund (Landsbyggefonden).

- Nyvirk Enterprise Centre has been sustained in partnership with the Social Housing Associations' Joint Secretariat (Det Boligsociale Fællessekretariat). Together with one of the other URBAN projects (Job Committee) and College Aarhus, the project is also expected to set up a Centre for Education, Employment and Commerce (CUBI) targeting residents in the URBAN area and other deprived areas.

- An important output from the IT-skills measure was the development of a website for the URBAN area. Notably, the website is still being updated and has led to the development of similar website in another neighbourhood in Aarhus, namely Viby Syd.

Capital projects funded through the programme have also left an obvious legacy in the neighbourhood. For example, the programme has resulted in the construction of the multi-activity centre Globus1 and the redevelopment of the Hasle Hills recreational area.

It is also clear, from the consultations, that the programme has, through resident engagement and empowerment, equipped the residents and local organisations with social and professional networks, as well as professional experiences and skills. This may go someway towards improving the prospects of the area in the future. Importantly, the programme has also educated people in the local council and other organisations on how to work differently, which in turn has influenced a number of policies and approaches. For example, according to the stakeholders, the URBAN programme has had some influence on the new integration policy in Aarhus. The programme has also had some influence in supporting a greater geographical focus in regeneration and development policy. This is partly evidenced through the development of the neighbourhood plan
for Gellerup. Notably, the neighbourhood plan also represents an effort to implement an integrated approach into mainstream regeneration policy. However, some complications still exist in terms of implementing an integrated approach more widely as a consequence of the local authority structure. Indeed, individual departments have individual budgets and principally interested in delivering results in relation to their individual objectives rather than towards common objectives.

Many of the structures and networks (including the secretariat and the executive committee) that were set up as part of the programme are no longer in existence. Some of the stakeholders mention that there is a need for a common and specific task to work towards for these structures and networks to be sustained.