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Information officer

Innhold

Tranfer of tasks between specialist health services and primary health and care services in Norway

Patterns of growth and direction of development in health and care services 1988-2007
NIBR Report 2010:1

By Ivar Brevik

We present first of all the background to the study, its mandate and the main features of its prosecution. We review the main contents and analyses in the different chapters.

We outline the data and records on which the study is based. We were required to use available data and reports.

The study's central questions

The *central questions* posed by the study relate to the migration of and *changes to tasks* in the health, nursing and care services in the municipalities in relation to the specialist health service. The changes are specified as tasks or responsibilities that are *transferred* and *taken over* by the municipality. A distinction is drawn between clients that are transferred directly from the specialist health service and clients that are *taken over or taken* by the municipalities.

Of central importance are questions relating to possible economic consequences of the changes in the municipalities' portfolio of responsibilities and relocation of costs between state and municipality, such as, for instance, impact on the municipalities of changes in the specialist health services' discharge procedures. Another issue of concern was to identify change facilitators and *instigating* factors.

Chapter 2. Nursing and care services 1988–2007 – Breakdown of main features

As a background to the account of the nursing and care services, we provide a *historical* breakdown of the total number of beds *in institutions nationally* over the years. We address in particular the deinstitutionalisation of the past two decades and changes in the number of *municipal residential care units*. Past and current status in supply and demand for these *residential care units* and of beds in institutions is

delineated. We conclude by outlining the recent history of the *domiciliary nursing services*, i.e. over the past ten to fifteen years.

Reader's guide for condensation of chapters 3–8:

Each main point of the synopsis of chapters 3–8 is based by and large on the following template: Question (Q) and Conclusion (C). We do not reproduce the actual findings in the English edition.

Chapter 3. On municipal housing for care and nursing purposes and characteristics of the residents

Q1: *What describes past and present status of different types of municipal housing for people in need of nursing and care?*

Q2: *What is the most frequent (medical) reason assistance is required, and how severely disabled are clients under 67 in residential care units?*

C1: There has been rapid expansion in the availability of sheltered housing or residential care units over the past decade. A large percentage of the domiciliary nursing service is aligned to the needs of such residents, especially younger residents. *Independent living* and *deinstitutionalisation* of the nursing and care services are the two main historical features of the changes to the municipalities' approach to care service delivery over the past twenty years. The provision of housing, however, has tended to take different forms, such as *accommodation pure and simple* to housing with *relatively generous service provision* similar to what is provided in retirement homes. Municipal residential care units for people in need of nursing and care play an extremely central role in non-institutional care.

C2: Our data confirm a positive correlation between "serious" diagnoses and resource use. And they show that for very many seriously disabled people living in a residential care unit is absolutely feasible. Municipal housing can successfully replace a bed in an institution for the elderly as a feasible alternative for most clients, irrespective of diagnosis and disability level.

Chapter 4. Domiciliary nursing services – from 1988 to today

Q1: *What characterises the provision of domiciliary nursing services by number and age of clients over time?*

Q2: *What types of domiciliary nursing services have left their mark on changes in the use of these services?*

Q3: *What describes the relationship between the use of domiciliary nursing services and the main reasons clients why require assistance?*

C1: We have been witness to a major reorganisation of municipal nursing and care services, with a gradual integration of new client categories, especially young clients. This aspect of the growth in the number of clients of domiciliary nursing care is – alongside the building of residential care housing – the most prominent feature of

the changes in recent years. It began with the 1991 Norwegian Deinstitutionalisation Reform and has grown consistently until the present – with a sharp spike after 2001.

C2: Developments over the past eight to ten years are characterised by three factors: the rise in the number of young clients; the rise in the frequency of domiciliary nursing care as the only service; and the fall in the number of clients in receipt of domiciliary nursing as the only service. All this began with the implementation of *Action Plan for the Care of the Elderly*. The rapid rise in the number of *clients under the age of 50 in receipt of domiciliary nursing as the only service* is the outstanding feature of these developments. Young people's needs and domiciliary nursing delivery appear to have been key driving forces behind the transformation of the services.

C3: The main categories of clients in the under 67 age-group today are those with *physical health* conditions and those with *mental health* conditions. Both groups are highly likely to live in *private* housing and receive domiciliary nursing. The composition of the groups says much about who these new clients actually are. Assistance has been provided for the great majority without them having to move.

Chapter 5. Resource use – person/years in the nursing and care services

Q1: *What describes developments overall in terms of person/years in the delivery of municipal nursing and care between 1988 and 2007, and characterises the different periods?*

Q2: *What describes changes in the distribution of person/years in nursing and care provision between institutions for the elderly and domiciliary services respectively after 1993, and what is the current state of play?*

Q3: *What describes the growth in domiciliary services in the periods characterising the years 1991–2007, and what has been the impact of central government guidelines and constraints?*

Q4: *What describes developments in domiciliary services as a proportion of person/years delivered to clients under the age of 67 and to clients in municipal residential care housing in the period 1991–2007?*

Q5: *What describes developments after 1995 in the distribution of domiciliary services by age and across key client groups such as the disabled, people with mental health conditions or somatic conditions as the main underlying reason for needing assistance, and what is status today?*

Q6: *What describes changes in the intensity of nursing and care delivery after 1995 among the key client categories?*

Q7: *What then was the annual cost in 2007 of expanding domiciliary services after 1995 for the main client categories under 67?*

C1: A noteworthy *87 per cent* of total annual growth in the decade 1988–97 occurred in the space of five years, 1991–93 and 1996–97. And in the decade 1998–2007, a remarkable *90 per cent* of the growth occurred in six years: 1998–2001 and 2006–07. This emphasises the influence of central government transfers and economic cycles.

C2: The percentage comprised by domiciliary services of total output in the municipal nursing and care services after 1990 in terms of person/years has risen in virtually

linear fashion and been sustained. It is, in other words, a noticeable development which started with the Deinstitutionalisation Reform. In the years following the reform, the state of the nursing home sector was a major preoccupation in political circles. At the same time, municipal experts were expanding capacity in the domiciliary services.

Over a twenty-year period (1987–2007), the percentage of total output in the nursing and care services in terms of person/years devoted to institutions for the elderly *fell* by 21 percentage points. This is palpable evidence of a radically different *organisation/structuring* of the services and, consequently, redistribution of resources in the same period.

The domiciliary services have *grown consistently over a very long period*, facilitated by, but also partly independent of, economic cycles and state transfers. This is because growth has correlated with a structural and penetrating transformation of the organisation of the nursing and care sector. And much of this has been carried out by the municipalities.

C3: Domiciliary services expanded across all of these stages and growth has accelerated. The entire period between 1991 and 2007 is characterised by rapid growth in these services which again is significantly connected to the influx of clients under 67. It is a highly remarkable outcome which serves to emphasise the *focus on domiciliary services* in the *organisation* of municipal nursing and care services while at the same time being limited in its entirety to the *influx of younger clients* and their service consumption patterns.

C4: From a service designed mainly to cater to elderly clients twenty years ago, domiciliary services are increasingly aligned to the needs of younger clients. The change has been radical and has taken place over a relatively short period. And there appear to have been two parallel developments. One is significant: the delivery of domiciliary services to *municipal residential care housing*, though expansion here has been slower. The other is the delivery of nursing and care to people in *their own own homes*. Domiciliary services have grown faster than the rise in residential care housing has managed to absorb.

C5: Growth measured in person/years after 1995 was not only considerable, it was remarkable insofar as two thirds concerned clients under the age of 67. And of these again, *almost all* had *somatic and mental health conditions*. Just as the Deinstitutionalisation Reform transferred most of the intellectually disabled to the municipal nursing and care services, it is the influx of the other two groups that has characterised developments overall in the period 1996–2007.

Municipalities have *single-handedly* diverted a significant raft of resources to these groups, the better part of which has gone to clients with *somatic conditions*. And these have *never* been the subject of national action plans or special state programmes from central government.

C6: The delivery of domiciliary services to clients with *mental health conditions and somatic conditions* has been expanding both in breadth and depth. Growth appears to have been relatively consistent in terms of intensity of delivery, and, in fact, in has occurred in step with the increasing number of clients. The municipalities, in other

words, responded to the influx of new clients not by cutting services, but by *stepping up* delivery. Perceptions of what constitutes 'necessary' and dignified care have changed.

C7: In the period 1995–2007, municipalities increased capacity of domiciliary services for clients under 67 by a figure corresponding to 10 billion kroner per year in 2007, of which about 90 per cent was channelled to clients with *somatic conditions and mental health conditions* as the underlying reason for providing assistance. Capacity grew significantly and represents a completely different order of magnitude than, for instance, spending on *post-treatment patients in the somatic secondary healthcare providers*.

Chapter 6. On the relocation of tasks between specialist health service and municipalities

Chapter 6 constitutes one of the main chapters of the report. We explore three forms or purposes of the interaction between the municipalities and specialist health service.

1. Interaction between specialist health service and municipalities

Q1: *Has the growth in number of admissions to hospitals, shorter stays, higher day treatment frequency and more out-patient consultations at somatic hospitals in recent years enhanced contact with the municipal health, nursing and care services?*

Q2: *Have different ways of interacting with the specialist health service led municipalities to take on responsibilities which used to be the province of the specialist health service?*

Q3: *What is the prevalence and characteristics of patients treated by the secondary healthcare providers who later become recipients of municipal services?*

C1: More admissions, shorter stays, fewer bed-days at somatic hospitals and a rapid rise in day treatments and out-patient activity, suggest a movement of responsibilities to the municipalities and increased pressure generally, one assumes, on municipal health, nursing and care services.

Fewer places, more patients/clients, shorter stays and fewer bed-days in the *psychiatric specialist health service* together with rapid growth in out-patient services suggest persistent growth over time in the number of people relying on municipal services. Contact with the municipalities has consequently also grown.

C2: Interaction in its different ways has probably encouraged the municipalities to take on responsibilities which used to belong to the specialist health services. Interaction with the psychiatric specialist health service has been greater, however, and accounted in 2003 for 3,100 person/years in connection with clients in institutions, accommodation with a history of admissions to psychiatric institutions. By and large, contact with municipal care services such as nursing homes, residential care housing, had so far been relatively limited.

2. Migration of responsibilities in relation to the specialist health service

Q1: *Have municipalities built up a professional specialist service for people with complex aetiologies and have they made use of technical-medical procedures in their work?*

Q2: *Have municipalities assumed the treatment and care of patients who used to be cared for by the specialist health service in response to different discharge procedures in the hospitals, and if so, to what degree?*

Q3: *What was the total number of hospital bed-days over the past year of patients in nursing homes in the year 2003, converted into nursing home bed-days?*

Q4: *What is the resource impact on municipal nursing homes of taking the brunt of shorter hospital stays in hospitals 2003–2008?*

Q5: *What is the resource impact on municipal nursing homes of taking the brunt of shorter hospital stays 1998–2007 of patients aged 70 and over?*

C1: The number of persons with complex aetiologies was small relative to the number of patients/clients in the nursing and care sector. They will necessarily represent relatively marginal person/year costs in relation to overall output in these services.

Technical-medical treatment was so far a very limited occurrence, with a much lower prevalence than expected from a specialist health service perspective. The conclusion is that professional specialist assistance or advanced medical-technical procedures have not migrated to any great extent from hospitals to municipal care services.

C2: There is no empirical data to explain migration between the specialist health services and municipal services. We must therefore rely on some general estimates where we convert the sum of the reduction in bed-days into a corresponding sum of bed-days at the municipal nursing home/residential care housing unit.

C3: The number of patients discharged from a somatic hospital and admitted to a nursing home leaves hardly any imprint at all on overall nursing home expenditure. In 2008, about 4 per cent more patients aged 70 and over were discharged from hospitals than in 2003. Changes affecting nursing homes have in all probability been limited since then.

C4: If we assume that shorter stays in somatic hospitals from 2003 to 2008 (0.9 days) are offset entirely by bed-days at municipal nursing homes, the additional burden on nursing homes would account for 4 per cent of the person/years expended in institutions for the elderly in 2008. The example represents a theoretical absolute maximum estimate of what shorter hospital stays could represent at the highest cost level in municipal nursing and care. The actual increase in responsibilities in the municipal services will be far lower.

C5: But even if we "download" the whole reduction onto the shortfall in municipal nursing and care service delivery, it represents 2 per cent of all beds/person/years in institutions for the elderly in 2007. In reality, we can only ascribe a fraction of this reduction to higher capacity in the municipal nursing and care services.

There are no data on the migration pathways of treatment from hospital to municipal nursing and care and vice versa. It is simply that experience, probabilities, assumptions and logic suggest a realignment of responsibilities.

3. Patients discharged from the psychiatric specialist health service – converted into resource expenditure in municipal nursing and care

Q1: *How many person/years in the municipal nursing and care services were tied in 2003 to clients discharged from the psychiatric specialist health service?*

Q2: *What was the effect in person/years of the reduction in bed-days in secondary psychiatric health sector under the National Competence Building Plan for Mental Health (Opptrappingsplan for psykisk helse), 1998–2008?*

Q3: *What was the scale of the municipalities' self-financed spending on mental health for adults up until 2007?*

C1-3: We assume that a large – but unknown – number of patients discharged from the psychiatric specialist service return to ordinary, private homes, and receive services there. Our estimates, however, suggest that the municipalities have taken on *a large number* of clients from the psychiatric institutions in recent years. In addition, the municipalities have funded as many person/years in the adult mental health sector as under the National Competence Building Plan for Mental Health.

4. Likely expenditure related to post-treatment patients in somatic hospitals

Q1: *Assuming all stays by post-treatment patients in hospitals are caused entirely by the shortfall in bed in the municipal nursing and care sector, how many person/years would need to be allotted to enable nursing homes to cope with the extra burden?*

C1: Hospital patients ready for discharge have attracted a great deal of attention and been defined as a serious problem. Converted into bed-days at nursing homes, they represent again rather marginal quantities and would in 2007 have translated at the most into one nursing home bed per municipality! The demonstrates at the same time the presumptive nature of these types of allegations, the importance of vantage point and of power to define the premises.

5. Likely impact on expenditure in the municipalities of shorter stays, different discharge procedures and post-treatment patients in the specialist health service

Q1: *What is the likely impact in the municipalities of shorter stays, different discharge procedures and post-treatment patients in the specialist health service?*

C1: Municipal output resulting from these different approaches amounts to minor expenditure in somatic hospitals. In the adult mental health sector the municipalities appear to have assumed responsibilities after 1998 to the sum of at least 3–3.5 billion kroner on a yearly basis in 2007, mostly in the domiciliary services. This is not a paltry amount, and considerably more than what must have been the case in relation to the somatic hospitals.

6. On the general connection between municipal expenditure in the nursing and care sector and use of somatic hospitals

Q1: *Is it the case that municipalities where health and care capacity is insufficient to meet demand use specialist health services more than high-spending municipalities, after control for differences in needs? In other words, do health and care services in the municipalities use hospitals to offload demand?*

Q2: *If expenditure in the municipalities resulting from shorter stays and discharge of patients from somatic hospitals was significant, would it not be reasonable to expect it to leave traces in the annual growth of the municipal health, nursing and care service in recent years, especially services for the elderly?*

C1: Analyses conducted at SINTEF and University of Oslo find no significant correlation between expenditure on municipal services and total consumption of somatic hospital services. There are, however, certain negative correlations relating to hospital use for the oldest segment of the population, but they are not pronounced.

If a significant migration of responsibilities had occurred from the specialist health service to the municipalities via *a decline in hospital bed-days*, one would expect to find it reflected in higher expenditure in the municipalities.

C2: Weak general annual growth in geriatric care and weak growth in central municipal health services for the elderly do not suggest either a significant municipal contribution to shorter hospital stays or to treated elderly hospital patients. There does not appear to be any *empirical evidence* for linking the supposed migration of duties from the somatic hospitals to actual expenditure growth in the municipalities.

Chapter 7. Development of new responsibilities in the municipal nursing and care services

Q1: *How have the municipal nursing and care services changed over time?*

Q2: *What changes have occurred in the balance of professions in the nursing and care services in terms of person/years 1997–2007?*

C1: Nursing and care services have changed and grown in scale, competence and types of provision. Not because new responsibilities have been delegated from the specialist health service – as is often alleged – but because perceptions of what municipal services should provide have changed.

Significant steps have been taken towards the *normalisation* of frail people's lives too. The municipalities have translated the *main principle* of care work into practice by enabling individuals to stay in their own home as long as possible. The municipalities, in other words, have *built up their capacity and competence*, and are better equipped to address expanding and different responsibilities in light of fresh insights, principles and objectives.

C2: Allegations of new medical responsibilities in the nursing and care services have attracted a great deal of attention. The balance of the professions in the services does not lend much credence to the idea however. It is the growth in classical nursing and care work which accounts for most of the growth in numbers of *care workers, auxiliary nurses, assistant nurses and providers of practical help*. The major change in the nursing and care services over the past ten years relates above all to traditional nursing and care – including the *acquisition of new clients*.

Chapter 8. Driving forces in the development and changed organisation of municipal nursing and care services over the past twenty years

1. Central government reforms and action plans as driving forces in the expansion of municipal nursing and care services

Q1: *What has been the role of the different central government action plans and reforms, especially in their capacity to accelerate the influx of younger clients to the domiciliary services?*

C1: Of the three action plans already mentioned, the *Norwegian Deinstitutionalisation Reform* (*HVPU-reformen*) had the highest profile in the commitment to deinstitutionalise nursing and care along with steps to reduce the institutional focus of services for people with mental health conditions, and stagnation in institutional provision for the elderly. The reform is a key moment in a wider movement to encourage *independent living, individualisation and normalisation* of the care services. The *Action Plan for the Care of the Elderly* (*Handlingsplan for eldreomsorgen*) – focused strongly on rapid expansion of residential care housing and capacity building in the domiciliary services in the mental health sector under the *National Competence Building Plan for Mental Health* (*Opptrappingsplan for psykisk helse*).

2. Municipalities' self-driven competence-building – Municipalities have taken on new tasks

Q1: *Has the growth of the municipal nursing and care services been as strong as to suggest the involvement of forces other than economic cycles and central government action plans in their formation?*

Q2: *Has it been the case that the extensive and rapid implementation of the Deinstitutionalisation Reform provided lessons and experience which the municipalities could build on in the years to come?*

Q3: *Where have most of the new younger clients of the nursing and care services come from?*

Q4: *Who in the municipalities has been in charge of raising the capacity and competence of the nursing and care services to attend to the needs of increasing numbers of younger clients?*

C1: Since 1995, the municipalities have, on their own initiative, made significant improvements in the competence and capacity of the domiciliary services. All this has been connected with an expansion of pre-existing tasks in the municipalities and the concurrent development of *new tasks* at their own initiative. Having said that, capacity has grown by delivering services to *pre-existing but expanding groups of younger clients*, with a gradual *increase in the scale of assistance provided per person.*

C2: The municipalities appear to have learned essential lessons from implementing central government reforms and assumed responsibility for others whose assistance needs have probably have been as great as those covered by the reforms.

Government action plans also appear to have driven the municipalities' own competence-building efforts forward and facilitated development and learning. In that sense, one could say the municipalities have more than realised the targets set by central government.

C3: The rapidly expanding delivery of services to different groups of disabled clients who, generally speaking, live in ordinary private homes, confirms the gradual *adoption of tasks* which used to be the responsibility of the family or were not adequately addressed. It has largely been possible to help these clients without them having to move. The increasing preponderance of severely disabled residents of municipal care housing is another expression of the municipalities' assumption of responsibility for many more people with severe disability than before.

C4: Much of the demanding and innovative commitment in the nursing and care services, especially in relation to clients with somatic conditions, appears to have been created without much involvement of central government.

3. Interaction with the specialist health service influences the design and development of municipal services

Q1: *We ask whether inducement to take action and learning have taken place through:*

- *(a) collaboration on central government action plans*
- *(b) interaction with the psychiatric specialist health service*

Q2*: We ask whether inducement, learning and development have occurred through:*

- *(c) specialist medical activity and profession-building*
- *(d) general interaction between municipalities and specialist health service*
- *(e) the somatic specialist health service through transfer of tasks associated with shorter stays and higher activity levels at somatic hospitals (single-day treatments, out-patient activity)*

C1: It is likely that interaction during the implementation of the action plans, particularly during the ten years of the National Competence Building Plan for Mental Health (Opptrappingsplan for psykisk helse), has stimulated and influenced the development and design of the municipal services. This proposition finds confirmation in, for instance, the high number of person/years allocated by the municipalities to the mental health sector.

C2: Some rather contradictory assumptions, implications and data make it difficult in our opinion to determine whether developments thus far have enabled municipalities to build capacity and competence in a significant degree in relation to the somatic specialist health service.

In the Report to the Storting on the Coordination Reform (St.meld. nr. 47 (2008-2009)), patients are said to end up in hospital unnecessarily, even those with uncomplicated medical conditions, because there is insufficient provision in the municipalities to meet the needs of the community.

4. Some general driving forces behind the influx of new clients

Q1: *What might have been the role of general factors – such as demographic changes, changes in morbidity and health, changes in availability of private care and changes in demand following from changes in expertise, attitudes and expectations – as driving forces, particularly regarding new and younger clients?*

C1: While some of these factors are difficult to measure, they doubtless stand together to create significant *underlying* driving forces pushing the demand for municipal nursing and care services. And concrete individual factors such as delayed injuries after accidents have had a clear, if nevertheless limited effect.

5. Breakdown of central government contributions to higher person/year delivery in domiciliary services for clients under 67 (2007)

Q1: *How much of the increase in person/years in domiciliary services for clients under 67 was funded under specified central government transfers in 2007?*

C1: The municipalities have themselves funded about half of the increase in capacity for these clients since 1995, cf. chapter 5. But clients under 67 with somatic conditions have, for instance, never been the subject of a central government action plan.

6. Economy and care ideology – main underlying driving forces in development of municipal nursing and care services

Q1: *What describes the connection between growth in nursing and care services and economic cycles, central government finance policy, special economic conditions on the sector, and the care ideology on which these constraints are based?*

C1: The main *underlying* driving force behind the growth and development of the municipal nursing and care services has been the general economic situation in the country at any one time.

Second, growth correlates with the development of a care ideology within central government the key objectives of which have been *deinstitutionalisation, independent living, domiciliation of care services* for which generous government subsidies were released, such as those from the Norwegian State Housing Bank to help fund residential care housing after 1994.

The third driving force has been central government's direct financial engagement to strengthen the sector by releasing transfers in connection with, for instance, the Deinstitutionalisation Reform and provisions on the building of residential care housing under the *Action Plan for the Care of the Elderly* (*Handlingsplan for eldreomsorgen*) and *National Competence Building Plan for Mental Health (Opptrappingsplan for psykisk helse).*

As important in this sense are the municipalities' strong and persistent *commitment and capacity* to *design and organise* the services in the light of the mentioned ideology. The municipalities have independently promoted the changes in the *organisation* of the services after the Deinstitutionalisation Reform came to an end in 1995. They have used their economic elbow-room to invest in *domiciliary services* and, above all, to provide services for tens of thousands of new young clients. In the choice of service design, the municipalities have largely been their own architects.

Trends and Status in Young People's Consumption of Home Care Services After 1988

NIBR Report 2010:2

By Ivar Brevik

Chapter 1. Introduction to the report on Trends and status in young people's use of home care services after 1989

Chapter 1 explains the background to the inquiry, and the structure of the report on *trends and status* in young people's consumption of home care services in the period 1989–2007. We explain the study's mandate and NIBR's interpretation, along with the methodology of the analyses, data and underlying material.

Chapter 2. Prevailing trends in nursing and care services 1988–2007

The delivery of *care to senior citizens* over the past twenty years has been characterised by a gentle, but steady growth in the number of nursing home beds and a significant fall in retirement home beds. Both the number of beds in institutions and institutional coverage rates have fallen slowly. Net growth in *nursing home beds* together with rehabilitation and modernisation of nearly half of these places has enhanced physical standards in recent years, however.

In 2006, one in four municipal dwellings was occupied by an elderly person with needs of round the clock provision of nursing and care. The actual availability of *housing units with this level of nursing and care* has remained the same by and large over the past twenty years. Although there has been a significant restructuring of all institutional places and housing units, the number of beds and units has remained relatively stable.

Home care services for senior citizens have been stable but also subject to change. There has been a slight fall in the number of clients aged 67+ since 1992. The entire net increase is among clients in the under 67 age-group. The delivery of community nursing is seen, however, across the entire growth spectrum.

It is the rise in the number of younger clients and delivery of community nursing services alone, and the reduction of recipients of community care services that

characterise trends of recent years. Nursing provided on medical criteria has gradually assumed a central position.

Chapter 3. Characteristics of clients of home care services under 67 – trends and status1

Robust rise in the number of clients under 67 – community nursing involved in all aspects of the rise

With the launch of the 1991 deinstitutionalisation reform, home care services embarked on a new phase marked by a rapid rise in the number of younger clients. This trend continued without interruption to the present day. After 1994, *community nursing* is a constant feature of the expanding home care services to the under 67s, though n the number of young clients in receipt of care services alone showed no change.

Community nursing *makes up the major part of services consumed by the younger clientele*. We see a similar development among older clients as well.

The number of clients attended to by community nursing services under 50 *tripled* between 1996 and 2006. This alone represents 41 per cent of a total contingent of 55,000 clients in 2006 and accounted for as much as 62 per cent *of the entire rise* in the number of clients under 67 in this period.

Noticeable rise in the number of clients living in ordinary private homes whose grounds for assistance was somatic illness and mental illness

The number of clients for whom *a somatic or mental condition* comprised the main reason for providing assistance grew substantially over the past twenty years or so. There was a gradual reduction in the *proportion* of intellectually disabled.

About two-thirds of all clients live in ordinary, private dwellings. Half of this group received assistance on grounds of somatic illness, while nearly four in ten had a mental condition. The number of intellectually disabled was very low indeed. The emergence of new client groups has occurred mainly in the client category that lives in their own private homes. For most of these, help is delivered at home, and they are not required to move.

Of clients living in ordinary private homes, eight in ten received community nursing or community care services, usually the former alone. In municipal housing – whose tenants have less access to private care – on the other hand, nine in ten received only community care or both services in 2003.

Community nursing clients tend to have somatic conditions and mental conditions, each of which accounted for 50 and 36 per cent respectively of all such clients. And community nursing is increasingly delivered to people in their own home: eight out of ten clients lived in ordinary private homes.

Chapter 4. Municipal housing with provision of nursing and care

[1] Figures presented here, it should be remembered, are only on clients in the under-67 age-group.

The increasing focus in the care and nursing services on catering to people in their homes, i.e. the *domestification* (*boliggjøring*) and *domiciliation* (*hjemliggjøring*) of service provision, has been facilitated by a generous policy to provide municipal housing for senior citizens and the disabled. It represents a fundamental aspect of the changing strategies in municipal service provision over the past twenty years. There has been a desire to provide the same level of security, and sometimes the same kind of care and services as an institution, but in the context of independent living as an appropriate standard.

The building of sheltered housing with funding from the Norwegian State Housing Bank started in 1994. The original target group was the elderly. In 2006, there were 26,400 units in this category and 23,800 units in other categories; together 50,200 municipal sheltered housing units with the provision of nursing and care services.

In 2006 there were 17,600 municipal units for persons under the age of 67 with nursing and care services provided. Most of the growth was absorbed in recent years by residents with *mental and somatic conditions*. These clients occupied half the number of units, with the same number in each category. The other half was occupied by intellectually disabled persons. There were another 1,900 persons under 67 in retirement institutions.

The role played by these sheltered housing units is highly important insofar as two in three full-time equivalents (FTEs) in the home care services were spent on residents under 67 in municipal housing.

There have been two parallel developmental tracks. One related to a significant, but slower rise in the use of home care services in *municipal sheltered housing*, and the other related the significant rise in nursing and care delivery to people in their private homes.

Chapter 5. On measures of incapacity of residents of municipal housing units

The degree of incapacity among younger clients in municipal sheltered housing (and institutions) is generally quite significant, especially among those with somatic conditions such as strokes, multiple sclerosis/Parkinson's disease or suffering the consequences of injury or congenital disability.

A large proportion of these clients can continue to live in municipal sheltered housing even when the impairment is significant. Indeed, sheltered housing can successfully replace institutions for most senior citizens, irrespective of diagnosis and level of incapacity.

Younger clients under otherwise similar conditions, it has been suggested, obtain more help from the home care services than older clients at the same level of incapacity. Assistance given to clients under 67 with mental conditions is more extensive than that received by older clients. For clients with somatic conditions, the differences are not significant.

Chapter 6. Resource consumption – FTE trends in care and nursing

Robust FTE rise and changed balance between institutional and home care services

The period 1993–2007 saw total FTEs in the municipal nursing and care sector rise by 43,000, or 56 per cent, from 76,000 FTEs in 1992 to 118,000 FTEs in 2007.

The trends in the home care services have been consistently characterised by a very even growth curve over many years irrespective of the health of the economy and central government generosity. This in turn is related to the fundamental transformation of the structure and *composition* of the nursing and care sector, much of which has proceeded under the direction of local authorities themselves.

Some of the forces driving nursing and care sector expansion in specific periods between 1991 and 2007

The most important growth- and change-generating factors in the nursing and care sector have been

- Economic swings
- Direct economic contributions from central government by way of reforms and action plans
- Transfers and stimulus packages to promote an ideology of care based on deinstitutionalisation, domestification and domiciliation

But just as important to this picture is the capacity and constant and growing determination of local authorities to design and structure services according to principles of domestification and domiciliation.

Chapter 7. Resource consumption by main assistance category and age

Status and differences in FTE consumption in the home care services – clients under 67 by main assistance category

Distribution in 2007
In 2007, at total of 63,640 FTEs was consumed by the municipal home care services. Of this, 38,000 or 60 per cent was spent on clients over 67. Of these clients, 20,000 FTEs were consumed by clients whose main reason for assistance was a *somatic condition* and *mental health condition*, with a ratio of 60/40.

Growth 1995–2007
Virtually the entire growth in FTEs consumed by the home care services between 1991 and 1995, 43 per cent in the period 1996–2001 and overall growth since 2001 was spent on caring for clients under 67. In the period 1996–2007, two-thirds of the additional FTEs in the home care services were consumed by this client group, of which nine in ten FTEs were spent on clients with a *somatic condition* and *mental health condition* as their main reason for requiring assistance. This was a seven-fold increase in the space of twelve years.

Consumption of FTEs by the home care services for clients in municipal sheltered housing after 1995

Overall, 65 per cent of FTEs consumed by the home care services in 1996 were spent on *municipal sheltered housing* tenants as against 55 per cent in 2002. The *relative* proportion of clients in sheltered accommodation fell back in other words during the period.

On the rising cost of running the home care service for clients under 67 – 1995–2007

In the period 1996–2007, local authorities increased annual spending on home care services for clients under 67 by NOK 10 billion, of which almost 90 per cent was spent on clients whose main reason for assistance was a *somatic condition* and *mental health condition*.

Two-fold increase in intensity/FTE per client under 67 – 1995–2006

FTE consumption per client under 67, but not including the intellectually disabled, grew two-fold in the period 1996–2006. Expansion occurred in breadth and depth among clients with a *somatic condition* and *mental health condition*. Local authorities have addressed rising client numbers by providing not less but *more help*.

Chapter 8. Possible shortcomings in the home care services

Municipalities have not been given but have taken on new tasks on a big scale

Nursing and care services have undergone a root and branch overhaul, renewing the sector almost completely. Focusing on the delivery of care in people's homes, the sector has changed in terms of content, form and function.

More generous budgets, a wider, more diverse array of home care services, growth in professional groups and diversity in housing and institutions have generally allowed local authorities to take on a far wider array of responsibilities.

And because nursing, care and health services have grown in terms of scale, expertise and measures, the municipalities have taught themselves to perform service tasks with fresh insight, principles and objectives.

Rebalanced professional sector in municipal nursing and care services as an indirect effect of new service design.

In the ten-year period 1997–2007, the balance of professional groups remained relatively stable. The proportion of FTEs consumed by qualified nursing personnel was unchanged. Most of these FTEs tended to be spent delivering traditional nursing and care, also to new clients.

It appears that the number rather than the nature of the tasks has been the biggest challenge for the municipalities. The exception might be psychiatry, drug addiction and dementia, which demand higher qualifications and expertise.

Social educators (vernepleiere), social workers (sosionomer) and college-educated milieu therapists (miljøterapeuter) doubled their relative share of FTE consumption in the nursing and care sector over these years. That new professional groups have moved into the nursing and care sector in not insignificant numbers serves to confirm the hypothesis that their efforts are largely devoted to the younger client groups.

Significant use of specialised assistance for municipal nursing and care service clients in 2003

Municipalities, it has been suggested, have developed a measure of *expertise in the field of medical technology*, i.e. in the use of drugs, procedures and more technologically advanced medical machinery and advanced specialist treatment.

The number of clients who at *any one time receive substantial and/or specialist treatment* was, however, small, including the younger clients. And technical medical treatment was extremely modest and much less important than has been assumed in a specialist health service perspective.

On insufficient capacity in the nursing and care services

In 2003, the lack of capacity was most noticeable in service delivery to clients in their own private homes, and much less so to clients in sheltered housing. It was also generally the case that services tended to be inadequate for clients with the highest needs, more so for clients under 67 than older clients.

There appears therefore to be evidence of insufficient capacity in the nursing and care services, especially for clients under 67, and more especially for those with a mental condition.

Hypotheses on lack of capacity in the nursing and care services

Given the findings presented in this report, we have formulated some relevant questions and tentative hypotheses concerning the possible lack of capacity in nursing and care services today.

- Is senior citizen care in the process of abandoning a preventative strategy, while the care of younger clients is moving against the tide and adopting such a strategy?
- Has a different service regime gained prominence for younger clients as against older clients?
- Are services for new client groups substantively different?
- Are local authorities facilitating the development of expertise and treatment capacity to meet the diversity of needs?

We may ask in conclusion whether local authorities have done enough to promote medical and nursing expertise so that the services they deliver are capable of addressing the diversity of conditions and nursing requirements of younger and older clients.

Collective action in full, or piece by piece?

A pilot study of integrated water management
NIBR-report 2010:3

By Marthe Indset, Jon Naustdalslid and Knut Bjørn Stokke

The Norwegian institute for urban and regional research (NIBR) has completed at pilot study regarding the implementation of integrated water management, and experiences at the river basin area level. The Norwegian "Regulation …." (The water regulation) was implemented in to Norwegian Law in 2006 and transposes The EU "Directive on "

The implementation in Norway entails a considerable challenge for Norwegian water resource planning and management, both in terms of realizing the ambitious environmental goals related to good ecological status, as well as establishing suitable structures for cross sector and cross level cooperation and coordination, in accordance with the intents of the directive.

All-though the Water directive and the Water regulation says little about the structuring and the organizing of the work at the river basin area level, the implementation of the Water regulation in Norway promotes an essential for the river basin area, in the sense that much work and many decisions is to be conducted at this level.

On this background, gathering knowledge regarding the structuring of the work in the various river basin areas has been vital, as well as experiences in participation and cooperation. Improving the level of knowledge regarding these issues is considered an important contribution to the work in connection to the second planning period, commencing from 2010, in which all the river basin areas in the country will participate. This pilot study will also provide for a basis for further research on the topic. In particular should be mentioned the 3-year long research "Water Pollution Abatement in a system of multilevel governance", which is led by NIBR.

The results of this pilot study reveal that the municipalities have a leading role in the work at the river basin area level, and that their participation is decisive in the Norwegian implementation of integrated water management. Still our study reveals that the structuring and the organizing of the work at this level vary, while simultaneously pointing at some general experiences and characteristics. The main focus of the study has been to examine conditions for collective action at river basin area level.

Recent European research, for instance Pahl-Wostl et.al (2007) and Mostert et.al. (2007), has focused on how the requirements of the Water directive on cross-sector and cross-level participation and cooperation prepares the ground for processes of collective learning, which in turn contributes to collective action. Such processes take place in networks. Our study confirms these findings. A main finding is that the integrated organizing and structuring of the work does have a significant effect on learning and collective action.

The same European studies also highlight how learning takes place, not merely in social contexts in which structures and organisation becomes key elements, but within a "natural environment". "Natural environment" refers to the specific problem constellation of each river, hydrology, ecology, topography and so on. In such a context, fact-finding, problem definition, information gathering, problem solving and the availability of relevant competence and knowledge are all elements contributing to the integrated learning processes (ibid). Our study also confirms such findings. We find that integrated knowledge oriented processes contribute independently to factors of consensus building, in which time and resources should be invested. A substantial knowledge building process characterised by a high degree of competent participation is vital in developing a common basis of understanding and knowledge.

The structural anotomy of hospital government systems in Norway, Denmark and the United Kingdom.

A comparison
NIBR Report 2010:4

By Inger Marie Stigen

In this report the structural anatomy of the hospital government systems of Norway, Denmark and the UK is analyzed. All three countries have implemented more or less comprehensive structural reforms in specialized health care during the last decades. The purpose is, first and foremost, to map and compare the formal structure of specialized health care in the three countries, but some possible implications for health care policy making are also outlined.

Descriptions are traditionally rather poorly valued in political science. Good descriptions are, however, necessary foundations for skilled research. In this report a simple, but coherent analytical design is used. We believe this design is a fruitful base for further studies with more specific analytical questions concerning specialized health care.

In chapter 2 the analytical framework is presented. This analytical framework highlights four basic dimensions. The first dimension deals with the allocation of *political-democratic authority and financial responsibility* between national, regional and local (municipal) governmental levels in specialized health care. The second dimension refers to *parliament-executive relations*. This concerns the power of the legislators relative to government in parliamentarian democracies. The third dimension that is included deals with *political-administrative relations*. Here a major distinction is made between integrated and separated systems. Three indicators are discussed: structural task and role specialization; form of affiliation and degree of managerial autonomy; and accountability systems. The fourth dimension refers to structural arrangements for *patient/user involvement,* where a major distinction is made between obligatory and voluntary arrangements.

In chapter 3 the description is presented. It focuses on structures at the parliamentary level, at the ministerial and agency level and at the regional and local/hospital level. In chapter 4 the differences and similarities are discussed according to the analytical framework.

The description does first of all indicate variations in size and complexity of the three systems. The British specialized health care system is of course a lot more extensive and complex than the Nordic ones, partly because of country size. The description does, however, also show significant differences between Denmark and Norway. Both countries have implemented rather comprehensive reforms since the millennium change, but the reform in Denmark (in 2007) turned out less radical than the Norwegian one (in 2002). There are, however, elements that also make the Danish model quite novel and complex, particularly the financial system.

The mapping indicates how the three systems vary according to our analytical indicators. First; in Norway and the UK the political responsibility for specialized health care rests with the national parliament. The state also has the entire financial responsibility for specialized health care. Norway and the UK do, however, differ when it comes to parliament-executive relations. The Norwegian parliament is regarded as strong compared to the British parliament. In this respect, Norway and Denmark equals, but in Denmark, political responsibility for specialized health care rests with the popularly elected regions. Besides, in Denmark the financial responsibility is shared between the state and the municipalities. Thus, the responsibility of the Danish regions may be characterized as rather limited.

Second; task and role specialization and administrative autonomy are more extensive in the British and Norwegian specialized health care system than in Denmark. All three countries have a substantial number of health agencies subordinate to ministry, but especially the British system is characterized by extensive differentiation in organizational forms at the agency level. Besides, both the UK and Norway, contrary to Denmark, have made split-ups between ownerships-functions, commissioning, regulation and auditing, and service delivery functions. And of course, the enterprise/trust models in Norway and the UK indicate more extensive administrative autonomy for hospitals in these countries than in Denmark, where all hospitals still are ordinary civil-service organizations. In particular the introduction of the foundation trust model in the UK has given more financial and administrative leeway for many hospitals.

Third; managerial accountability arrangements are more differentiated in specialized health care in the UK and Norway compared to Denmark. Boards of directors in Norwegian regional and local health enterprises and in British health care trusts are indicators of ex-ante accountability arrangements. Besides, there is substantial use of performance contracts, and various forms of reporting methods and auditing agencies, especially in the UK. Together this indicates more focus on "downward" as well as traditional "upward" accountability in British and Norwegian specialist health care than in Denmark.

"Downward" accountability is also aimed at through specific arrangements for patient involvement. In the UK and Norway structural arrangements for patient involvement is obligatory (patient commissions and local involvement networks). In Denmark patient involvement arrangements are voluntary.

In the last section I make some reflections on implications for health care policy-making.

Although the state (together with the municipalities) has the financial responsibility in Denmark and it thus has been argued that also the Danish system has become more centralized, the ownership structure indicates more influence and control to national politicians in the UK and Norway than in Denmark. It is however important to distinguish between government and opposition in the three countries. The "winner takes all" model which strengthen the executive vis-à-vis the parliament in the UK, indicates that the opposition in Parliament is less influential in the UK. Thus we assume less integration between parliament and the executive in the UK than in the Nordic Countries. In total, the Norwegian parliament is regarded as the most influential one.

In Norway, it is obvious that the hospital reform strengthened the national politicians' role vis-à-vis the politicians at the regional and local level, because ownership was transferred from the counties to the state. Following a debate on "democratic deficit" in hospital politics in general, and especially in locally or regionally related matters (particularly hospital structure), the new Red-Green government in 2005 decided that the composition of the regional and local enterprise boards was to be changed. When the hospital reform was implemented in 2002, no active politicians were appointed members of the boards.
After 2006 former and active politicians constitute the majority of the board members. The local politicians on the boards are meant to increase the local and regional responsiveness of specialized health care, but they do *not* have political mandates from their constituencies. Their representation is gently spoken, quite ambiguous. The fact that the borders of the regional health enterprises and quite a number of the local health enterprises intersect the borders of the counties and/or municipalities as well as other state regions may further increase this ambiguity.

The introduction of the foundation trusts in the UK may also be interpreted as a means to strengthen the link to the local communities and make hospital policy more responsive to local needs and opinions. At least one member in each Board of Governors in the foundation trusts must represent Local Authorities in the area. In Denmark the regional politicians *are* responsible for specialized health care. Here it is more a question of if and how the municipal politicians may influence. One instrument is the financial one. Besides, the Health Coordination Committees with members both from the regional and local level is a formal channel for influence.

In the reform literature questions of balance between political control and the influence of health managers, bureaucrats and other professionals have gained far more attention than questions of differences in power between governmental levels. The mapping shows that the formal structures of the specialized health care systems in the countries under study may influence the trade off between political control and administrative autonomy differently. The specialized and segregated trust models in the UK and Norway may enhance managerial autonomy and role purification, but the "other side of the coin" may be less and poorer access to political leadership, poorer political coordination and control; probably even more in the UK than in Norway. The integrated and more "traditional bureaucratic" model in Denmark, on the other hand, indicates tighter political control and more easier access to political institutions and political leadership for bureaucrats and other professionals in health care.

Last, but not least, the mapping demonstrates how structural arrangements for patient involvement vary between the three countries. Both the UK and Norway have established formal and obligatory arenas for patient/user involvement, while Denmark seems to be "lagging behind". There are so far relatively few formal forums for user responsiveness or downward accountability arrangements in Denmark. The difference may imply that patient groups are more integrated and have more contacts at the hospital level in the UK and Norway than in Denmark. Thus, patients and other interest groups in Danish health care probably act more in accordance with a citizen role than a user role.

”City regions, advantages and innovation”

NIBR Report 2010:5

By Knut Onsager, Heidi Aslesen, Frants Gundersen, Arne Isaksen and Ove Langeland

The reinforced economic globalisation, changes in national policies and an increasing share of higher educated employees, have over the last decades contributed to a more knowledge-based and innovation-driven economy. An increasing focus in innovation policy has been directed towards the enhancing of the endogenous capacity of clusters, agglomerations and city regions. One implication alongside many of these trends has been a more cluster- and city-based economic growth underpinning an increasingly uneven territorial development in many countries.

This report focus on some of the regional implications of a more knowledge based economy in Norway and describe empirically the characteristics of advantage, innovation and growth patterns and performances in main types of small and large city regions. Firstly, based on national register and survey data the report describe innovation resources and performances in five main region types (aggregates of all the 161 functional regions) divided by size and centrality. It is documented substantial differences in innovation resources in favour of the largest regional milieus, but at the same time small regional differences in the overall innovation rates. More substantial regional differences related to size and centrality were found for radical innovation (as well as market- and product innovation), international innovation cooperation, innovation hampering factors, new firm formations, renewals of firm population and growth rates of employment in new knowledge intensive services. For all these factors the degree of performances and favourable conditions increased systematically with the size of the regional milieu. The only nuances in this picture is that the metropolitan region (Oslo) has got a somewhat weaker performance compared to the three second largest city regions (Berge, Stavanger, Trondheim) regarding growth rates in new knowledge intensive services.

Secondly, based on eight cases of city regions with different sizes and centrality in Norway the report further shows some of the diversity also *within* the main types of city regions. The metropolitan region, and partly the other much smaller but still larger city regions, are specialised in knowledge intensive services. They also have got substantial advantages in a national context regarding human capital resources, knowlegde organisations and R&D-resources. At the same time they all experience increasingly global competition as localisation sites for international oriented firms, headquarters and knowledge intensive activities. The ability to attract experts and higher educated persons from other countries are also under increasingly global

competition pressure. These city regions have also specific innovation policy challenges due to fragmentation and somewhat weak capabilities for utilising their superior innovation resources and synergy potentials. The cases of the smaller city regions vary a lot in size and centrality, but all where characterised by specialisation in export oriented manufacturing exposed to enhanced global competition. Specialization within one or few export-oriented branches make them well suited for incremental innovations to maintain international competitiveness, but also vulnerable for external shocks and fast changes in macro policy. They have common innovation policy challenges related to upgrading of knowledge bases, keeping and recruiting qualified labour for their specialized productions, as well as spurring increased diversity of their economic base and local labour markets.

In spite of the very different starting points of the case regions all of them have developed some kinds of innovation policies and strategies over the last decade. At a general level much of the same recipe is chosen, but the large city regions have primarily focused on entrepreneurship and commercialisation of innovation through TTOs, incubators and matchmakers, while the smaller city regions to some greater extent have concentrated on cluster development, upgrading and competence building.

The regional differences in the overall innovation capabilities and rates within the existing firms are much weaker than one would expect given the substantial differences in innovation resources between small and large city regions. It is also much weaker than one would expect taken the messages in much international literature as a point of departure. One of the main reasons for this are a scattered localisation pattern of innovative industries in Norway where some of the most innovative branches and miliues are found in small city regions. Another reason is some other conditions which dampen the potential large differences in regional innovation capabilities related to size and centrality. A lot of the huge innovation resources in the larger city regions are embedded in national institutions which not only have local links and effects, but also external links and effects which benefit also smaller milieus within different localisation sites in the national innovation system. Secondly, the largest city regions seems also to have somewhat limited capabilities in utilising their resource advantages and synergy potentials due to complex and fragmented milieus. Thirdly, public innovation and regional policy instruments and funding may also influence the regional innovation pattern. The innovation and regional policy should stimulate and support innovation and entrepreneurial activities in all types of regions. However, both intended and non-intended effects of the innovation policy seem to result in a strong support for innovation activities in firms and clusters outside of the largest city regions. The national innovation policy has been directed towards strong national manufacturing clusters and, these are mainly localized in small- and medium sized city regions. The regional innovation and development policies in Norway are also characterized by a strong redistribution of public funding from the largest city regions to the smaller urban and rural regions in more peripheral areas.

Besides some regional differences in innovation forms but insignificant differences in overall innovation rates, is the fact that large and small regions have complementary roles and functions in the development of knowledge intensive industries in Norway. The report is finished with a draft of the different innovation challenges that small and

large city regions are facing in the year to come, and gives some few policy recommendations in that respect.

A socio-cultural place analysis for urban development and place marketing of Florø

NIBR Report 2010:6

By Guri Mette Vestby and Ragnhild Skogheim

This socio-cultural place analysis is part of a larger programme on the development of Florø town centre – the heart of Flora municipality in the county of Sogn og Fjordane. The analysis is to be included in the knowledge base for work on a new municipal land-use plan for the town centre area, and is also to be used for the profiling and identity building that is planned. The analytical perspective for a socio-cultural place analysis consists of viewing the following three dimensions in correlation:

- *Place use:* its function, enterprises, activities and experiences
- *Place images:* the opinions and conceptions of the place's identity and future
- *Place interests:* similar and dissimilar interests related to the town's development and the process

Florø was the herring town, and the only town in the county. It is situated furthest out towards the ocean against the backdrop of the mountains and with the skerries and open sea in front. This year the town is celebrating its 150th anniversary, and many of the major identity factors that are of importance for life and work in today's town have a cultural-historical platform. This is most clearly seen in the compact old wooden buildings and the quayside, as well as in the business sector and the ritual town festivals and events in the skerries.

In particular it is Florø's identity as a coastal town that is its trademark, and this identity can and should be built up by adding a long list of different elements to its previous profile. Such identity building is important for Florø – as a place to live, as a tourist destination and as a business centre. The surrounding countryside and scenery are wonderful, but even more unique is the current structure of the business sector with its modern industry for shipbuilding, oil, gas and offshore activities, aquaculture, and fisheries-based enterprise and industry. What is modern and future-oriented about the business sector does not figure largely in conversation and is not as visible in the urban picture as its importance should indicate; it does not therefore appear as a common benefit to be proud of. Perhaps the Florø inhabitants are blind to the advantages of their home town and should be regarded as the target group for the profiling? The local citizens build reputation just as much as the so-called experts do.

Another distinctive feature of Florø is its sea-based transport: ferries and fishing boats, freight boats and supply vessels, the coastal express and cruise ships all moor at the town quay. Last autumn Rescue Squadron 330 was stationed in the town. The strategically important location halfway along the coastal route between Bergen and Ålesund imparts as much of a social and cultural identity as the geography or the natural environment do. The identity of those living in the region is derived from the coastal municipalities rather than from the inner areas of the county, a factor that affects collaboration and cooperation. The proverbial saying that the people of Florø stand with their backs to the county looking out over the sea circulates in several versions like a collective self-perception. However, several inhabitants have voiced the need to open up towards the inner parts of the county, both in regional development policy and recreational activities. In this anniversary year they aim to attract people from the rest of the county since they assume that many of them have not visited Florø before and are not aware of what the town has to offer. The existence of "empty" place images makes it difficult to communicate a clear identity.

Many people come to the town in the summer, and the guest harbour in the middle of the town is crammed with leisure boats from far and near. This helps to make "summer trade more important than Christmas trade" – for Florø is a summer town, and it is the summer town that the inhabitants are proud of. It is summer that gives Florø its pulsating life. Rough winter weather and sea spray appear to be more interesting on paper than in reality, and autumn has not progressed far before there are only utility boats at the quays – and no people. Strandgata, the main street, enjoys some peace and quiet, and it seems as if "most people" withdraw indoors to Amfi shopping centre. There are few traces of coastal town identity, but the café at the top of Amfi, which has become a social meeting place, looks out over the quay with its wharf-side sheds and the veteran ship *Svanhild* – another of the town's proud possessions that is admired by visitors. But these same visitors also wonder where the coastal town's fish sellers are, or whether shrimps can be bought at the quay.

The town has one of the best guest harbours in western Norway, but there is no quay promenade connected to it and no continuous walking area along the sea edge. Many people would like to see a promenade built as an attractive urban feature, as much out of consideration for the town inhabitants as for visitors. But so far the many small properties and conflicting interests are hindering any opportunity to renovate the quayside. The proposals for a quay promenade with housing, and not least with activities and amenities for the public, should in any case be included in a development plan that aims to upgrade the urban picture for the next decade. The vision is for this to benefit the entire area through the existence of two parallel routes – Strandgata and the quay promenade – from the new Fugleskjærskaia quay to the Amfi area, linked by transverse alleys. The new marketplace, which at present is largely deserted and abandoned except on the occasion of town festivals, can be incorporated into the whole as part of a traffic artery and promenade. However, to make the marketplace more lively there must also be some activities and amenities that attract people. In the long term this could have an overall positive effect on Strandgata. Several of the shops along the street are struggling with a reduced turnover, and this has led to some empty premises and a tendency towards decline that mars the urban picture. Everyone is concerned about this, and a sense of

helplessness prevails while they watch the core of the town waste away. One of the greatest challenges lies in balancing the following:

- retaining enough of the old wooden buildings to ensure that they continue to be an important element of the town's identity
- avoiding the possibility of the district becoming attractive and physically renovated but dead and museum-like
- implementing renovation and new building projects for new public and private workplaces, retail trade, meeting places, art and culture
- adding new elements of architecture and design that provide an attractive combination of old and new

Another challenge is to turn the debate from a one-sided focus on building and property to more focus on content in the form of activities, businesses and experiences.

The identity of the town is not merely an isolated phenomenon; it is also something that is formed by its relationship with its surroundings – whether these are the natural environment (such as the skerries) or neighbouring regions and places (such as Førde). Although Florø and Førde present themselves as twin towns, they do not appear to be so very much alike: Førde has become the big brother – a growth centre and the shopping mecca of the county. It was also given the hospital that Florø lost. Being deprived of functions has led to a loss of identity for Florø since the town has lost several public institutions – or has not been allocated them. The university college is another example. This has added fuel to a sort of collective melancholy and consolidates a negative identity that seems to eclipse what the inhabitants actually have and actually achieve. Flora was recently ranked number 25 in an overview of innovative business municipalities in Norway. Moreover, the composition of the population in the town is younger than that in the rest of the county, with more school children, which indicates that the town is an attractive place for young families. Those who come from Florø and move back there in the establishment phase of life return home to a town they describe as compact and close, a place that is safe and agreeable but not too crowded, with a cultural life that is labelled a "beacon" and a sports complex that everyone agrees is excellent. But they also see that the town lacks interesting workplaces for those with higher education in a wide range of disciplines, as well as mooring places for boats and different types of housing for the young people who move there. When they go out on a Saturday morning they seldom go to the town centre because there are no good meeting places with amenities for play and activities for small children. They have been there long enough to point out that the town should profile and market itself more proactively, and they represent a resource that can see the town with new eyes and with different experience – a major factor for local development.

Both adolescents and young adults highlight education and competence building. The active initiative that supports young entrepreneurs and founders must undoubtedly continue. Now that there is no university college, competence-building environments become even more important – such as marine technological research and development, as well as business gardens that provide inspiration for innovation. The cultural business garden that is planned may also generate competence building,

as well as helping to intensify the focus on culture-based businesses, which Florø needs.

The young people of the town are also a resource that should be involved in future urban development, partly because they view the present in the light of future opportunities – both for the town and for themselves. Through the youth town council Florø has a good practice of allowing young people to participate and exercise influence. They are also allowed into political committee meetings, where they have the right to attend and make proposals. Young people's needs are different from those of adults, and they have different knowledge and experience of the town. They also use the town in other ways than adults do, and regard it in a different light. Their narratives on urban life tell us about social and territorial lines of demarcation, about who belongs where, and about a town divided into a number of cliques. Everyone talks positively about the Haffen youth club, but adolescents of upper secondary school age want a café that would also be a place for activities such as music, films, the Internet, working on projects and doing homework – a place to "be and do" that they think may contribute to building bridges between different groups of young people.

Both young people and adults describe Florø as a compact town with all facilities a short distance away; they can get to both the town centre and the airport in five minutes. This advantage is strengthened by the proximity of the walking and recreational areas around the lakes in the Florahalvøya peninsula and in the hills above the town centre – an advantage that the cruise tourists are informed about but that other visitors have to find out for themselves. This can be one of the under-communicated qualities and opportunities that visitors, conference participants, freight ship skippers or those visiting business companies do not gain access to, and several have asked for better information and packages that coordinate small-scale programmes for target groups other than traditional tourists. Similarly, the profiling of the town should be aimed at a wide range of target groups from an equally wide range of suppliers and providers. The same opportunities will be interesting for the various users and customers who come to Florø. When several people advocate developing Florø as a conference town, ideas for events and activity packages for the stay and journey are included as attractive elements in addition to the actual conference facilities.

To encourage settlement and business activities, what is actually done today is just as important as special profiling campaigns since this is instrumental in forming reputation – in a positive or negative direction. Most of those who settle here have some knowledge of the town since they come from the region or are moving back to it. Foreigners are attracted by job opportunities, or they are immigrants. But there are hardly any accounts of Florø as an international town in the information material and in interviews on urban development. There is little evidence of international elements in the town in the form of cafés, retail shops or food outlets.

All the future portrayals of Florø describe a revitalised, living and vigorous town centre. Our work on the place analysis has brought in many proposals and thoughts on what is required to achieve this main goal, a goal that most people – despite their varying viewpoints – are interested in. This makes it clear that the local developers, who occupy different positions in different sectors, must consider the overall

perspective of all proposals and input, while at the same time forming part of an alliance that consists of people other than their traditional partners. Development in Florø is not only about content, it is also about process. To achieve the goals and implement the measures that will strengthen Florø as a vigorous and living town in the future, it is crucial to be fully aware of the process and relational factors. It has been shown that such factors can create positive or negative guidelines, i.e. they can promote or inhibit goal achievement and can be the keys to success.

The work on this place analysis can be seen as the first step in the process. Almost 90 individuals in Florø community have contributed to the empirical data material through personal interviews, focus group interviews and work in topic groups. This has functioned as a form of participation since they have presented their opinions, thoughts and proposals, which have been taken further in the completed analysis. Experience shows that a process like this increases the awareness of what is at stake and of the importance of dialogue and collaboration.

A major driving force in future work will be the commitment of many of the town's inhabitants and the local patriotism that they have in common. On the other hand, failure to participate will represent a barrier: engaged townspeople tell us that it is de-motivating when players in key positions avoid the public debate on the process or do not seem to want to take part in the cooperation on developing the town's qualities, image or reputation. The lines of conflict in issues of preservation versus demolition of old buildings have revealed contradictory interests, and uniting these interests poses a challenge. Feelings have run high, and stereotypical notions of "the other side" have led to deadlock: the activists for Florø's soul stand unanimously for preservation interests while property owners are only concerned about the commercial aspects. The local authorities have also been strongly called to account – hardly favourable for the dialogue that has to be conducted in the future.

The property structure, with many small owners, also represents a barrier to more unified action on the development of the buildings in the town centre. Municipal authorities have already taken measures to unite the fragmented interests, and should continue to give such measures priority. Self-interest is a major force in commitment and use of resources, and is naturally completely legitimate. As we see it, the problem arises when many people fail to link their project satisfactorily to a more cohesive and coordinated perspective that can represent win-win situations – situations that have both mutual utility value and mutual dependence. If the reestablishment of a vigorous and lively town centre is successful, this will also be favourable for individual interests and projects.

There is a pressing need to unite different interests and resources. This applies within individual sectors, between sectors and between private and public actors. We suggest that a cooperative urban strategy forum is set up that can also function as a forum for Florø's reputation. The increasing competition among places indicates that internal differences and lines of conflict have to be diminished and uniting community has to be emphasized.

The Government's guarantee to reintegrate convicted persons into society

An implementation pilot study
NIBR Report 2010:8

By Guri Mette Vestby and Ragnhild Skogheim

This report examines the terms under which the Government's guarantee to reintegrate convicted persons into society is practised in the correctional services. Chapter 2 reviews the letters of allocation from, in this connection, relevant ministries to agencies with a view to how the letters refer to or set out premises for action which directly or indirectly touches on the reintegration guarantee. We found no reference to the guarantee, but the letters of allocation from the Ministry of Health and Care Services to the Directorate of Health and from the Ministry of Labour and Inclusion to the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Organisation/ NAV mention several activities which also involve inmates. National responsibility for training in the correctional services has been delegated to the Hordaland County Governor. The letters of allocation from the Hordaland County Governor to the county councils are at pains to stress the importance of the reintegration perspective.

Chapter 2 also reviews in brief agreements between five of the correctional service regions, other agencies and private sector stakeholders on collaborative ventures and procedures.

Chapter 3 discusses organisational integration and conditions under which the reintegration guarantee can be successfully invoked. The guarantee appears to be widely accepted and supported at central and regional levels of the correctional services. Enhanced coordination, cooperation and partnerships between agencies and private sector stakeholders should promote and facilitate a better service for inmates both before release and after, while creating a joined-up approach. Agencies expected to work together in executing the guarantee are subject to different laws, targets, financial constraints and priorities. The chapter provides examples of how inmates are denied the standard of services to which they are entitled and need by inadequate or poor collaborative relations. Responsibility groups are highlighted as a particularly important field of inter-agency cooperation. Partnership deals are useful when they are used actively, for example to set up a collaborative system centred on a particular inmate or to reinforce focus on the target group. Stakeholders are dissatisfied with some of these partnerships, and there appear to be culture-related differences between the prisons and correctional services, hampering collaboration of two units of a given agency, for example.

Case studies at three different prisons – chapter 4 – examine the regulatory environment under which the reintegration guarantee is supposed to work. The three prisons are Oslo Prison, a big high security prison; Skien Prison, a medium-sized high security prison; and the Trøgstad wing of Indre Østfold Prison, a medium-sized low security prison. The three prisons have different prison populations in terms of length of sentence, proportion of people in remand versus convicted offenders and in distribution in the inmates' home municipality. All three prisons house a large number of non-Norwegian nationals. The case studies explored working relations and partnerships and how they work in practice, especially on release preparation work.

The case study of Oslo Prison was conducted at the so-called TOG department, a special department for recidivists. It has more resources than a basic department, but also a more troubled and demanding prison population. TOG is a multi-partner project and works with a wide range of partners. It is an example of how the reintegration guarantee can be put into practice. At the same time, it is necessary to mention that TOG inmates are not representative of the wider population of Oslo Prison, and there are challenges in relation to other prisoner groups with different needs for assistance and intervention. Inmates of Skien Prison are serving lengthy sentences, and the release rate is low. Indre Østfold Prison holds offenders serving very short sentences and the release rate is therefore very high. Both prisons view these circumstances as a challenge with regard to release-related work. Skien Prison emphasises collaboration with imported services, that is, health and training services. Indre Østfold Prison also sees the value of good relations with the health service and schools, but also with other stakeholders. This prison had also done most to develop a service market plan. It seems easier to operate a service market in a low security than high security prison.

Chapter 5 discusses some of the challenges identified by the studies. The reintegration guarantee is firmly entrenched at central and regional levels of the correctional services, but is less well known and integrated at the local units of the correctional services (not to forget however the small number of prisons in our sample). The reintegration guarantee is a joint management project requiring action on the part of several ministries and agencies. There appears to be a challenge in persuading some partners to shoulder responsibility for reintegration work.

"The heart of the rural area" – an analysis for local development

Vik in Hole municipality
NIBR Report 2010:9

By Marit Ekne Ruud and Guri Mette Vestby

Introduction

The work on this report forms part of the local development process for Vik under the auspices of Hole municipality. In autumn 2008 Hole was granted funding from the Buskerud county authority for the development of the municipal centre at Vik. The 2003-2014 municipal master plan places emphasis on developing a municipal centre with major service functions and social meeting places.

The municipality has formulated three main goals for the local development. Firstly, *children and young people* are an important area of priority: the dual objective in this context is therefore to facilitate both sports and cultural activities in the afternoons and evenings and to create good social meeting places as a supplement to the organised options. The purpose is to encourage children and adolescents to stay in the district in their free time. Secondly, *business development* is to be increased by creating an appropriate environment, with the purpose of reducing daily commuting from the municipality. The third goal of the local development project is to *raise awareness in the local community* in which the municipal centre is located: the municipal master plan aims to promote interaction on the development project between the local community, club and society activities and business life.

NIBR was invited to assist the municipality in implementing processes associated with the local development and in systemising experiences through a place analysis at an early stage in the Vik project. The analytical perspective employed is that of a sociocultural place analysis that examines the three dimensions of *place images, place use* and *place interests* in correlation with each other. *Place images* concerns various perceptions of the positive and negative qualities of the location and its current distinguishing features, as well as its desired and potential development in the coming years. Place images are closely connected to the type of *functions and uses* the place affords and should afford and for whom, and the type of *interests* that are related to this. The issues in the analysis are closely linked to the three dimensions, and emphasis is placed on defining what functions well and can be strengthened, what is lacking and can be developed, and what are negative elements that should be removed, reduced or counterbalanced.

Hole municipality has been active in the process. To a large extent the data have been gathered through *group work*, with local players as participants, as well as through *focus group interviews* and *plenum discussions*. In collaboration with the clients we identified four main themes about which we wanted more information: (I) Land use, (II) Leisure-time provisions and public services, (III) Children and young people, and (IV) Housing and business development. Groups were set up under each theme and assigned the task of discussing the development in Vik. The participants had diverse roles in the local community.

Place images

When various *place images* are to be presented along with the characteristics of Vik, there are four main features that can be said to typify this rural centre and the municipality as a whole. Firstly, Hole municipality is responsible for managing national historical assets from as far back as the Bronze Age that include the traces of four Norwegian medieval kings as well as the collections of folklore and fairytales by Asbjørnsen and Moe from the end of the nineteenth century. This has given the municipality a *strong identity as a historical location,* which is also reflected in its vision: "Magical past – adventurous future". Secondly, the natural environment and Steinfjorden play a key role for Vik's identity and distinctiveness: *the beautiful cultural landscape* with its countryside and forested areas that encircle and are reflected in a large lake, with Krokskogen forest as a towering backdrop. Its location by the fjord gives the district unique recreational opportunities in both summer and winter. The third characteristic is Vik as *a centre "in-between"* other places – smaller places nearby and the towns further away. The rural centres of Sundvollen, Røysehalvøya and Helgelandsmoen with their various amenities for the local population are located close by, and the municipality's main sports arena lies between Vik and Helgelandsmoen. Vik is thus situated both geographically and transport-wise in the very centre of other important areas of Hole municipality. In a more regional perspective, Vik lies between the towns of Hønefoss and Sandvika, and many of its inhabitants commute to these towns, which in addition serve as locations for trade and for cultural and leisure events and activities. Since Vik is situated by route E16 between Oslo and Bergen, it is also a place that many people drive past, and where some stop, on their way up towards Hallingdal or Valdres or further on to western Norway. This means that the traffic is heavy, with a large number of leisure, commercial and commuting vehicles. The fourth feature is *the extensive road network*, with the many roads in Vik criss-crossing the area and dividing the landscape into delimited zones. However, the main route is the E16 that runs beside the water, separating Vik centre from the fiord, and that with its slip roads to and from Vik claims a relatively large amount of space. In addition, the two petrol stations, one on each side of the road, lead many to associate Vik with a "crossroads". Both the road network and the location of various facilities at other places impose *premises and challenges* that affect the development of Vik. In addition, land-use restrictions and conservation plans in the area set strict conditions for what can be achieved.

Place use: activities, businesses and functions

The work on the analysis has produced many good and constructive proposals for *place use,* i.e. for what it is desirable and possible to achieve to enable Vik to develop

into a more vigorous municipal centre, the heart of the rural area and an attractive place to live. Some suggestions involve improving and developing existing structures, for example by changing the use of existing buildings, while others are more extensive and require and new building and construction projects. Some can be achieved with simple means and little bureaucracy, whereas others require comprehensive planning processes and clarification of funding schemes and will take time to realise. The various proposals will therefore imply different degrees of planning and financial incentives.

In the analysis, place use is organised into the following categories: Vik as a place to live, as a workplace, as a trade and service place, as a recreational place, as a social meeting place, as a place of culture and knowledge, as a place for visitors, and as an administrative centre.

Place interests

The early stage of the local development project has already revealed different views and *conflicts of interest* associated with the issue of what is to be given priority in the development process. Some people are of the view that local development in Vik should first and foremost benefit the local inhabitants – those who live in or near Vik and who use the place daily – and that tourists and visitors are not important in this context. Others think that the development should primarily be targeted at tourists and visitors, with business development geared towards day tourists and tourists who drive past on the way up to cabins in Valdres and Hallingdal. Some inhabitants claim that the district will die without tourists.

Our recommendations contain proposals to gather as many of the various functions as possible in the centre in order to strengthen Vik as a living core. In the future process we also recommend that the inhabitants continue to be invited to take part in the work, and that in particular landowners, representatives of business and cultural activities (in addition to the municipal school of music and performing art) participate actively. If Vik is to become a well-functioning municipal centre that is perceived as the *heart of the rural area,* people's affiliation to the place must be strengthened through the local development process, practical tasks and good social and cultural events that provide a heart *for* the place.

Evaluation of the Xingu prgramme in Amazon Brazil

NIBR Report 2010:10

By Cássio Ingles de Sousa and Einar Braathen

The aim of this report is to present an independent evaluation of the Xingu programme of Instituto Socioambiental, Brazil.

The Xingu River, flowing 2.700 km from the state of Mato Grosso to the state of Pará, is the most important tributary to the Amazon River in the southeast Amazonas. The Xingu Basin, the catchment area surrounding the river, is more than 500.000 km² and includes pristine areas with high biodiversity from the open savanna grasslands (cerrado) in its far south to the rainforests in the north. The sources of the Xingu River have been the centre of the most rapid deforestation in Brazil, and perhaps also of the world, during the last years. This deforestation is mainly due to cattle grazing and large scale cultivation, especially of soya, for export markets.

The cultural diversity of the region is also remarkable. The indigenous population counts 15 000 persons, divided in 22 peoples, while the basin has a population of around 200 000.

Since 1995 the Rainforest Foundation Norway (RFN) has supported the Xingu Programme of Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) and the Associação Terra Indígena Xingu (ATIX). Until 2003 the programme and RFN's support concentrated on lands of indigenous peoples - Parque Indígena do Xingu and TI (Terra Indígena) Panará. From 2003, however, the programme expanded into the River Xingu basin, as part of the campaignY Ikatu Xingu, and reached the northern region of the basin, Terra do Meio, in the state of Pará in order to obtain the recognition of a mosaic of nature conservation territories.

The work of the Xingu programme is organised along six lines of action:

1. People's sustainability. Promoting sustainable livelihoods among the indigenous peoples, river peoples and family agriculture units by enhancing the value of sustainable agro-forestry and extractive production.
2. Networks for management models. Promote networks bent on the development of models for the management of the corridor of protected areas in the Xingu Basin. Includes the Y Ikatu Xingu-campaign.
3. Territorial protection and natural resource management. Support initiatives of territorial protection and natural resource management in the indigenous lands,

oriented towards enhancing the value of local agro-biodiversity and sustainability.

4. Economic alternatives. Develop economic alternatives and adequate parameters for the commercialization of products from indigenous and other peoples (povos extrativistas) living on a self-subsistence basis in the forests;
5. Strengthen indigenous associations in mid- and lowland Xingu and in the TI Panará;
6. Consolidation of indigenous schools. Consolidate differentiated schools specifically for the indigenous peoples of the Xingu park and the TI Panará;

The evaluation was to cover the processes, results and impacts of the cooperation project of RFN with ATIX and ISA, by means of a critical analysis of the relevance and performance of the Xingu programme of ISA and ATIX in the period 2005-2008.

Field visits were made from October 29 to November 10, 2009, with a very intensive agenda of activities which included interviews, meetings, informal conversations, participation in events and direct observation of activities.

The evaluation confirms that the Xingu programme has contributed to the struggle against deforestation. However, it is difficult to estimate with clarity and precision the extent of this achievement. A more precise analysis of this impact remains to be done. The Xingu programme demonstrated efficiency in the conduct of its actions. The ISA teams involved are very motivated and qualified for their tasks. The efficiency has been as high as expected. Although one should take into consideration the methodological and time constraints of the study, the evaluators did not observe activities that could or should be replaced by other more cost-efficient activities.

Regarding the work with the indigenous peoples, the key question is the strengthening of their capacities and autonomy. It is a very difficult task to know when to wait for the indigenous initiative, when to provide incentives, and when to see the necessity of being more pro-active and take the initiative. There are not only "knowledges" or "techniques" to be assimilated by the indigenous peoples, but also new logics and visions of the world. This transformation may take many generations.

The relation between the governance of the overall programme and the management of each of its components is of strategic importance. Although the assessment of the current relation is positive, the evaluators think that RFN should provide more support and take a more active partner role at the level of strategic management.

In summary, the Xingu programme, in spite of all the challenges, has produced significant achievements. Although many of its measures and strategic actions need a longer time period before they can produce tangible impacts, the evaluation has identified some observable and positive results. The relevance of the programme is high, perhaps even higher in 2009 than in 2005. The programme is efficient at all levels. Measures have been taken to ensure sustainability. In conclusion, the Xingu programme is on the right track.

Universal Design as a Strategy

Evaluation of the Government's Plan of Action to Promote Accessibility for the Disabled
NIBR Report: 2010:11

By Siri Nørve, Lillin Knudtzon, Martin Lund-Iversen and Merethe Dotterud Leiren

Introduction

The report sets out the results of an evaluation of the "Government's Plan to Promote Accessibility for the Disabled – Plan to Promote Universal Design in Important Sectors of Society", abbreviated hereafter as the Action Plan.

Action plans as policy instruments offer a means of resolving policy issues of a more overarching nature within a given policy area. It is a basic document and synopsis of new initiatives and measures, and gives efforts an overall direction and purpose.

The Action Plan covers 2004–2008 and is the fourth of a series devoted to this particular policy area. The first three covered the years 1990–1993, 1994–1997 and 1998–2001. The plans set out policy targets, objectives, challenges and strategies (NOU 2001:22, s. 42).

Over the space of four action plan periods we observed some progress and some changes. The principle of sector responsibility has remained a standard in all four periods, though sector-wise performance has varied. There has been progress from individual projects to identifying commitment areas, and the latest planning period saw greater emphasis on using a variety of policy instruments.

Administrative development and administrative problems

Sector specialisation is an important principle of Norwegian government administration. The principle facilitates vertical coordination between different government levels, between central and local government and central and local public administrations. In the policy area of current concern, the principle requires each sector to consider carefully the design and execution of overarching policy in each sector in light of existing institutions and policy instruments. The principle highlights this administrative organisation and, if implemented well, ensures good vertical integration.

The government reforms of the 1980s and beyond were galvanised by powerful sector ministries. Sector specialisation also requires horizontal coordination between

all administrative levels (NOU 2005:6, 65). These are general administrative challenges, not excepting disability policy making.

The main concepts of the Action Plan

The Action Plan's main document outlines the plan's five principles and numerous instruments.

The plan, we find, rests on four principal concepts:

1. The sector responsibility principle shall inform project financing and execution. The budget, letters of allocation and other policy instruments are used to detail the substance of each sector's activities.
2. To facilitate inter-sector coordination centrally and spearhead the Action Plan's enactment, a secretariat will be created in the Ministry of the Environment.
3. Stimulus funding will be available to stakeholders. This funding is an essential ingredient of the secretariat's facilitating function. It comes principally in the form of grants (direct accessibility projects) and pilot funding. Stimulus funding shall promote cross-sectoral measures, and enable projects not included in the sector budgets.
4. During the plan's lifetime, special interest organisations for the disabled, relevant councils and professional bodies shall be consulted to improve target group precision, ensure project standards and galvanise stakeholders.

The plan outlines numerous measures filed by the different ministries and an economic breakdown for 2005 showing expected sector-wise performance and stimulus funding.

Evaluation's terms of reference and execution

The requisitioning body requested an evaluation of the Action Plan's achievements and impact. As the terms of reference make clear, the evaluation should build on the plan's strategies, principles and instruments. An assessment should be carried out of the plan's coordination, sector responsibilities and use of funds. The use of stimulus funding is given particular mention.

We designed the project as a performance study. We started with the different ministries and their efforts to promote universal design. We interviewed the different ministries about their strategies and expedients, use of stimulus funding and centrally managed coordination and implementation. On the basis of guidelines set out annually in letters of allocation and reports, we explored how certain ministries supervised programmes at lower government levels and/or agencies. Altogether, we examined fourteen programmes, including sector programmes and programmes funded by stimulus funding. We studied documents and interviewed informants. In some cases, we were out "in the field" to observe finalised projects in person. We also conducted group conversations with relevant parties. The programmes vary widely, and identifying and recording them has taken very different forms. Document studies and interviews furnish the evaluation's empirical material. The studies proceeded at different times between autumn 2007 and autumn 2009. Two interim reports were submitted during the period.

The mechanisms of the Action Plan

One of the themes chosen for special examination by the principal was the use of measures. We discuss their make-up, design and how they were used in light of the plan's main concepts. First, however, a brief outline.

The mechanisms of the Action Plan

We took as our point of departure the following division of government instruments:

- Normative documents such as instructions, indicators, standards, guidelines, laws and regulations
- Economic mechanisms (loans and grants)
- Surveys and studies of universal design
- Courses, competence-building measures and liaising
- Pilot and development schemes
- Direct accessibility measures for universal design

The Action Plan used mechanisms under each of these categories, though some were more pivotal than others. The first three were used primarily in sector management, the last three were more strongly connected to stimulus funding.

The sectors differ significantly in terms of structure and management, and the various types of mechanism are therefore represented to different degrees in the different sectors.

It is a central objective of the Action Plan to integrate universal design in regulations and administrative procedures in all sector areas. Of key importance here have been the drafting normative documents, such as legislation and handbooks, and using universal design to underpin the administrative dialogue through, for instance, letters of allocation. As ordinary sector responsibilities they were financed by the ministries' own budgets, although NOK 6.5 million in stimulus funding was allocated to twenty-four measures in this category.

During the Action Plan's lifetime, several important laws were drafted, such as a new Planning and Building Act, Act on Public Procurement and the law against discrimination on grounds of disability (Anti-Discrimination and Accessibility Act). It means that from 2010, we will have in place a number of "strong" mechanisms in the work for universal design.

Financial mechanisms such as loans and grants are key housing policy instruments. We found a clear intention of the basic loan to generate homes featuring universal design and reported as such. The adaptation and renovation housing grant makes housing more disability friendly, but does not normally result in features falling within the scope of universal design as a principle. The impact of the grant on the housing stock is uncertain. The measure reveals the difference between a policy for the disabled and a policy for universal design.

Surveys and studies of universal design as an instrument area is not specified as under the Action Plan, and no further justification is given. Such measures are

normal sector management procedures and continue irrespective of action plans. Two comprehensive programmes under the auspices of the Norwegian Research Council are included in the Action Plan – "IT Funk" with NOK 30 million in government funding and barriers facing the disabled with NOK 10 million annually. This instrument area received some stimulus funding, and about NOK 2.2 million was shared among six survey and research projects.

Training courses, competence-building measures and liaising comprise a group of measures of central importance under the Action Plan. Emphasis is on raising awareness and knowledge of universal design in public administrations and professional circles. Training courses have been designed for government officials and initiatives taken to improve basic training in the higher education sector. Much stimulus funding was allocated to these purposes: 35 projects of a value of NOK 14 million fell within this group.

Pilot and development work are new, exploratory measures offering a learning experience and generating new knowledge. The use of these is an extremely central approach under the Action Plan, covering more than a third of the allocated[2] stimulus funds (NOK 34 million in all 2005–08). The biggest single project in this category is BU 31, for which NOK 16.7 million was pledged in the four-year period. Piloting and development methodology have a long tradition in both the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development and the Ministry of Environment especially in dealings with local authorities. Some of these measures trigger the release of funding and activity from the recipients, in line with the intentions of the Action Plan.

Direct accessibility measures for universal design are interventions that have an immediate effect. Although dispersed on policy areas and sectors, the measures have mainly consisted of improving buildings and outdoor areas. These steps often trigger the release of funds and activity by the recipient municipalities. This measure received the second largest share of the stimulus funds, or 27 per cent or the total (NOK 26 million 2005–08).

Sector management

The Action Plan assumes that sectors will have included universal design in their own policy documents and taken steps to integrate the strategy in their own sector management. In the government ministries and agencies with responsibility for buildings, outdoor areas, transport and Information and communication technology (ICT), i.e. the four main areas of society covered by the plan, one has strengthened internal proficiency on universal design either before or during the Action Plan's lifetime.

Most of the ministerial measures in the Action Plan stem from sectoral policy and are only sporadically the results of the plan itself. In our evaluation we noted that all sectors had assumed control in their own central documents and *vis-à-vis* subordinate agencies. One important policy measure here is the normative document, i.e. statutes, regulations, guidelines, standards, indicators and letters of allocation.

[2] As explain in the report, there is in chapter 9 a difference between allocated funding and spent/accounted funds.

Transport and sector management

In the transport sector we find signals on universal design in general plans and letters of allocation. In general, the *sector principle* appears to work well in the transport sector. The Ministry of Transport takes universal design seriously, and universal design appears to be integrated in the management of the Norwegian National Rail Administration (Jernbaneverket) and Public Roads Administration (Statens vegvesen). In the Ministry and agencies, attending to universal design is now a normal procedure, and some officials work mainly on matters to do with universal design. The good work in the transport sector does not produce immediate results, however, because of their scale and extended lifetime.

Buildings, housing and sector management

Within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development we find signals on universal design in letters of allocation sent to the National Office of Building Administration and Technology (Statens bygningstekniske etat) and Norwegian State Housing Bank (Husbanken). We looked at the Housing Bank and two economic housing measures under the Action Plan. The Housing Bank found a familiar and easily measured mandatory performance norm in respect of the principle of universal design, and on which they report as far as the basic loan is concerned. The housing grant is not reported in relation to criteria that can be associated with universal design. It seems therefore doubtful whether this is a central measure aimed at raising the number of universally designed homes. But the sector principle appears to perform well enough.

Outdoor areas

Universal design is beneficial in any number of outdoor settings, from streets to squares, from traffic systems to parks. The municipality has the authority to define different targets for universal design in outdoor areas in the municipal plan and other planning documents. Sectoral management vis-à-vis the municipalities is located at the Ministry of Environment. The Planning and Building Act contains certain provisions on outdoor areas and access to buildings. Enforcement of provisions is a municipal duty and performed in connection with building applications etc.

Planning and implementing universal design in outdoor places is a municipal task and does not involve a particular ministry. The sector management principle is therefore not as important an implementation strategy in the outdoor sector.

ICT

Responsibility for the ICT sector is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Government Administration and Reform, and the ministry has a dedicated directorate with responsibility for information technology - Agency for Public Management and eGovernment (Direktoratet for forvaltning og IKT). The directorate was created January 1, 2008 with a view to strengthening the effective implementation of, among other things, ICT. Development of standards is generally considered an important measure in the area. Universal design appears overall to be integrated in sector management.

Stimulus funding as an incentive

The use of "carrots" to stimulate change and development is a staple of Norwegian politics. Stimulus funds have been used as grants for pilots or action programmes and as part-funding of measures or services. Action plans and experimental programmes seek to develop new services or organisational structures, change recipients' preferences and priorities, and ensure the continuation of the measure after the programme or plan.

We looked at the two biggest programmes BU 31 and BU 29. They would never have materialised without this funding, so much is patently clear.

BU 31 – The programme "Strengthening universal design in municipal undertakings" came about as a result of the secretariat at the Ministry of Environment working with local authorities. The project strengthened the awareness of universal design in various sections of the municipal organisation and, as such, promoted better internal coordination.

BU 29 is a programme under which state funds are transferred to individual municipalities to remove major obstructions to the disabled in the municipalities. The municipalities' projects have not been funded in full with these funds, and the Housing Bank has operated with an upper limit of NOK 300,000.

As far as we can see, stimulus funding has been of central importance and triggered both activity and release of money in the municipalities. Measures have been put in place which would not otherwise have been given priority. The stimulus funding has also given the Ministry of Environment an opportunity to pursue pilot and development schemes within the municipalities, the latter being in large the main policy enactment bodies in the field of universal design.

Participation

Participation is one of the Action Plan's five principles. Participation has been a central principle in the development of policies for the disabled (NOU 2001:22). The disability organisations perceive participation as a means of co-determination and influence. Participation, however, is not an unambiguous concept. In the report we explain participation as it relates to the implementation of the Action Plan vis-à-vis reference groups.

Cooperation with special interest organisations, professional organisations and other stakeholders with a view to ensuring awareness and support for the Action Plan proceeded centrally through the creation of a technical reference group and different groups or liaising activities with ministries or subordinate agencies.

Various professional and vocational organisations were represented in the reference group attached to the Ministry of Environment's secretariat, including two confederations of disability organisations (Collaborative Forum for Organisations of Disabled People and Norwegian Federation of Organisations of Disabled People), Delta Centre and the Norwegian State Council on Disability (Statens råd for funksjonshemmede).

In relation to the reference group's mandate, the Ministry of Environment appears to have been most concerned about information sharing. The Ministry values the

stakeholders and organisations as components of their implementation and sees them as catalysts occupying key positions in each of their respective policy areas. Many of the representatives in the group are happy with this role and the way the secretariat works.

But the organisations are critical of participation procedures under the Action Plan. Although they were consulted at many levels and in many sectors, they had also expected to be asked for advice in the drafting of strategies, priority-setting and individual measures. The organisations are disappointed at having received neither the position nor the influence under the Action Plan's lifetime they had desired and anticipated (Office of the Auditor General, Document nr 3:10 (2008–2009)).

There are two grounds for participation, as we explain in the report. One emphasises co-determination in decision making, quality assurance and organisational underpinning. User participation is not a well-defined term, though it is used in political debates emblematically. In actual administrative programmes, one should perhaps be clearer with regard to the term's content, and the management principles that apply.

The Ministry of Environment's coordinating and incentivising role

Each ministry had a liaison officer liaising with Ministry of Environment on matters to do with the Action Plan. These officers occupied various positions within the ministries' organisational structure, in the administrative section or technical section. Measures in one ministry could moreover have been fostered in a section other than the one occupied by the liaison official.

This arrangement has proved challenging in relation to securing ideas from the whole organisation of use to the Action Plan.

One of the measures adopted by the Ministry of Environment vis-à-vis the ministries, was to offer stimulus funding for new projects. As interviews with the ministries indicated, not many ministries actually applied for stimulus funding. The ministries were content to see new money transferred to the area, but as several interviewees said, it would have been easier and more in line with their own established practices if they had been given a lump sum to distribute according to the ministries' own priorities. Purely theoretically, stimulus funding implies re-arranging priorities or adding priorities from the outside because programmes and schemes that fail to make it through the internal priority-setting process receive funding from other quarters. This can be complicated in relation to political approval and priority setting.

Applying for funding from another ministry is also a cultural challenge. It is a different way of working than the traditional way. In addition to time it takes, it can feel strange for officials unused to working on projects and applications.

Overall summing up

Several sectors do good work to develop policies and projects we find – the sector principle works. Work on universal design is anchored in general plans, letters of allocation and reporting procedures. We find clear progress over the period in the Transport Ministry's policy area. No significant changes were observed at the

Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, either target-related or in the development of economic housing measures to promote universal design. The programme's regulations have not been changed during the period. Responsibility for ICT was transferred internally under the Ministry of Government Administration and Reform during the period, a change which appears to be working satisfactorily.

But not all ministries have been active or run projects under the Action Plan. In some ministries there has been a sense of diffidence or reluctance as to what the new measures might entail. For others, universal design was not considered relevant within their ministry's jurisdiction.

The secretariat of the Ministry of Environment has worked as a catalyst to drive the Action Plan's practical implementation forward, also in relation to the other ministries. The ministry's liaison officials were very happy with the ministry's spearheading efforts, but found it difficult to meet the ministry's expectations on generating ideas from below in light of their own positions and roles.

The stimulus funds have many fields of application. As far as we can see, the stimulus funds have been a central mechanism. They have released work and money in the municipalities and measures were put in place whose priority would otherwise have been in doubt.

The stimulus funds have also allowed the Ministry of Environment to run pilot and development programmes targeting the municipalities, which in many areas are the principal policy implementing bodies in relation to universal design. One of the main measures has resulted in a particularly interesting development effort in the municipalities.

Oslo Region – Diversity, Innovation and Development

NIBR Report 2010 :12

By Knut Onsager, Frants Gundersen og Kjetil Sørlie

The Oslo region is facing wide-ranging challenges stemming from ever sharper global competition, tighter climate and environmental regulations, national centralisation and an increasingly regionalised research, innovation and development policy in Norway. This NIBR report explores the distinctive characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of the Oslo region in terms of population, expertise, R&D, industrial milieux, innovation and development. The area's highly diverse economic, social and geographical characteristics, in addition to an abundant innovation resource capacity and "competence clusters" in several forward-looking areas, are highlighted as important regional advantages alongside innovation and development potentials. The region's attractiveness in a national context, as well as increasingly robust processes of interaction within the region, represent at the same time a resource pool for the years ahead. The region's weaknesses are said to be internal fragmentation, absence of an integrated and effective political-administrative decision-making system, lack of a general innovation and development policy, institutional barriers within the innovation system, weak transport handling and international attractiveness. Lack of knowledge in certain strategic areas is also mentioned as a weakness.

The main challenge for the Oslo region is related to the ability of actors to work together to make better of and to develop the region's and sub-regions' strengths, while tempering/overcoming the weaknesses. The lack of a unified political-administrative decision-making system should not deter a stronger regional effort behind the functional region's long-term innovation and development capacity. One of the principal elements will be to strengthen and develop the "soft infrastructure", that is, create attractive and useful fora, improve communication and confidence-building between actors and sub-regions. The report also recommends developing (further) regional innovation, cluster and development fora, taking steps to establish an integrated knowledge/R&D/innovation policy, approach to transport handling and international brand-building.

Decentralized reception centres and settlement of refugees

NIBR-rapport: 2010:13

By Susanne Søholt and Arne Holm

The number of asylum seekers arriving in Norway has varied over time. During recent years, we have seen a significant increase. In January 2008, around 8000 asylum seekers lived in reception centres. In the same month one year later, the number had grown to more than 14 000, and in January 2010, there were 19 363 asylum seekers living in reception centres. The increase in new arrivals during 2009 spurred the establishment of 50 new reception centres, following the establishment of 43 new reception centres during the previous year. The need for places in reception centres has led to the use of various types of housing and residential solutions to meet the demand. Decentralized reception centres for asylum seekers constitute one response launched in order to make use of a broader spectrum of housing for asylum seekers arriving in Norway. In the spring of 2010, the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration reduced the number of housing units following a reduction in the demand for housing opportunities.

Decentralized reception centres consist of housing units in regular residential areas. The study reveals that approximately half of the reception centres lodge the asylum seekers in quarters consisting of a mixture of decentralized housing units and more centralized solutions. Only one quarter of the reception centres use decentralized housing solutions exclusively, while one third of the reception centres exclusively use centralized housing, i.e. more institution-like residential buildings. Fifty-one per cent of the asylum seekers live in decentralized housing units. In decentralized reception centres families tend to live in separate flats, while single individuals live in communal housing. Communal housing may be organized in large separate residential houses, or in blocks of small units (studio flats, bedsitters), for example. The number of asylum seekers per housing unit is far higher than what is common in the population as a whole.

The use of housing in regular residential areas as reception centres has given rise to questions about how decentralized reception of asylum seekers has worked locally and what effects this practice may have on the settlement of refugees. Some

municipalities have claimed that decentralized reception created problems for the municipalities in obtaining social housing in the private rental market for the settlement of refugees.

Another intention behind the practice of decentralized reception is that this residential form could contribute to making the time asylum seekers spend awaiting their processing more normal. In decentralized reception centres, asylum seekers are largely responsible for their own living situation within the framework defined by the reception procedure.

The study's primary research issues are associated with the model of decentralized reception centres for asylum seekers in relation to:

- variations in the number of arrivals and a limited supply of places of accommodation to receive asylum seekers
- living conditions for asylum seekers and the future integration of refugees who settle in Norway
- the host municipalities' follow up of reception centres and asylum seekers, local attention and settlement of refugees

The study was carried out with the aid of several data sources and methodological approaches. Internet-based questionnaires were sent to all reception centres and owners of the centres in the entire country. We carried out interviews at three regional offices in the Directorate of Immigration and the Directorate of Integration and Diversity, respectively, to obtain their viewpoints on and experience with decentralized reception centres and settlement of refugees. In addition, we obtained information from nine case municipalities that have decentralized reception centres. Here, we spoke to reception staff, asylum seekers who live in the reception centres and recently settled refugees. We have spoken with the municipal administrations to solicit their experience in following up asylum seekers who live in decentralized reception centres, and their experience with this type of reception in the municipality with regard to the settlement of refugees. We have also spoken to owners who are responsible for some of the reception centres in the nine municipalities. In addition, we have analysed registry data provided by the Directorate of Immigration and the Directorate of Integration and Diversity on the reception population, and the settlement of refugees. The housing rent survey undertaken by Statistics Norway has also been analysed with a view to establishing whether reception centres have an effect on housing rent levels in municipalities that have decentralized reception centres. In combination, this comprehensive data material provides a wealth of information on how decentralized reception centres for asylum seekers function.

Decentralized reception centres – consequences for social housing in the municipalities

Decentralized reception centres for asylum seekers consist of a number of housing units in different locations, preferably within walking distance to the centre's administration in a local community. The owners of the centres can either own or rent the housing units. This must be done in accordance with the framework for operation of such centres as defined by the Directorate of Immigration, and within the framework of housing policy, which is market-based and regulated by supply and demand.

Forty-five per cent of the owners of the centres rent all the housing units used for reception, 16 per cent own all the housing units, while 39 per cent own and rent housing used for reception of asylum seekers. These figures apply to all forms of reception centres.

Decentralized solutions are well suited to meet the variations in the number of arriving asylum seekers, as rental contracts can be signed or terminated according to the Directorate of Immigration's need for places. However, the centres must have a certain number of places in order to break even financially. In order to reduce the number of places, a centre must therefore previously have had a greater number of places than was financially necessary.

Reception centres in all types of municipalities and housing markets

More than 100 municipalities all over the country have reception centres for asylum seekers. The proportion of municipalities that has reception centres increases with the size of the population in the municipality. We find the lowest proportion of municipalities with a reception centre in the least central municipalities. The largest proportion of municipalities with a reception centre is in the next least central municipalities. We find reception centres in half of the most central and second most central municipalities. The location of the reception centres has an impact on rental levels and pressure in the local housing markets. It therefore is significant for the owners' access to rental housing, as well as for the municipalities' opportunities to rent housing in that same private market.

Absence of competition in some types of municipalities

In large municipalities the activities of the decentralized reception centres has no tangible effect in the local rental market. The rent of 20-30 housing units, which is common for decentralized reception centres, is too small to have a significant effect. One small municipality also claimed that the reception centre's activities were too limited to represent any competition to the efforts of the municipality's social housing programme within the private rental market. In this particular municipality, other financially strong enterprises had a larger impact.

The municipality uses the private rental market for social housing programmes – possible competition

In small municipalities with a limited rental market and in high demand municipalities, such decentralized reception centres may increase competition in the local housing market. We find that the municipalities' perception of increasing competition in the local rental market is influenced by several factors. The more the municipality is dependent on the local, private rental market to find housing for refugees and marginalized groups, the more the municipality may perceive the reception centre as displacing them in the competition for housing rentals. It is uncertain whether this perception reflects real circumstances. Labour migrants, enterprises and students represent other groups of would-be tenants that may be preferred to the detriment of the municipality.

Municipality and reception centres have different housing standards – little competition

Another issue pertains to whether the reception centre and the municipality are looking for the same type of housing in the local rental markets. Experience from the nine municipalities acting as case studies indicates different patterns with different consequences. One such pattern consists in the allegation by reception centres that they rent housing units that have a higher standard than the municipalities. Others, on the other hand, claim that the municipalities demand a higher standard than the reception centres. Many of these municipalities settle refugees only in municipally-owned housing. The chosen strategies do not promote competition between the municipalities and the owners of the reception centres.

Municipality and reception centre look for the same housing standard – possible competition

Where the reception centre and the municipality are looking for the same type of housing units in the same local rental market, especially in municipalities where the rental market is small, competition may occur. The municipalities have experienced that the owners of the centres are in a better position to handle the competition in local rental markets. According to the municipalities, the owners are able to pay more, while they also can offer owners a package consisting of orderly contractual relations and payment, in combination with follow-up of the housing units and their residents. The selected municipalities include municipalities that offer packages similar to those offered by the owners of the centres. These municipalities nevertheless claim that the owners are sometimes preferred because of their greater ability to pay and, in some cases, because the owners of the housing are more persistently approached.

The municipalities studied: more refugees settled in 2009 than in 2008

Despite perceived difficult access in the private rental market, seven of the nine municipalities studied have succeeded in settling *more* refugees in 2009 than in 2008. All municipalities that have recently established decentralized reception centres have succeeded in settling more refugees in 2009 than in 2008. However, only *one* of these municipalities has succeeded in settling as many refugees as expected. This suggests that the municipal administrations encounter problems in obtaining a sufficient number of housing units in the existing housing market. This could be caused by a shortage of residential housing locally, too expensive rents, or that the municipality is considered a less attractive client.

An analysis of the rental market survey thus far cannot sustain with any statistical certainty the claim that having a decentralized reception centre in a municipality tends to effect rent levels for local housing.

Consistency between municipal housing policies and the municipality's ability to settle refugees

The municipal administrations can act to expand their ability to settle refugees and other marginalized groups within the framework of national housing policies. It is up to the municipalities to decide whether they want to *own* all the housing units at their disposal or *rental* them from the private rental market. There are no indications that the Public Procurement Act prevents municipalities from leasing residential space from the private market. The municipal administrations can also take steps to become more attractive to owners as lessees, in the same manner as the reception centres. The municipal administrations are also free to decide how actively they wish to make use of the social funding provided by the Housing Bank. Some municipalities made systematic efforts to develop methods that prepare recently settled refugees for gradually taking responsibility for their own housing situation. Where this succeeds, the municipality ends up with vacant housing space in which to settle new refugees, and the refugees themselves have taken the first step to becoming structurally integrated in the housing market.[3]

Living conditions in decentralized reception centres – a contribution to the integration of refugees

A reception centre for asylum seekers should offer a residential environment that is as normal as possible to people who find themselves in an extraordinary life situation. The idea behind the decentralized reception centres is that this form of

[3] 'Structurally integrated in the housing market' means that the household has a housing unit at its disposal in a manner that is common in society as a whole. Because most households in Norway own their housing, this usually means that a household purchases a housing unit and accumulates its asset value as long as prices rise, and are free to decide whether to stay there or move.

residential environment is better for the asylum seekers, *and* that it should serve to make the integration process easier for those who are granted a residence permit.

Persons who seek asylum find themselves in a transition phase while they wait for their application to be processed. They live at reception centres, but they are neither part of the society that they come from, nor yet part of the society they have expectations of joining. During the time they spend at the reception centre it is expected that the individual's basic needs, such as food, clothing, welfare and social needs are met. In addition, it is expected that the reception centres contribute to preparing asylum seekers for handling the outcome of their applications, whether this is an approval or a rejection.

We have looked at how staying for a period in a decentralized reception centre impacts asylum seekers' living conditions. The focus has been on basic needs, the asylum seekers' individual resources, how they perceive and relate to their own situation at the reception centre and what kind of opportunities to act are available.

A safe framework

Experience indicates that the decentralized reception centres provide a relatively secure framework for meeting the basic needs of the individual residents. Most of the interviewed asylum seekers were satisfied with the conditions offered by the reception centres. Ensuring the basic needs of the residents will not be influenced by whether the individual lives in a centralized or a decentralized reception centre, because this aspect is part of a standard procedure. On the other hand, the *type of housing unit* as a framework for lodging, security and safety will vary in decentralized versus centralized reception centres. The *residential situation* can also affect perceived and actual opportunities to meet social needs.

Asylum seekers attitudes towards conditions at the reception centre

If we regard living conditions from the perspective of resources, based on the individual's experience and attitudes, their skills and education, residents are more or less returned to square one at the reception centre compared to their previous lives. Individual resources may nevertheless be decisive for the individual's perception of, and ability to benefit from the various possibilities offered in this initial situation. Programmes and activities at reception centres focus on the individual's needs in terms of social contact and friendship, competence-building and recreation in order to cope with this difficult waiting period. Our study reveals that the interviewed residents are relatively satisfied with the activities offered, even though some call for more activities and more continuing activities to participate in that can help to structure everyday life. Many also emphasize the need for diversion, among other things in order to avoid unpleasant thoughts. The study indicates that people have different interests in, and benefit differently from, activities and programmes in the reception centres. It is likely that residents in decentralized reception centres

participate more frequently in activities in *the local community* than residents in centralized reception centres. In centralized reception centres, the activities taking place *within the centre* will assume a more prominent place.

Norwegian language training is motivating

Norwegian language training is the most popular activity among the asylum seekers. In terms of empowerment, most of those interviewed report that their opportunities to influence their own situation are strengthened by language training and the ability to communicate in Norwegian. Norwegian language training is perceived as meaningful with a view to the final goal of becoming settled and having a future in Norway. So are also other activities that prepare for settlement.

Not everybody is offered school and health control

Noteworthy in this study is that some municipalities are not taking responsibility for offering school and health services. 12 percent of the reception centres answer that children in their centre are not offered any school services. 10 percent of the reception centres say that health control is not given to their asylum seekers. As these services are legally compulsory for the municipality, attention to follow up is important.

Life in the reception centre challenges traditional gender roles

Men tend to participate more frequently in activities than women, according to the reception centre staff.

Many men who live in reception centres come from societies where they are expected to play an active role as providers and heads of families within the extended family and in society as a whole. In their role as asylum seekers, men and women are formally placed on an equal footing. Life in the reception centre makes both genders more passive. The residents have little opportunity to provide for themselves. Instead, the reception centre offers them money to cover their needs, as well as a selection of programmes. This is a dramatic shift in roles in terms of living conditions. This shift in roles may be especially dramatic for men. Women who are in a family situation can continue their tasks related to caring for the family in almost a normal manner in their own dwelling. Men, on the other hand, lose their role as providers. At the same time, they encounter expectations of gender equality, and among other things absence of violence in maintaining authority. Men who live in communal housing also encounter challenges with regard to cooperation in carrying out traditionally female tasks, such as cooking and cleaning. The reception centres were familiar with these issues. Some had therefore started special groups for men, in addition to groups for women.

Own activity stimulates and aids adjustment

The study indicates that many of the asylum seekers are to some extent very active. Many wish to start an independent life, rather than submitting to the reception centre

situation's more passive role. Some also expect to be able to send money to their families in the home countries or in other refugee camps around the world. Only one of the interviewed asylum seekers confirmed that this had been done; the others were not in a financial position to do so.

The residential situation in the *decentralized* reception centres may contribute to strengthening the perception of oneself as an active party in ensuring positive living conditions for oneself. The residential situation may also contribute to making it easier for an individual to act to participate in, find their way to and be included in various local activities. This includes the opportunities inherent in becoming a regular participant in a regular local community. Overall, this may strengthen the perception of being able to master living in a new country, and be helpful in adapting to a possible new establishment process in Norway.

On the other hand, asylum seekers who live in centralized reception centres must also handle many of the same practical tasks as those living in decentralized housing. These asylum seekers also need to cope with new forms of cooperation for daily routines. This will be highly relevant to the establishment of positive living conditions for individuals and their families through their own actions.

From reception to settlement

The study gives some support to the claim that decentralized reception centres are conducive to the integration of the refugees who settle. All the same, those who find it easiest are those who settle in same municipality where they previously lived in a reception centre. Local people recognize them; they know the local community and they often have personal networks. This group tends to require the least follow-up by the municipality after settlement.

Settled refugees as well as municipal administrations emphasize that the time spent in the reception centre has improved the residents' competencies for establishing a new life and household on their own in Norway. The refugees have been given a view of the practical aspects of living in Norway, and are becoming familiar with the norms for social contact with neighbours and participation in local communities. Many have also become familiar with the Norwegian culture of voluntary associations and leisure activities. The refugees' own narratives reveal that many continue engaging in types of activities that they first encountered during their stay in the reception centre.

The asylum seekers were especially eager to have access to a TV, a computer and the Internet at the reception centres. Skills in the use of these types of common everyday technology are clearly an advantage for refugees who settle. The same applies to the use of payment cards instead of cash at the reception centre. In a manner similar to that for mobile phones, this type of technology can be used by persons without comprehensive pre-existing skills. Refugees who settle are completely dependent on

these types of skills in order to be able to function and take charge of their own situation in the technologically advanced Norwegian society.

Decentralized reception centres - consequences for host municipalities and local communities

Reception centres for asylum seekers are local institutions that fulfil national policy goals. The municipalities have little opportunity to resist the establishment of a reception centre and are obliged to follow up the reception centres and the asylum seekers. However, it is up to the municipalities to decide whether they want to settle refugees. The distinguishing feature of reception centres, compared with other statutory responsibilities, is that the operation of a reception centre does not target the municipality's own inhabitants. On the contrary, reception centres involve opening the municipality for people who are passing through while waiting for their application for a residence permit to be processed. The fact that the municipality have little say in the establishment of reception centres may have contributed to the local scepticism towards the centres. The subsidy paid to host municipalities serves as compensation for these statutory obligations, and ensures that the municipalities have the financial ability to fulfil them.

It matters little to the municipalities' follow-up of the asylum seekers whether the reception centres are organized in the form of centralized or decentralized housing; the tasks remain the same. The municipalities' major concern with regard to decentralized reception centres is whether they will be able to detect undesirable and worrisome conditions in time.

Advantages for the municipality

Having a reception centre in a municipality entails new tasks, which may encourage the municipalities to develop their knowledge with respect to asylum seekers and refugees. Especially in smaller communities with a limited number of highly-skilled workplaces, this can be advantageous. Municipal staff also emphasized that this type of work was meaningful and motivating.

Advantages for the integration process

The municipalities are engaged in following-up reception centres as well as the settlement of refugees. The municipalities have observed that refugees who settle after having lived in decentralized housing require less follow-up than those who have lived in centralized reception centres. The key issue, however, is not whether the refugees have lived in a centralized or a decentralized reception centre. The main factor is whether refugees who settle have lived in a reception centre in the *same municipality*. Refugees who have lived in a reception centre in the same municipality have the easiest time settling. They are familiar with the local community and the municipal administration is familiar with them. Many have established networks, among others with a refugee background, among their own group or among the local

population. The municipalities also claim that it is of major importance to the refugees themselves, especially to families with children, to be able to continue living in the local community where they stayed during the initial period. The resettlement refugees represent the group with the highest need for follow-up.

In the nine municipalities included in the study, all refugees interviewed by us had lived in decentralized reception centres before settling in the same municipality. This combination contributed to settlement being viewed as unproblematic by the municipalities.

Less local resistance

Decentralized reception centres are almost invisible in the local community, and have proven to awake little resistance, when established. There are few or no emblematic buildings in the local environment to act as a symbol for possible resentment towards national or local asylum policies. The main trend is for asylum seekers to live in relatively ordinary residential areas where they are not clearly distinguishable from other immigrants.

Even though decentralized reception centres are invisible, they may over time assume an active role in the local community. This depends on whether the reception centre as an institution has been able to establish contacts and relationships with local institutions and associations with which they can engage in cooperation. In places where the reception centre, the municipal administration and the local community have been able to establish positive forms of cooperation, the reception centre has over time developed from being an alien element to being an integrated part of the local community. This means that even if there was local resistance when the reception centre was established, there may well also be resistance to plans for closure.

Greater local diversity

Some of our informants have been eager to express what the reception centres have meant to the local communities beyond the specific tasks associated with the centre's operations and the settlement of refugees. The most important point to emerge was that it laid the foundations for a more multicultural society. Reception centres in municipalities with few immigrants served to make immigrants more commonplace and to pave the way for settlement. Decentralized reception centres served to familiarize property owners with refugees and immigrants as tenants. Positive experiences may in turn provide easier access to the rental market for this group at a later stage. Several reception centres pursue a strategy of renting houses in neighbourhoods where there are few immigrants. In this manner, the majority population obtains experience of refugees living in ordinary neighbourhoods. Furthermore, settled refugees led to more labour and new enterprises. It was pointed out that municipalities that were inclusive and open laid a foundation for innovation,

which could have positive effects locally. Finally, the variety within the minority population with regard to countries of origin and their reasons for staying in Norway was also pointed out as an advantage for the local, multicultural society. It resulted in greater diversity.

Decentralized reception centres and settlement of refugees – paths to success

Three conditions have an impact on the extent to which the coupling of decentralized reception centres with settlement of refugees in the same municipality will be successful. These concern cooperation, commitment and expertise, and municipal social housing policies.

Cooperation

The owners of the centres, the reception centres and the municipal administrations agreed that positive cooperation locally was crucial to a successful operation of a reception centre. The earlier in this process the owners and the municipality engage in dialogue, the greater the likelihood of a continued positive cooperation during the operative period. The three sets of actors emphasized that appropriate arenas for collaboration and contact had to be formally established as well as maintained during the current operation of the reception centre.

The owners of the centres emphasized that for *the reception centre* to function well in the local community, the asylum seekers as individuals also needed to function well locally. In order to succeed, the reception centres need to act as door openers into the local community. The reception centres need to provide information, and demonstrate and facilitate contacts and meetings between individuals, asylum seekers and local inhabitants. Specifically, the reception centres needed to contribute to establishing trust and confidence in relationships in various local arenas. The role of the reception centre in 'establishing positive narratives of reception centres and asylum seekers in the local community' was another key element that was pointed out. This could serve to counterbalance the stigmatization of asylum seekers in the national media and encourage positive attitudes locally.

Commitment and expertise

The municipalities emphasized that good work with regard to reception centres and recently settled refugees requires commitment. Municipal staff must have patience, time and an interest in this type of work. They must have a commitment with respect to the individuals concerned and be able to develop the municipality's skills, knowledge and expertise in this field of activity. Some municipal administrations emphasized the importance of organizing their efforts to ensure development of municipal *expertise* associated with the follow-up of reception centres and settlement of refugees. A strong professional environment could serve to support the municipality's work and development of expertise in this field.

Adequate social housing policy – successful settlement of refugees

The final point concerns the identification of appropriate methods and solutions that can serve to facilitate municipal housing policies with regard to refugees and other marginalized groups. Municipalities that engaged deliberately to achieve a steady turnover in municipal housing also made active efforts to follow up residents in municipal housing. This involved active effort to ensure that refugees find employment and a regular income that gradually will enable them to find housing of their own. The turnover frees municipal housing units for new refugees and other marginalized individuals, and ensures that the municipality is less dependent in the private rental market. The municipality is thereby able to implement its social housing policy despite the reception centre or any other competing actors in the local rental market. The municipal administrations that succeeded in achieving turnover made active use of the Housing Bank. The Housing Bank was engaged to obtain a greater number of suitable housing units for settlement of various groups of refugees (unaccompanied minors, large families etc.) and to provide guidance to those who could be motivated to purchase a dwelling of their own.

Cultural heritage and place identity

The importance of cultural heritage to identity and brand building and economic growth.
NIBR Report 2010:14

By Ragnhild Skogheim and Guri Mette Vestby

In recent years, we have observed words like cultural heritage and place identity appear with increasing frequency when towns present themselves in different media. That culture can be consciously deployed as a driving force and approach in urban development is appreciated by increasing numbers. In Norwegian planning and urban development circles this realisation is creating something of a trend. The report's central themes concern the role played by cultural heritage in towns' and cities' reputation and brand building and as a resource for economic and industrial development. The study shows that the towns' historic identities are integrated into contemporary identity constructions, not simply as a historic backdrop or in physical urban environments, but just as much in the form of local mentalities and local temperaments. This is used actively as much to highlight the town's economic potential as its qualities as a place to live in and visit. In an economic sense, cultural heritage is still to a certain extent an unexploited resource, although there is no shortage of ideas, visions and ambitions.

The study also discovered how elements of the cultural heritage add substance to much of what is currently perceived as the attractive town, usually in a combination with the modern and forward looking. Renovation and management of cultural heritage are not only the preserve of experts and politicians, but just as much of civil society actors and business community. This use of cultural heritage in place development and economic growth will probably accelerate in the near future if the visions, plans and reports on this thematic area are translated into action.

The project Cultural Heritage and Place Identity explored whether culture, and more specifically, cultural heritage, occupies a key position in urban development processes in medium-sized Norwegian towns, and the importance of cultural heritage to identity and brand building and economic growth in these places. A significant repository of knowledge has gradually been put together on culture-based planning and urban development processes at the general level, but the number of Norwegian studies in this issue area is more limited. On the basis of four empirical studies in four medium-sized Norwegian towns, Fredrikstad, Arendal, Ålesund and Narvik, we have attempted to establish how culture-based planning, which includes cultural heritage (embracing the tangible as much as the intangible cultural heritage) implies for these towns' identity, reputation and brand building and economic growth. The

Demographic development in five cities

NIBR Report 2010:16

By Dag Juvkam, Kjetil Sørlie og Inger Texmon

Strong population growth, a younger population and more children

The five municipalities Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, Stavanger and Kristiansand have a total population of roughly 1.2 million. Every fourth inhabitant in Norway lives in one of these five municipalities. During the last 25 years, their population have increased by 250 000, a growth equal to the population of Bergen. All the cities have increased their population every year since 1985. The growth was particularly strong in 2007 and 2008, and for all except Trondheim, also in 2009. The very strong growth during the last three years has to a large extent been driven by immigration. The size of immigration between years is however an uncertain element in the demographic development of the cities. The impacts of long term features of internal Norwegian migration patterns, that despite a large turnover bring larger shares than previously to the cities, create a dynamic that is easier to comprehend and understand.

A consequence of the development in migration patterns during the last decades has been a rejuvenation of city population. A marked and increasing in-migration of young adults has strengthened the share of persons in their twenties and thirties. A steady increase in shares of in-migrants between cohorts and a prolongation of urban life before migration to suburbs or other municipalities means that more children are born in the cities. At pre school age, the share of children is higher than their share of the total population of Norway.

As steadily larger shares of young adults migrate to the cities, there is a shrinking share of persons in higher age classes within the city population. The birth surplus has increased strongly. The current age structure of the cities means that the population will continue to increase in coming years, even if migration should be more balanced. Larger cohorts replace older cohorts at all ages up to approximately 60.

Population prospects

Estimates for the four year period 2008 – 2012 indicate a growth in population for the cities of between 5.5 and 9 per cent. The strongest growth estimate is for Oslo, followed by Trondheim, Stavanger, Bergen, and finally Kristiansand. Numbers are now available for the first year of the time period. Except for Trondheim, all the cities got at least as strong growth in 2009 as in the previous ones. From 2012 to

towns were chosen because they all, in various ways, put cultural heritage and cultural history to use as instruments in urban development, where "culture" and the "experience industry" generally are conceived as means of counteracting stagnation and out-migration and making the places more attractive to new inhabitants, businesses and visitors. This applies to the four surveyed towns.

The increasing instrumentalisation of cultural heritage is particularly evident in national policy documents as we interpret the numerous public inquiries and parliamentary reports from the last thirty years examined in connection with this project. In the early 1980s, the key issues were conservation and protection, which were rooted in the intrinsic value of the cultural heritage. Insofar as the cultural heritage was perceived as a means to an end, it was as a remedy for what were perceived as threats from and negative consequences of internationalisation and other factors of social change.

By the turn of the century, a paradigm shift was evident in the government's approach to cultural heritage: it was increasingly perceived as an instrument of economic growth, job creation, tourism, "experience industry" and several other pursuits. Reference is made in several reports, for instance, to the usefulness of valuable cultural heritage sites for generating revenue for businesses and services. The establishment of the Value Creation Programme (Verdiskapsprogrammet), under the auspices of the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, gave towns and cities a further incentive to involve cultural monuments and cultural environments in their urban and place development efforts. According to the Value Creation Programme, pilot schemes should be set up to estimate the value-creating capacity of cultural monuments and environments. These projects should be included in local or regional strategies to stimulate value creation and innovation. As the cultural heritage is increasingly seen as an instrument and resource to other ends, rather than as a spending item on the budget, it will affect the idea of culture's autonomy, which links culture's success criteria to its own intrinsic quality criteria. It is therefore reasonable to ask whether the justification of cultural heritage relies in significant part on its ability to make money.

As the above indicates, arguments are being put forward in several sectors and policy areas to view cultural heritage and environments as a resource for practically everything from local community development and identity building to economic growth, rural development and placebranding.

This is a clearly observable discursive swing, and attests at the same time to the ability of the cultural heritage to give something of significance to place development while drawing some of its "new" significance from place development. We show by empirical examples how the intrinsic value of the cultural heritage undergoes transformation when it is used for other purposes. It is evident, for example, when sites which used to house key industries and industrial culture are gradually transformed into modern sites with businesses, homes, schools, culture, trade, cafés and different attractions. Progress down this route in Fredrikstad is on it´s way, while Narvik remains rather undecided about which facilities to install. Towns eager to use culture, including cultural history, in urban development face, however, several challenges. First, it can be difficult to convince people of the need to preserve unlisted, decaying industrial buildings. Without the support of politicians, private

stakeholders and civil society, ambitions on behalf of culture can easily turn into castles in the sky. While contexts vary from town to town, one precondition for using cultural heritage (such as older industrial sites and factories) is a shared conception among key stakeholders of the development process, the objectives and means of rallying civil society behind the process.

There are certain more specific challenges to transforming large industrial sites, such as "Værste" in Fredrikstad (the site of Fredrikstad Mekaniske Verksted) and Trekanten in Narvik (where LKAB used to be). Careful long-term, comprehensive planning and political control are crucial. Since the towns are relatively small, there is a risk that new areas could siphon off businesses and other functions from the old centre. And it is also an open question whether it is possible to fill the sites in a reasonable time frame. Requirements on standards of new facilities could be nudged to one side because any business would be seen as advantageous.

When cultural heritage is conceived as a resource for use in urban development, it is particularly because links have been forged between the historic and the modern, past and future. In this way, the town's identity seems to acquire "roots and wings". Historical river banks and sea fronts can become attractive urban spaces when they act as social meeting points with identity symbols derived from the local culture. One example is Pollen in Arendal, a social hub which symbolises, among other things, the age of sail and openness towards the world, as a summer town with boats and life on the water. Another example is Brygga in Fredrikstad, the new, pulsating river bank promenade, an urban space with historic elements invoking the river Glomma as a waterway of boating culture past and present and the once active factories situated on the old "beck". These and other historical sites and elements generate civic pride, a sense of appreciation and belonging, and are considered a resource because local actors become good "ambassadors".

The sense of belonging is articulated as emotional ties to the history and past of the place, but appears to be undervalued for brand creating purposes. We provide examples of how cultural heritage and cultural sites are worked into concrete schemes to raise the profile of these towns; we find everything from traditional storytelling and mental use of the past to verify local mentality and local temperament, to accounts of charming urban milieux where narratives and history are part of the fabric of the place.

Many of the towns' ritual arrangements and social events, whether they are festivals or football matches, have historic roots of some apparent importance to the sense of belonging and civic pride. As with the enjoyment and attractiveness dimension where echoes of history mingle with optimism for the future, it is particularly at the local and regional levels these things are important.

Another type of intangible cultural heritage of demonstrable importance to the towns' identity is their commercial history. Either as industrial culture, fisheries culture or sail ship culture, commercial history acts as a staging ground for forward-thinking business development with a combination of tradition, competence, local mentalities and practices. We provide examples of how they interweave with local self-perceptions and self-understandings, and their impact on urban and business development as two sides of the same coin. The entrepreneurial and industrial spirit,

hard work, international orientation and optimism are interlinked with historical and current knowledge, such as aquaculture and maritime industries.

Throughout, the cultural heritage of these towns lies more in the potentials and unexploited resources than any serious business involvement. There is no shortage of ideas, visions and ambitions, such as those enshrined in municipal and regional plans, for instance, or reports from researchers and consultants, or presentations to developers and wholly or partly owned municipal enterprises. Whatever the ambition, it is important to examine local capacities, make detailed analyses of possibilities and obstacles in the respective towns. It is also vital to choose one's options and set priorities. If a commitment to developing cultural and creative businesses is preferred, as it is in Fredrikstad and Narvik, for example, other options will have to be put aside (like large-scale shopping malls, parking spaces etc.).

Funding partnerships or partnerships of private actors, wholly or partly owned municipal enterprises and the municipality are formed at an increasing rate to facilitate large-scale urban development projects, such as "Værste" in Fredrikstad and Trekanten in Narvik. The partnership method and outsourcing of urban development projects to private actors come with significant challenges, however, Some actors may find conditions better suited to their interests than others (by participating in various forms of partnership and networks) and short-term, narrow interests may trump long-term, overarching considerations. The municipality must therefore play a central role in safeguarding the public interest and interest of society, and take steps to encourage participation of those who stand outside the various partnerships. By involving and galvanising the business community, voluntary organisations and the public more generally, while ensuring a firm foundation politically and administratively across the different sectors, a good starting point for success should be in place.

The Housing Market and Migration to the City

NIBR Report 2010:15

By Rolf Barlindhaug

Is there a connection between the housing market and migration patterns?

In this sub-project population growth in the metropolitan areas during the 2000s is examined in light of migration patterns and characteristics of the housing market. The composition of a population in an area at a given point in time is determined mainly by its composition in the preceding period. Migration, births and deaths also affect population growth. Inflows to and outflows from the areas have a significant impact on contemporary population structure and, in consequence, the type of services required by the population.

When the supply of housing is given, an increase in demand, caused either by individual housing demand or because many want to settle in the cities, will increase the price of housing. High price levels provide an incentive to build more. Against this background we pose the following questions.

To what degree is there a connection between high prices in the housing market and high construction rates in different areas of the cities? Must other factors apart from high price levels also be present to trigger house building? To what degree is there a connection between growth in housing stock and changes in the population? In extension of the last question, we explore the extent to which use of the housing stock and, in consequence, the number of persons per household in certain city districts has been changed between 2001 and 2008.

To what degree are the housing and neighbourhood preferences of the young characterised by a desire to live in the centres of the cities? How usual is it for the young to leave the city while they are still in their twenties? How usual is it for families to move from the inner city to a semi-detached or detached house either in the suburbs or metropolitan areas?

While the percentage of immigrants from the new EU member states in Eastern Europe was 8 per cent in 2002, the share had risen to 43 per cent by 2008. In 2008, 75 per cent of this group reported work as the reason for moving to Norway. What characterises the migration patterns of immigrants?

Some of the main findings

We find a decline in housing coverage, measured as the number of persons aged 20 or more per dwelling, in Oslo during the period. Housing coverage in Bergen has seen a moderate decline, while in the other three cities, housing coverage has improved during the 2000s.

There have been sharp rises in net immigration from abroad between 2002 and 2008. Migration exchange between the cities, suburbs / metropolitan areas /rest of the country has remained relatively stable for some time. More people tend to move out of the cities to the surrounding areas than in the opposite direction, while the reverse obtains between the cities and rest of the country.

The connection between price level in the housing market and supply of new housing is not unequivocal. High housing prices are the result in some areas of centrality, scarce building land and slow supply of new housing. Nevertheless, building activity is high in some central areas, made possible by large-scale transformation projects and densification.

The connection between house construction rates and population trends is not unequivocal either. Generation substitution, young adults preferring to live together in large flats and labour immigrants living in undersized housing can result in rapid population growth even when house building is low.

Migration by the 20–29 age-group has the greatest effect on population growth in the cities. The tendency is strongest is Oslo, weakest in Kristiansand.

In the main, those choosing to settle in the inner city areas rather than the suburbs are young, single, ethnic Norwegians who migrate to the cities. Migrants from the rest of the country are more likely to move to the inner city areas than migrants from the metropolitan area. There are differences between cities with regard to whether foreign national immigrants move to the central or metropolitan areas.

In the metropolitan areas, much of the movement across municipal boundaries will be motivated by housing needs. This applies first and foremost to young families with dependent children who move from the inner city to suburbs and metropolitan areas.

Data and analyses

The analysis is based on population and housing supply data at the district level in the cities, derived in part from Statistics Norway's statistics bank and in part from data placed at our disposition by the individual cities. Comparisons of house prices in the metropolitan areas were performed on data placed at our disposition by the Eiendomsmeglerforetakenes forening (Association of Estate Agencies – EFF).

We set information on housing stock, housing construction and house price level in separate city districts against frequencies and characteristics of all house moves made in 2002 and 2008 between city districts, between city districts and suburbs, metropolitan areas, the rest of the country and between city districts and abroad.

For the years 2002 and 2008 we have data on every single move within the four largest cities, and on all moves in and out of the cities, all moves referring to the

basic spatial unit (grunnkrets). We divide immigrants into four categories according to nationality. One category has Norway as land of origin. The second covers what we call Western immigrants, that is, from the EU before the addition of certain Eastern European countries, EEA countries, Switzerland, Canada and Oceania. The third category comprises Eastern Europe, or the rest of Europe, while the fourth category is the rest of the world, here called "non-Western".

The influence of the housing market on migration and population growth

In urban areas it is usually the central parts that are developed first, followed by the region's peripheries. When these areas move overflow administrative municipal borders, new home building in the most centrally placed municipality will decline, while home building activity in the city's outlying areas will increase.

The connection between price level in the housing market and house building is not unequivocal. High house prices tell developers building could be worthwhile and the homes they build should be easy to sell. On the other hand, high prices can be caused by the centrality of the neighbourhood in the wider metropolitan area, while land shortages could cause developments to relocate to the metropolitan areas perimeters, rather than central areas where the prices are highest. Some central areas display substantial building activity, made possible by large-scale transformation projects and densification.

The connection between house building and population growth is not unequivocal either. In situations with substantial generation substitution, many elderly living in large houses can be replaced by young families or young adults wishing to live together in larger flats. Many labour immigrants prefer to live in more crowded accommodation than may be usual for the area. These factors could also accelerate population growth even when the number of house building starts is low.

Population growth, house building and housing coverage

Population growth in the period 2001–09 was highest in Oslo, with a rise of 13 per cent, and lowest in Bergen, with 9 per cent in the period. Growth in housing stock in the five cities varied during the same period between 8 per cent in Oslo and 16 per cent in Stavanger. Stavanger's high rate may seem surprising insofar as urban sprawl has already crossed the borders into neighbouring municipalities, and travelling distances geographically and in terms of time between the centre and outlying areas are small.

In virtually all city districts, the ratio between population growth of persons aged 20 or more and house building has improved since 2001. All the exceptions are Oslo areas, apart from Oslo's western suburbs and central Bergen. Here, housing coverage appears to have declined between 2001 and 2008.

In Oslo we find high population growth alongside high housing starts in the east-central Oslo, but insufficient to sustain housing coverage in that area. Much of the building in east-central Oslo is associated with large-scale transformation projects. Other districts of the city display higher house prices, but a relatively modest housing start numbers. Lack of land has reduced opportunities to realise the major housing developments.

In Bergen, housing starts in the districts of Fana and Ytrebygda are high, as is population growth. Like east-central Oslo, central Bergen has experienced high population growth, but slow housing starts in relation to this growth.

There is a clear relationship in Stavanger between population growth and house building both in the central area and districts to the south. These are the two areas with the highest house prices as well.

The ratio between population growth and house building in all of the most populous districts of Trondheim remained in balance during the 2000s. Central Trondheim saw strongest population growth and house building rates. Major transformation projects appear to have underpinned the relatively strong housing starts here too.

Central Kristiansand, defined as a significantly larger area than the Kvadraturen, has neither high population growth nor high building rates. It is the northern part of the central district where we find the fastest growth in population together with a relatively strong house building rate.

Apart from Kristiansand, the central areas of the cities show the highest building rates and population growth. Whether this will continue depends on the state of the economy at large and opportunities to initiate major developments in central areas.

More are moving, but the pattern remains stable

Moves rose in all cities between 2002 and 2008, including internal moves within the cities, moves to and from the cities. The year 2008 is noticeable for the high level of immigration of foreign nationals relative to former years. Apart from the migration exchange with other countries, migration exchange between the major cities and their suburbs / metropolitan areas / rest of the country has remained relatively stable. A common feature shared by all the major cities is the substantially higher outflows to the suburbs than in the opposite direction. And with few exceptions, inflows to the cities from the rest of the country are much higher than outflow rates. Migration exchange with the metropolitan areas appears to be relatively significant for Oslo and Stavanger. Taking a longer view, outflows from the cities to metropolitan areas was relatively modest during the housing market recession around 1992.

Moving to the inner or outer city areas

An analysis of inflows to the major cities reveals how attributes of the movers affect the likelihood of moving to the central city areas or suburbs. We find many similarities, but also many differences between the cities. The differences can be explained in part by the method different city councils use to define inner city areas from the suburbs. In some of the cities the central areas are more urban in character, high rental accommodation levels, many small dwellings, high incidence of dwellings in blocks and many young single households. Kristiansand inner city area covers a wide area outside the actual Kvadraturen, which itself is not particularly redolent of a city centre.

Stavanger and Kristiansand are noticeable as cities with the most balanced preferences for inner city areas and suburbs. Something shared by each of the cities is the lower rate of inflows from the suburbs and metropolitan areas to the inner city

areas than from the rest of the country to a major city. This is most noticeable in Bergen and Trondheim and least in Kristiansand.

Particularly in Bergen, but in Oslo as well, young single householders in their twenties appear to entertain a strong preference for the central areas, while older adults and families with dependent children are less inclined to settle in these areas. In Bergen, people in their thirties, and particularly those over forty, are particularly likely to reside in the suburbs, but one sees the same tendency in Oslo and Trondheim. A common feature of all of the cities is the correlation between higher education and preference for centrality; the tendency is most in evidence in Bergen.

Migrants from abroad display no particular preference for either inner or outer city areas. They are drawn to a greater degree towards the central areas of Stavanger, however, though in Trondheim there is a clear preference to settle in the suburbs.

In Oslo, the likelihood of moving to central areas falls significantly if the mover has a non-Western background. A similar, if rather weaker, pattern is evident in Trondheim. In the other three cities – particularly Bergen – non-Western background does increase the likelihood of moving to central areas. If migrants originate from the EU or similar countries, the likelihood of opting for central areas in all towns grows.

Immigrants from Eastern Europe appear to act like non-Western immigrants in Oslo. The lower likelihood of their opting for central districts is also conspicuous in Kristiansand and, and to a certain degree in Bergen.

Migration patterns among the young

The 20–29 age-group is the strongest driver of population growth in the major cities. In Oslo, net inflow of persons in this age-group in 2008 was higher than the population growth attributable to all other inflows to and outflows from the city. In Trondheim, net inflow of persons aged 20–29 accounted for 93 per cent of the net inflow to the city. For Bergen and Stavanger, the contribution of this age-group was about 75 per cent, and in Kristiansand only 43 per cent.

In Oslo, 20-year-olds make up a considerable proportion of outflows from the city; somewhat lower in the other major cities. If we instead of computing the proportion of 20-year-olds of total outflows, and look at out-migrating 20-year-olds as a percentage of all 20-year-old residents in the city, Oslo appears to have the least stable population of young people. Of resident 20-year-olds, Oslo displays the highest outflow percentage, Bergen the lowest.

The share of 30-year-olds of total outflows is significantly higher in Oslo than the other major cities. This is particularly the case for moves to the cities' outlying areas. We see the same tendency when we compute the ratio of 30-year-olds who have left the cities to the resident population of 30-year-olds.

Migration patterns of children and families with children

Children do not make independent decisions to move, but follow their parents. Households with young children seldom move to inner city areas when they move to a city. The percentage of young children in migration flows is nearly twice as high in

inflows to the suburbs. Of the 0–5 age-group, Oslo has the highest percentage of out-migrating children of all residents in this age-group. Of the total inflows and outflows, we find the highest percentage of young children in the outflows from Oslo to the suburbs, metropolitan areas and rest of the country.

The incidence of moves by children aged 6–15 is affected by moves undertaken when the children were younger. The percentage of these children in the migration flows is small, both to and from the inner city areas. For Oslo, the percentage is highest in migration flows to some of the suburbs and from the suburbs to metropolitan areas and abroad. The percentage is particularly high in moves between Groruddalen and abroad, and between the suburbs in the south and abroad.

In Bergen, the percentage of 6–15-year-olds is high in moves to all of the suburbs and all moves from the suburbs to the greater Bergen area, and out of town altogether. We find a similar pattern in Stavanger. The middle area of Trondheim has a pattern in which these moves lie somewhere between that for the central areas and suburbs. In all other respects, the pattern echoes what we find for the other cities. The south Trondheim area recruits a large percentage of children in this age-group from abroad. And in the migration flows from these southern parts to abroad, the percentage of children aged 6–15 is high. The pattern confirms the tendency of non-Western immigrants with children to prefer non-central areas when they move to the cities.

Immigrants' migration patterns

In Oslo, higher levels of labour-migration from Eastern European countries has caused a fall in the percentage of immigrants of non-Western background moving to the city of immigrants from abroad between 2002 and 2008. It is in the influx of immigrants from abroad to Groruddalen and southern Oslo suburbs that the non-Western percentage is highest, but a relatively large percentage move also to the east-central Oslo. Migration exchange between these two suburbs and east-central Oslo is high, but significant proportions of non-Western persons, a pattern that has remained more or less unchanged between 2002 and 2008. In moves from east-central Oslo, to Groruddalen there is a particularly high proportion of people with non-Western backgrounds.

Also the Eastern European proportion of foreign inflows to Groruddalen and southern suburbs was high in 2008, somewhat higher than moves to east-central Oslo.

The reduction in the proportion of non-Western immigrants in the foreign inflows is also true of Bergen. Apart from Fana/Ytrebygda to the south, the non-Western inflows from abroad appear to be rather similar in percentages to all districts of Bergen. In the internal city moves, the western districts of Fyllingsdalen/Laksevåg appear to recruit the highest proportion of non-Western immigrants. But not unlike the Oslo pattern, where many persons of non-Western origin move from Groruddalen to east-central Oslo, some in the same category move from Bergen west to the Bergen central. Persons of Eastern European origin do not appear to prefer any particular area of Bergen when they move to the city from abroad.

Despite a higher influx of labour migrants from Eastern Europe, the proportion of non-Western immigrants moving to different districts of Stavanger from abroad remained unchanged between 2002 and 2008. Moves within the city do show a slightly higher proportion of non-Western immigrants, however. The same applies to moves to the greater Stavanger area. And the proportion of immigrants to Stavanger with origins in Eastern Europe has also risen. This has led to a rise in the proportion of Eastern Europeans in some of the moves within the city, especially moves to the north of the city and greater Stavanger area.

The Trondheim pattern resembles in part what we find in the case of Stavanger. The proportion of non-Western persons in moves from abroad has, however, decreased between 2002 and 2008, also in Trondheim, but not as much as in Oslo and Bergen. The rise in the proportion of inflows from abroad of people of Eastern Europe heritage has been smaller than to the other cities. And in moves within the city, the proportions are very small indeed. The proportions in moves abroad, on the other hand, are quite high, which would indicate a shorter stays by persons of Eastern European stock in Trondheim compared to the other major cities.

In Kristiansand, the proportion of persons of non-Western origin in inflows from abroad has declined. In the western districts, the proportion has halved, while there has been a rise in moves to the north-central district from abroad. Part of the explanation for the decline in the western parts of the town is the strong rise in the proportion of Eastern Europeans immigrating to that area from abroad. Between 2002 and 2008, the Eastern European share tripled, while only doubling in Trondheim. Eastern Europeans are also drawn to the western district of Kristiansand, though a relatively large number move from all areas to destinations abroad.

Many moves to the city suburbs and metropolitan areas are for reasons of housing

On a countrywide basis, moves within municipalities account for about 60 per cent of all moves. These moves are generally motivated by housing needs. In the metropolitan areas, a high percentage of the moves across municipal boundaries will also be justified by housing needs. The movers are principally young families with dependent children who move from the city proper to suburbs and outlying areas where they can get "more housing for the money" and want to live in a decent area for children to grow up in.

The share moving from a block dwelling to a detached, semi-detached or duplex-type house is high in outflows from the inner city to the suburbs and moves from the inner city to the metropolitan areas.

In moves from central to metropolitan areas of Oslo and to the rest of the country, about seven in ten move from a block dwelling to a detached, semi-detached or duplex-type house. While 50 per cent of movers from Oslo to the metropolitan area and rest of the country move to detached housing, the proportion of detached homes is significantly lower in moves from central areas to the suburbs.

In Bergen, we also find that many of the moves from the centre to the greater Bergen area are moves from block dwellings to detached homes. Of total outflows to the greater Bergen area, the detached house proportion was 64 per cent, 45 per cent

of moves to the rest of the country. Also in moves to areas to the north and south of Bergen, the proportion is over 40 per cent, but lower in the western area at around 25 per cent.

Stavanger and Kristiansand have a similar pattern to Bergen, but the proportions moving to a detached house in the centre are considerable, 18 per cent for both towns. And in moves to the greater Kristiansand area, the detached home percentage is higher than in Stavanger.

In Trondheim, the detached home proportion of moves from the city to metropolitan areas is around 70 per cent. In the city's central and suburban areas, the detached home percentage varies from 20 in the middle area to 40 in the western districts. In the centre, the detached home percentage among persons moving to that area is only 7 per cent, significantly lower than central areas in cities like Stavanger and Kristiansand, and slightly below the central Bergen area.

2018, the annual growth rate is expected to be stable or slightly reduced in all the cities.

By the end of 2009, the population of Oslo had reached 586.860. By the end of 2012, it is estimated at between 613.000 and 625.000 inhabitants and most likely at the upper part of the interval. By the end of 2018, the estimate for Oslo is 687.000 inhabitants. For Bergen, the numbers were 256.600 in 2009, between 264.500 and 267.500 in 2012, and 287.000 by the end of 2018. In Trondheim, the population had reached 170.936 by the end of 2009, the estimates for 2012 are between 178.000 and 180.000, and the estimates for 2018 196.000 inhabitants. The population number of Stavanger was 123.850 by the end 2009, estimated to between 128.500 and 130.500 by the end of 2012, increasing to 143.000 by the end of 2018. The population of Kristiansand was 81.295 by the end of 2009, estimates for 2012 being between 84.000 and 85.000, increasing to approximately 91.500 by 2018.

From 2012 to 2018 the growth rate will be markedly weakened in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim, while Stavanger and Kristiansand seem to get a somewhat stronger growth than previously. This is due to the high child- and youth rates in South Western Norway today, and the related higher potential for in migration of young adults ahead compared to in the other cities. The effect of high fertility in South Western Norway towards 2018 will also result in larger numbers of children at ages below 10.

The similarities are greater than the differences between cities. The number of persons in all age groups except for school children and pensioners in their 80s will increase. All cities get their strongest growth in the young adult population and among their children. This is due both to the in migration of young adults in their 20s and of the subsequent family recruitment. The growing in migration in later years increases both the number of persons that subsequently migrate to anther municipality and the number of in migrants that ends up in the cities. The share of in migrants that later migrates to another municipality is slightly above 60 per cent. In other words, the majority of the in migrants move out again, but at the same time, a larger share of the young cohorts is in migrants. This is the core dynamics of the part of city growth that is due to domestic migration.

The estimates referred to have been drawn from the regional population model in Statistics Norway and the population prospects of NIBR. The population prospects give relatively high estimates for young adults, in other words the age groups that are dominant in domestic migration. The model from Statistics Norway, with its premises of high immigration, has a relatively higher estimation for age groups where immigration is dominant in the migration pattern.

Migration in a life-course perspective

All the cities have had a strong growth in migration for age groups in their 20s during the last decade (both domestic migration and immigration). There are however still marked differences between cities concerning the share of their population that are in migrants. In Oslo, the in migrants constituted 77 per cent of the population at age 30, in Trondheim and Stavanger 62 per cent, in Bergen 56 and in Kristiansand 52 per cent. Kristiansand is the only city with a markedly higher in migration share for women than for men. Most of the cities differ, in other words, from the general

pattern among municipalities. The reason for this is that there are more single men in the cities, and that the families continue to a larger extent to migrate.

For some decades, close to 40 per cent of new in migrants to the cities have stayed there on the long term, and somewhat more than 60 per cent has migrated to somewhere else. Previously, most of the migration out of the cities by earlier in migrants was over by the age of 35, but now, this part of the migration process continues until the age of 40. Many settle permanently in the city suburbs. From the age of 30, the number of migrants moving out of the cities dominates the flow of new in migrants. The most typical migrants out of the cities are families with children, looking for larger living space in a house with garden in the suburban, child friendly surroundings. Approximately one third of the population growing up in one of the cities move to suburbs for such reasons.

Immigration

At the start of 2009 there were 422 000 immigrants in Norway, distributed between all of the nation's 430 municipalities. Half of the immigrants live in one of the five cities or in Bærum, Drammen, Fredrikstad or Sandnes. The highest number of immigrants live in Oslo; 116 000, or 28 per cent of the total immigrant population. Of long term growth in the cities during the last generation, the contribution of immigration/emigration constitutes 25-30 per cent.

From the start of the analyzed period, immigrants have had a stronger tendency than the rest of the population for settling in Oslo, central Eastern Norway or in one of the other cities. The annual immigration has contributed to maintain this bias, even though this is not true for the entire period.

The immigration processes are more difficult to foresee than the domestic migration processes, and they are more difficult to overlook and to understand over time, having both national and international aspects, and thus being part of more complex motivation structures than the patterns behind the domestic migration processes. Since immigrants from Eastern Europe have a far lower tendency to emigrate at a later stage than western Europeans or Americans, there is a potential for large fluctuations in immigration and its consequences dependent on which groups of labour immigrants that arrive during different periods.

Population development within the city municipalities

The population development within the city municipalities are discussed for zones covering urban districts or a set of urban districts. There is a tendency for the central zones to be in-migration zones for young adults while the outer zones and the suburbs to a larger extent is where families settle before children reach school age. In other words, the migration patterns of the outer zones have more in common with those of the city suburbs, while migration to the central zones to a larger extent focuses on the youngest age groups migrating independently and on single life style.

One consequence is that the outer zones retain a larger part of their young inhabitants through life ages up to 40 years of age, turnover being lower than in the inner zones. In the outer zones, there is an increase in family population from age 20 to 40. The central zones have a highly unstable population, where the housing market to a large extent is a sorting mechanism, making people in their early

independent life faces strongly overrepresented. The other zones are less oriented towards specific life stages, but family settlement increases the tendency for staying within the zone. Thus, the central zones get an age structure that at any time are marked by young adults in their 20s, while the other zones show tendencies towards a gradual ageing of its in-migrants and persons that have grown up in the zones at ages above 30.

Even though the division into city zones is quite coarse, we still see the contours of a spatial distribution of urban population according to economy in the development between non western and other inhabitants. Where the housing prices are high, the share of non western immigrants is low and often sinking for persons within the cohorts of the analysis. As part of this phenomenon, the migration flows from central to outer zones has increased for immigrants, as the inner zones are developed into more attractive areas for housing.

Demographic development and housing market in five cities

NIBR Report: 2010:17

By Rolf Barlindhaug, Dag Juvkam, Kjetil Sørlie og Inger Texmon

Strong population growth, a younger population and more children

The five municipalities Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, Stavanger and Kristiansand have a total population of roughly 1.2 million. Every fourth inhabitant in Norway lives in one of these five municipalities. During the last 25 years, their population have increased by 250 000, a growth equal to the population of Bergen. All the cities have increased their population every year since 1985. The growth was particularly strong in 2007 and 2008, and for all except Trondheim, also in 2009. The very strong growth during the last three years has to a large extent been driven by immigration. The size of immigration between years is however an uncertain element in the demographic development of the cities. The impacts of long term features of internal Norwegian migration patterns, that despite a large turnover bring larger shares than previously to the cities, create a dynamic that is easier to comprehend and understand.

A consequence of the development in migration patterns during the last decades has been a rejuvenation of city population. A marked and increasing in-migration of young adults has strengthened the share of persons in their twenties and thirties. A steady increase in shares of in-migrants between cohorts and a prolongation of urban life before migration to suburbs or other municipalities means that more children are born in the cities. At pre school age, the share of children is higher than their share of the total population of Norway.

As steadily larger shares of young adults migrate to the cities, there is a shrinking share of persons in higher age classes within the city population. The birth surplus has increased strongly. The current age structure of the cities means that the population will continue to increase in coming years, even if migration should be more balanced. Larger cohorts replace older cohorts at all ages up to approximately 60.

Population prospects

Estimates for the four year period 2008 – 2012 indicate a growth in population for the cities of between 5.5 and 9 per cent. The strongest growth estimate is for Oslo, followed by Trondheim, Stavanger, Bergen, and finally Kristiansand. Numbers are

now available for the first year of the time period. Except for Trondheim, all the cities got at least as strong growth in 2009 as in the previous ones. From 2012 to 2018, the annual growth rate is expected to be stable or slightly reduced in all the cities.

By the end of 2009, the population of Oslo had reached 586.860. By the end of 2012, it is estimated at between 613.000 and 625.000 inhabitants and most likely at the upper part of the interval. By the end of 2018, the estimate for Oslo is 687.000 inhabitants. For Bergen, the numbers were 256.600 in 2009, between 264.500 and 267.500 in 2012, and 287.000 by the end of 2018. In Trondheim, the population had reached 170.936 by the end of 2009, the estimates for 2012 are between 178.000 and 180.000, and the estimates for 2018 196.000 inhabitants. The population number of Stavanger was 123.850 by the end 2009, estimated to between 128.500 and 130.500 by the end of 2012, increasing to 143.000 by the end of 2018. The population of Kristiansand was 81.295 by the end of 2009, estimates for 2012 being between 84.000 and 85.000, increasing to approximately 91.500 by 2018.

From 2012 to 2018 the growth rate will be markedly weakened in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim, while Stavanger and Kristiansand seem to get a somewhat stronger growth than previously. This is due to the high child- and youth rates in South Western Norway today, and the related higher potential for in migration of young adults ahead compared to in the other cities. The effect of high fertility in South Western Norway towards 2018 will also result in larger numbers of children at ages below 10.

The similarities are greater than the differences between cities. The number of persons in all age groups except for school children and pensioners in their 80s will increase. All cities get their strongest growth in the young adult population and among their children. This is due both to the in migration of young adults in their 20s and of the subsequent family recruitment. The growing in migration in later years increases both the number of persons that subsequently migrate to anther municipality and the number of in migrants that ends up in the cities. The share of in migrants that later migrates to another municipality is slightly above 60 per cent. In other words, the majority of the in migrants move out again, but at the same time, a larger share of the young cohorts is in migrants. This is the core dynamics of the part of city growth that is due to domestic migration.

The estimates referred to have been drawn from the regional population model in Statistics Norway and the population prospects of NIBR. The population prospects give relatively high estimates for young adults, in other words the age groups that are dominant in domestic migration. The model from Statistics Norway, with its premises of high immigration, has a relatively higher estimation for age groups where immigration is dominant in the migration pattern.

Migration in a life-course perspective

All the cities have had a strong growth in migration for age groups in their 20s during the last decade (both domestic migration and immigration). There are however still marked differences between cities concerning the share of their population that are in migrants. In Oslo, the in migrants constituted 77 per cent of the population at age 30, in Trondheim and Stavanger 62 per cent, in Bergen 56 and in Kristiansand 52 per

cent. Kristiansand is the only city with a markedly higher in migration share for women than for men. Most of the cities differ, in other words, from the general pattern among municipalities. The reason for this is that there are more single men in the cities, and that the families continue to a larger extent to migrate.

For some decades, close to 40 per cent of new in migrants to the cities have stayed there on the long term, and somewhat more than 60 per cent has migrated to somewhere else. Previously, most of the migration out of the cities by earlier in migrants was over by the age of 35, but now, this part of the migration process continues until the age of 40. Many settle permanently in the city suburbs. From the age of 30, the number of migrants moving out of the cities dominates the flow of new in migrants. The most typical migrants out of the cities are families with children, looking for larger living space in a house with garden in the suburban, child friendly surroundings. Approximately one third of the population growing up in one of the cities has migrated to suburbs for such reasons.

Immigration

At the start of 2009 there were 422 000 immigrants in Norway, distributed between all of the nation's 430 municipalities. Half of the immigrants live in one of the five cities or in Bærum, Drammen, Fredrikstad or Sandnes. The highest number of immigrants live in Oslo; 116 000, or 28 per cent of the total immigrant population. Of long term growth in the cities during the last generation, the contribution of immigration/emigration constitutes 25-30 per cent.

From the start of the analyzed period, immigrants have had a stronger tendency than the rest of the population for settling in Oslo, central Eastern Norway or in one of the other cities. The annual immigration has contributed to maintain this bias, even though this is not true for the entire period.

The immigration processes are more difficult to foresee than the domestic migration processes, and they are more difficult to overlook and to understand over time, having both national and international aspects, and thus being part of more complex motivation structures than the patterns behind the domestic migration processes. Since immigrants from Eastern Europe have a far lower tendency to emigrate at a later stage than western Europeans or Americans, there is a potential for large fluctuations in immigration and its consequences dependent on which groups of labour immigrants that arrive during different periods.

Population development within the city municipalities

The population development within the city municipalities are discussed for zones covering urban districts or a set of urban districts. There is a tendency for the central zones to be in-migration zones for young adults while the outer zones and the suburbs to a larger extent is where families settle before children reach school age. In other words, the migration patterns of the outer zones have more in common with those of the city suburbs, while migration to the central zones to a larger extent focuses on the youngest age groups migrating independently and on single life style.

One consequence is that the outer zones retain a larger part of their young inhabitants through life ages up to 40 years of age, turnover being lower than in the inner zones. In the outer zones, there is an increase in family population from age 20

to 40. The central zones have a highly unstable population, where the housing market to a large extent is a sorting mechanism, making people in their early independent life faces strongly overrepresented. The other zones are less oriented towards specific life stages, but family settlement increases the tendency for staying within the zone. Thus, the central zones get an age structure that at any time are marked by young adults in their 20s, while the other zones show tendencies towards a gradual ageing of its in-migrants and persons that have grown up in the zones at ages above 30.

Even though the division into city zones is quite coarse, we still see the contours of a spatial distribution of urban population according to economy in the development between non western and other inhabitants. Where the housing prices are high, the share of non western immigrants is low and often sinking for persons within the cohorts of the analysis. As part of this phenomenon, the migration flows from central to outer zones has increased for immigrants, as the inner zones are developed into more attractive areas for housing.

The Housing Market and Migration to the City

In this project population growth in the metropolitan areas during the 2000s is examined in light of migration patterns and characteristics of the housing market.

When the supply of housing is given, an increase in demand, caused either by individual housing demand or because many want to settle in the cities, will increase the price of housing. High price levels provide an incentive to build more. Against this background we pose the following questions.

To what degree is there a connection between high prices in the housing market and high construction rates in different areas of the cities? Must other factors apart from high price levels also be present to trigger house building? To what degree is there a connection between growth in housing stock and changes in the population? In extension of the last question, we explore the extent to which use of the housing stock and, in consequence, the number of persons per household in certain city districts has been changed between 2001 and 2008.

To what degree are the housing and neighbourhood preferences of the young characterised by a desire to live in the centres of the cities? How usual is it for the young to leave the city while they are still in their twenties? How usual is it for families to move from the inner city to a semi-detached or detached house either in the suburbs or metropolitan areas?

The connection between price level in the housing market and house building is not unequivocal. High house prices tell developers building could be worthwhile and the homes they build should be easy to sell. On the other hand, high prices can be caused by the centrality of the neighbourhood in the wider metropolitan area, while land shortages could cause developments to relocate to the metropolitan areas perimeters, rather than central areas where the prices are highest. Some central areas display substantial building activity, made possible by large-scale transformation projects and densification.

The connection between house building and population growth is not unequivocal either. In situations with substantial generation substitution, many elderly living in

large houses can be replaced by young families or young adults wishing to live together in larger flats. Many labour immigrants prefer to live in more crowded accommodation than may be usual for the area. These factors could also accelerate population growth even when the number of house building starts is low.

In some of the central districts we find both high population growth and high housing starts. Much of the building in these districts has been large-scale transformation projects. Other districts of the city display higher house prices, but a relatively modest housing start numbers. Lack of land has reduced opportunities to realise the major housing developments.

Mobility, both in and out of the districts, contributes to a large degree to form the population structure and consequently the need for public services. Moves rose in all cities between 2002 and 2008, including internal moves within the cities, moves to and from the cities. The year 2008 is noticeable for the high level of immigration of foreign nationals relative to former years. Apart from the migration exchange with other countries, migration exchange between the major cities and their metropolitan areas/ rest of the country has remained relatively stable.

A common feature shared by all the major cities is the substantially higher outflows to the suburbs than in the opposite direction. And with few exceptions, inflows to the cities from the rest of the country are much higher than outflow rates. Migration exchange with the metropolitan areas appears to be relatively significant for Oslo and Stavanger.

The 20–29 age-group is the strongest driver of population growth in the major cities. Also the 20-29 year-olds make up a considerable proportion of outflows from the city. If we measure the out-migrating 20-29 year-olds as a percentage of all 20-29 year-old residents in the city, Oslo appears to have the highest outflow percentage, Bergen the lowest.

The share of 30-39 year-olds of total outflows is significantly higher in Oslo than the other major cities. This is particularly the case for moves to the cities' outlying areas.

Not surprisingly, Oslo has the highest percentage of out-migrating children in the 0–5 age-group, measured in percent of all residents in this age-group. The incidence of moves by children aged 6–15 is affected by moves undertaken when the children were younger. The percentage of these children in the migration flows is small, both to and from the inner city areas.

The increased labour-migration from Eastern European countries has caused a fall in the percentage of immigrants of non-Western background moving to the city from abroad between 2002 and 2008. The pattern in Stavanger deviate from the general pattern in that the proportion of non-Western immigrants from abroad remained unchanged between 2002 and 2008.

An analysis of inflows to the major cities reveals how attributes of the movers affect the likelihood of moving to the central city areas or suburbs. Stavanger and Kristiansand are noticeable as cities with the most balanced preferences for inner city areas and suburbs. Something shared by each of the cities is the lower rate of inflows

from the suburbs and metropolitan areas to the inner city areas than from the rest of the country to a major city.

Young single householders in their twenties appear to entertain a strong preference for the central areas, while older adults and families with dependent children are less inclined to settle in these areas. A common feature of all of the cities is the correlation between higher education and preference for centrality.

In Oslo and Trondheim, the likelihood of moving to central areas falls significantly if the mover has a non-Western background. In the other three cities – particularly Bergen – non-Western background does increase the likelihood of moving to central areas. Immigrants from Eastern Europe appear to act like non-Western immigrants.

In the metropolitan areas, a high percentage of the moves across municipal boundaries will also be justified by housing needs. The movers are principally young families with dependent children who move from a block dwelling in the inner city to a detached, semi-detached or duplex-type house in the metropolitan areas. The proportion of detached homes is significantly lower in moves from central areas to the suburbs.

The Year of Cultural Diversity

Opportunities and Contradictions in Norwegian Policies for a Multicultural Arts and Culture Sector
NIBR Report 2010:18

By Erik Henningsen, Odd Are Berkaak and Sigrid Skålnes

November 7. 2006 the Norwegian parliament decided that 2008 was to be a Year of Cultural Diversity in Norway. The aim of the year was to increase citizens' opportunities to participate in and experience a diversity of cultural expressions, to develop arenas of cooperation between majority and minority actors within the arts and culture sector, and that publicly financed institutions and organisations to a higher degree should reflect cultural diversity.

The research project this report is based on was to focus on the planning, implementation and short-term effects of the Year of Cultural Diversity. More specifically the project was to illuminate the following questions:

- Which strategies and organisational measures were employed by government actors at the central, regional and local level and by actors in the cultural sector, and how did they work?
- What does the programming and activity profile during 2008 tell about the actor's perception and attitudes toward cultural diversity?
- Which effects can the Year of Cultural Diversity be said to have had by the end of 2009? Which strategies, which forms of new knowledge and which types of measures can be said to characterise the cultural sectors relation to cultural diversity?

In response to these questions the project was divided into three parts. One study was to focus on the central-level planning and organising of the Year of Cultural Diversity. The second study focused on how the Year of Cultural Diversity was followed up by the regional government organisations in the counties of Oslo, Finnmark and Rogaland. The third study was to illuminate processes initiated by the Year of Cultural Diversity in the music sector and in the archive-, library- and museum sector.

The empirical material is for the most part generated through the use of qualitative methods. The report is based on three types of information sources: (i) interviews with persons who were involved in the planning and implementation of the Year of Cultural Diversity, (ii) observation and participation at meetings and arrangements which were held in connection with the Year of Cultural Diversity, and (iii) reviews

of relevant documents. As a part of the project, a survey about the Year of Cultural Diversity was carried out in a representative sample of the population.

Chapter 2 of the report describes the background and rationale for the Year of Cultural Diversity. In 2006 the Minister for Culture and Church, Trond Giske, participated in a public debate on cultural policy. In this connection, he highlighted the role of the arts and culture sector for the development of a well functioning multicultural society in Norway. The Swedish Year of Multiculture in 2006 was an important inspiration for the Norwegian Year of Cultural Diversity. Many organisational measures employed in the Norwegian Year of Cultural Diversity were gathered from Sweden. Another background for the Year of Cultural Diversity is found in international policy documents on cultural diversity. In 2007 the Norwegian parliament ratified the UNESCO convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions.

The central government emphasised that the Year of Cultural Diversity was to target the arts and culture sector in its entirety, and not just minority based actors or actors specialising in multicultural artistic expressions. National institutions within the arts and culture sector were designated as an important target for the initiative, as these have been slow to adjust to the imperative of cultural diversity. The Ministry of Culture and Church also emphasised that the promotion of cultural diversity in the arts and culture sector was to take place within the existing budgets of institutions. This policy was based on the assumption that it is awareness raising, rather than financial incentives or directives from the central government, which is crucial for the realisation of the goal of cultural diversity. At the same time, the Ministry of Culture and Church allocated about NOK 10 million to stimulate activities in the Year of Cultural Diversity and recipients of state financial support in the arts and culture sector were instructed by the Ministry to follow up the intentions of the year.

The government White Paper which gives directions for the Year of Cultural Diversity was prepared within short time-limits. The stated aims of the initiative are vague and mainly point to the "initiation of processes". The document gives insufficient attention to existing knowledge on specific challenges and dilemmas relating to the promotion of cultural diversity within art and culture institutions. In light of previous evaluations of initiatives to promote cultural diversity in the arts and culture sector, the fruitfulness of the strategy of awareness raising employed in the Year of Cultural Diversity is questionable, especially when it comes to elite institutions.

The discourse on the year of Cultural Diversity in Norway is characterised by a "downloading" of concepts and world views from international policy documents. As a result of this, contradictions which characterise the international discourse on cultural diversity are incorporated into the Norwegian policy framework. In its directives for the implementation of the year of Cultural Diversity the Ministry of Culture and Church put a clear emphasis on ethnic minorities. This emphasis is unfortunate as it serves to reinforce classificatory divisions between "us" and "them" and invite people to consider cultural diversity as a property of minorities rather than as a feature of the contemporary Norwegian public culture.

Chapter 3 describe the central planning and organising of the Year of Cultural Diversity. In 2007 a secretariat headed by the national coordinator for the Year of

Cultural Diversity was established within the Ministry of Culture and Church. The reason given for placing the secretariat within the ministry is that there were no obvious external candidates to take on this responsibility. If this task had been assigned to one of the organisations that specialise in multicultural artistic expressions, it was argued, the reach of the initiative could have been restricted to a small segment of the art and culture sector.

The chapter describes the various roles the secretariat took on in the planning and implementation of the Year of Cultural Diversity. The secretariat viewed its assignment as two-sided. On the one hand, it was to generate excitement and make the cultural diversity of Norway visible through a large number of activities in all parts of the country. On the other hand, it was to initiate specific efforts to create change within art and culture institutions.

It seems that the secretariat was most successful in the first part of the assignment. About 1100 activities were registered on the secretariats official website and the year of Cultural Diversity stimulated a great deal of public debate. In the survey which was carried out for the research project 38,8 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were aware of the Year of Cultural Diversity and 33.6 per cent indicated that they had participated in arrangements connected to the Year of Cultural Diversity.

The report highlights the lack of a strategic delimitation of the tasks of the secretariat. As a result of this, the secretariat was at times overloaded with tasks. Considering the political intentions to reform the national art and culture institutions, the secretariat should have given more emphasis to specific efforts directed at these institutions.

Among the actors in the art and culture sector there is a widespread opinion that the time given for planning of activities for the Year of Cultural Diversity was too short. Many actors were involved in the implementation of the Year of Cultural Diversity, but these actors were given few opportunities to influence the make up of the initiative. As a result of these factors, some of the activities in the Year of Cultural Diversity attained an *ad hoc* character. The lack of ownership to the Year of Cultural Diversity among actors in the arts and culture sector is a clear weakness of the initiative.

Chapter 4 describes the implementation of the Year of Cultural Diversity in the regions and how aims and ideas from the national level were turned into action by the county- and municipal administrations. The counties found the request from the Ministry to be poorly organised and reacted to the short time they were given to plan activities. As a result of this, and the lack of extra funding for activities, most counties chose to follow up the Year of Cultural Diversity by highlighting their existing plans and measures.

There were marked differences among the counties with respect to their capacity to follow up the Year of Cultural Diversity. In some counties the promotion of cultural diversity has for long been given high priority, while others were well on the way of incorporating this perspective into their activities. In a few cases, the Year of Cultural Diversity gave the impetus for first efforts to promote cultural diversity. Generally, the counties allocated little resources to the initiative. Six of the counties allocated

means from their own budgets to the Year of Cultural Diversity, in the range of NOK 100 – 600 000.

The counties "translated" the national plans for the Year of Cultural Diversity in different ways. Some conformed to the Ministry's request to give emphasis to ethnic minorities, while others based their engagement on a wider notion of cultural diversity, which included people of old age, sexual minorities and physically disabled people. While some counties viewed the initiative as a matter of cultural policy, narrowly speaking, others rather interpreted it as a part of the general policy of inclusion and integration.

In Finnmark the Year of Cultural Diversity was perceived as a request to focus on issues that have already been given a central position in the county's cultural policy. As such, the Year of Cultural Diversity had limited impact. This goes for the municipal administrations in the region as well. Activities tied to the Year of Cultural Diversity at the local level were mainly carried out by civil society organisations. The reason that the municipalities did not engage in the Year of Cultural Diversity was in part the lack of state funding for activities. Also, the municipalities viewed the promotion of cultural diversity as an integrated part of their activities. For the same reason, the Year of Cultural Diversity was not seen as important by the *Sametinget*.

In the county of Rogaland, the Year of Cultural Diversity coincided in time with Stavanger as the European Capitol of Culture, and was sidelined by this much bigger event. The follow up of the Year of Cultural Diversity in Rogaland County was for the most part connected to the revision of the county's action plan for ethnic equality. In the process of revision the perspective was enlarged to include age, sexual orientation and physical ability. The Year of Cultural Diversity was thus seen as a part of the general policy of inclusion. Due to the lack of funding, the Year of Cultural Diversity was to a little degree followed up by the municipalities in the region. Activities at the local level were carried out by civil society organisations.

Many of the activities that were incited by the Year of Cultural Diversity took place in Oslo. Most of the arts and culture institutions that specialise in multicultural forms of expression are located in Oslo, and in 2008 these had many cooperation projects with national arts and culture institutions. Many of the municipal arts and culture institutions and institutions that are funded by the municipality have over time incorporated a perspective on cultural diversity. Therefore, the Year of Cultural Diversity was perceived by some to be of limited relevance. In Oslo the responsibility for the follow up of the Year of Cultural Diversity was placed in the municipality's Agency for Cultural Affairs. This signals an understanding of the initiative as a matter of cultural policy rather than as a measure of integration or inclusion. The Agency for Cultural affair's follow up of the Year of Cultural Diversity mainly consisted of informing municipal institutions and actors in the arts and culture sector about the initiative. In 2008 the municipal institutions and institutions with municipal funding had many activities connected to cultural diversity or with a direct linkage to the Year of Cultural Diversity. As in the two other counties, the Year of Cultural Diversity seems to have had limited effect in Oslo, as it mainly served to reinforce existing efforts.

Chapter 5 of the report is about the archive-, library and museum sector, with a specific focus on museums and cultural heritage institutions. In the cultural heritage

sector the cultural heritage of minorities has only recently been put on the national agenda. This initiative is characterised by a way of thinking whereby the established cultural heritage administration is to manage cultural material on behalf of minority groups. In the museum sector, the promotion of cultural diversity was about to be established as a natural, though not central, part of the activity of the institutions at the start of the Year of Cultural Diversity.

Institutions of cultural history diverge with regards to their understanding of cultural diversity and principles of dissemination of cultural difference. The report point to three strategies of dissemination which can be found in the sector: one is to *display* other cultures; the second is to give minority groups *entry* to spaces of dissemination, while a third emerging strategy is rather based on the notion of *dialogue*.

In Finnmark there was a clear movement towards monocultural practices of dissemination and preservation in institutions of cultural history prior to the Year of Cultural Diversity, as minorities have sought to manage their own traditions within specialised institutions. Here, the Year of Cultural Diversity contributed to projects which were based on a syncretistic understanding of cultural diversity. Institutions in the region were of the opinion that the Year of Cultural Diversity was launched at a too late stage when seen in connection with ongoing developments within the sector. With better planning, important local debates on cultural diversity in Finnmark could have been included in the national agenda for the Year of Cultural Diversity.

The Year of Cultural Diversity does not seem to have had significant effects in the museum and cultural heritage sector in Rogaland.

Some of the museums in Oslo have come a long way in recent years in terms of developing a new logic of dissemination adjusted to the multicultural society, while others are mainly geared towards the display of exotic difference.

In connection with the Year of Cultural Diversity the Norwegian Archive, Library and Museum Authority gave financial support to a recruitment project run by a network of museums. The aim of the project is to increase the share of people with minority background in the staff of museums. The project's ambition is to make museums into arenas where the relation between majority and minorities is negotiated in a shared public sphere. As such, the project is bringing the activity of the sector closer to a realisation of the idea of dialogue, both in terms of organisation and in terms of practices of dissemination.

In spite of its international outlook the Norwegian art arena is strikingly homogenous, and the art museums have to a little degree responded to the multicultural challenge. The obvious reason for this is that the principal aim of the bourgeois art institutions is to promote certain forms of Western cultural expressions. In this sphere, the promotion of cultural diversity is an entrepreneurial activity, pushed forward by committed individuals. There were few activities connected with the Year of Cultural Diversity in this sector. One notable exception is the project "Afrika i Oslo" in which Norwegian and African curators cooperated on several exhibitions of African art. The project illustrates an ambition to initiate dialogue and interaction in a transnational context, and paved the way for an understanding of Norwegianess as a form of difference, a perspective which is crucial to the continuation of the policy of cultural diversity.

The music scene and in particular popular music has for decades contributed to the promotion of cultural diversity in Norway. Here, the notion that one's own cultural practices originates from other places and that impulses from elsewhere serves to enrich one's own tradition has a solid foundation, as ideology and as artistic practice. Public financial support for rhythmical music, which has increased significantly since the 1990s, is tantamount to support for cultural diversity.

In this sector the notion of cultural diversity comprises three separate currents: the urban street based form of diversity, which manifests itself in ever changing and innovative forms of expression; the tradition-based diversity, which is founded on the interest to preserve forms of expression which are seen as threatened; and finally what can be referred to as classical diversity.

As pointed out in chapter 6 of the report, the Year of Cultural Diversity caused few effects in institutions in the music sector. This applies to institutions which prior to the Year of Cultural Diversity had incorporated a perspective on cultural diversity as well as to those that lacked such a programme. Among the latter one finds institutions belonging to the field of classical music. Here the Year of Cultural Diversity had few effects.

Given the strategy of creating change through awareness raising, the Year of Cultural Diversity had limited impact on the activities of institutions that already had a role as driving forces in the promotion of cultural diversity within the music sector.

The institutions in Oslo which specialise in the dissemination of multicultural forms of expression were given an increase in the state funding in 2008. But as a result of the Year of Cultural Diversity's focus on the national institutions, these institutions were partially disconnected from the initiative.

The chapter analyses notions of cultural diversity in various institutions in the music sector. In this connection, the music club Blå in Oslo is highlighted as an example of a strategy of dissemination which reflects a global urbanism. This is a type of arena which received little attention at the national level in the Year of Cultural Diversity, but which could have contributed interesting perspectives and ideas to the national agenda.

Meeting places in the Borough of South Nordstrand

NIBR Report 2010:19

By Jon Guttu and Lene Schmidt

The purpose of this project is to assist in the setting-up of more and better meeting places in the Borough of South Nordstrand, by establishing a good basis of knowledge as to what is needed. This work is based on the priorities laid down in The Oslo South Initiative - a joint effort between the Norwegian State and the Municipality of Oslo. The aim of the initiative is to improve the living conditions and quality of life for the residents of this borough. The work is particularly aimed at young people, and public health, as well as the integration and inclusion of ethnic minorities. Borough councillors have on several occasions put special focus on meeting places in this initiative.

What is a meeting place?

Meeting places are places where people meet. They can be places where people have planned to meet each other, for example a market place, or they can be places which have developed as a meeting place even if this was not the intention, for example, a street corner. Meeting places can be of a formal nature, or they can be informal. Some meeting places are barred to everyone other than paying members, whereas others can be open to all. There is also a difference between outdoor and indoor meeting places, even if the important meeting places often have both indoor and outdoor areas at their disposal.

Methods

We have used the following sources:

- Residents of the four areas of the borough
- Assignment in a 9th grade class – one school lesson in each area
- Questionnaire to every housing cooperative/joint ownership group and residents' association
- On-site visits and individual conversations

Conclusions and recommendations

The study has shown that South Nordstrand is a borough which is split topographically. Mortensrud, Bjørndal, Prinsdal and Holmlia are more or less "separate worlds". When the Borough Council comes to prioritize funds to develop meeting places, the members will need to discuss the following dilemmas:

- Meeting places for the whole borough versus meeting places for the different areas
- The relationship between the different areas – competition or cooperation?
- Upkeep of existing meeting places or establishment of new meeting places
- Formal versus informal meeting places, meeting places for certain user groups versus meeting places for "everyone"
- Existing meeting places with untapped potential versus the establishing of new meeting places
- Simple, short-term measures or larger, more long-term initiatives

Our respondents tell us that meeting places in other areas of the boroughs other than their own are not used very much. This also applies to facilities meant to cover the needs of the whole borough, for example the swimming baths and library in the Holmlia neighbourhood. It would seem natural to suggest that the reason for this is the way the borough is divided physically, in addition to historical conditions. This problem could be solved by better public transport and cycle path communications between the different areas.

The sports grounds in each area are used extensively, especially by children and young people taking part in organized sports. Thus they function as central meeting places for the users. The report points to a number of minor initiatives which will improve their use. With regard to major initiatives the development of sports grounds should be evaluated in the light of the priorities laid down in the Borough Plan for Sport and Outdoor Activities.

Shopping malls are important informal meeting places, and have traditionally offered both private and public services. The aim here must be to strengthen the malls' social role. There are plans to develop several existing malls. Planning should be coordinated with the needs of the borough, so that if possible, more non-commercial, as well as commercial facilities can be included in the malls.

Schools and kindergartens are important meeting places for children and young people, and their families. The schools' public areas (meeting halls, swimming baths and the like) should be used more as meeting places for the whole neighbourhood.

Housing co-operatives and joint ownership groups tell of many informal outdoor meeting places. Homes are ususally planned around car-free courtyards which function as meeting places for small children and families. Some housing co-operatives /joint ownership groups also have their own hall, where neighbourhood meetings and other local events in addition to private parties are held. The residents who do not have their own local hall miss this kind of indoor meeting place.

The youth clubs should get more support, and they need to be run in a stable way. The Borough Councillors should strive to make youth clubs a mandatory activity.

A desire for *beautiful, protected park-like areas* was mentioned by several groups of residents. According to the Municipality's survey, the borough has no parks at the moment, but the area between the Holmlia mall and the church could become a park for the Holmlia neighbourhood, with a little work. We suggest that *a park* be laid out in each neighbourhood as an informal outdoor meeting place.

We have registered many meeting places which need a more systematic plan with regard to their administration and upkeep and the way they are run. A plan should be put in place to take care of these matters which should include all the people involved, who each would be responsible for his/her own area. The question then arises as to what extent one should take care of what is already there, before establishing new meeting places, which will then also have to be run and maintained. Many existing meeting places have untapped potential and need additional uses and activities in order to be able to function better.

A number of places need *better lighting*, and several people have mentioned the wish for *more benches* and other additions to be able to enjoy being outdoors. This would seem to be a simple matter, but we nevertheless recommend systematic planning before a possible "bench action" is implemented.

Another question is to what extent one should go in for meeting places aimed at certain groups or meeting places which include "everyone". Several religious organizations would like meeting places for their members. From an integration point of view, there may however be a need to arrange for *informal meeting places* which include several groups, rather than formal meeting places aimed at particular groups.

We have noted a strong "we" attitude in some neighbourhoods, where enthusiasts have succeeded in organizing important, major activities and meeting places. There are ambitious plans for new projects in the Bjørndal and Mortensrud neighbourhoods. In order to bring such major projects to fruition, the possibility of cooperation across neighbourhood borders, or working together with others, should be considered.

Even if the residents have a feeling of mainly belonging to their own particular area or neighbourhood, there will be a need for some meeting places which are for everyone in the borough. Hverven Bay is one such outdoor meeting place with great potential. Hauketo stands out as a future mall for the whole of the borough. Hauketo is the most centrally situated as far as communications are concerned. The area has few facilities today, and is dominated by parking lots. Its position would be suitable for both private and public service facilities, including being able to house the borough administration. Several people have said they miss a cinema and other cultural activities in the borough, which would be well-positioned in Hauketo. We suggest that a feasibility study be implemented for Hauketo, as a common junction for all four areas. However, developing this area would go far beyond the mandate of the Oslo South Initiative and would have to be financed in another way.

Better communications across the four areas of the borough are needed, both with regard to public transport and pedestrian and cycle paths. The gap between the four areas with regard to public and private services needs to be reduced.

"Human capital and knowledge-intensive sectors in Norway – regional distribution and development"

By Knut Onsager, Frants Gundersen, Bjørg Langset and Kjetil Sørlie
NIBR Report 2010:20

Increasing education levels in society and the development of a more knowledge-based economy have turned the supply of highly skilled personnel and knowledge-intensiv jobs into key factors in local and regional development in all parts of the country. This NIBR report gives an account of the location and regional development of knowledge-intensiv jobs and skilled personnel in Norway on the basis of public registry data.

In Norway, the proportion of *people in work with U&C qualifications is 33 per cent* (or 809,495 persons in 2008). The proportion grows with increasing urban centrality, i.e. from 21% in thinly populated areas to 41% in the capital, Oslo. The *labour force with U&C qualifications has grown significantly* (+46% 1998–2008) compared to the rest of the labour force (+13%). Growth has occurred in all regional types, although the rate of growth *increases somewhat with level of centrality* (from 37% to 46%). The widest differences in growth rates by centrality is among persons with extensive U&C training (from 24% to 59%), somewhat less among persons with shorter U&C training (from 35% to 54%), There are, however, significant differences in growth rates for the labour force without U&C qualifications (from 4% to 18 %). It is the major cities, except the capital, that have seen the highest growth rates. They have increased their national share of the skilled population in the past decade. U&C qualified persons work in all industries and sectors, but most in the health and social sector (197,957 persons, 2008), teaching (140,555), consultancy (77,202), government administration (68,372), commerce (56,554), ICT (32,821) and financial services (23,791). The number of persons with U&C qualifications has grown fastest in the health and social sector (82,578 – 1998–2008), ICT (22,309) and consultancy (29,668).

In the *knowledge-intensiv sectors (SI)*, there are 970,000 jobs irregularly distributed across, respectively, the private sector (38%), municipal sector (30%), state sector (28%) and county sector (4%). SI industries have seen a *sharp rise* in the past 10 years *in the number of jobs* (+31% 228,636 jobs, 1999–2009), sharper than the "less knowledge-intensiv" sectors (+15% 207,211). Broken down by *institutional sector*, it is the *private* sector that accounts for the major share of the growth (+58%/82,407 jobs, 2002–

2009), particularly the consultancy business, ICT, health and social sector and finance/property sector. They are followed by the *state* sector (+34%/47,918), particularly government administration, teaching, oil industry, parts of the health and social sector. Growth in the *municipal* sector, on the other hand, has been slow in SI industries/services (+10%/13,972), and limited to teaching (primary school) and health and social services (elderly care etc.). In the *county* sector, there has been virtually no growth at all (-1%/1,979).

Regionally, the *sector-wise share of SI jobs varies with level of centrality*. The prevalence of SI jobs in the private sector, and to some extent in the state sector as well, is growing, turning into overrepresentation with increasing centrality. The opposite is the case for SI occupations in the county and municipal sectors, which grow in importance and likelihood of overrepresentation with increasing distance from central areas.

The regional trends given as growth rates show a decentralised pattern of growth over the past decade. That is, all regional types have consistently high growth rates in jobs in SI sectors. The reasons are complex, but higher skill-intensity in the business sector and decentralised growth in the public sector provide for growth in all regional types. *Measured by volume and share of national growth*, we are talking rather about a *geographical accumulation of growth in the biggest cities*. And the reason for this is because most of the growth in SI jobs has been in the private sector generally, and major cities particularly, as places where a large proportion of SI jobs are located and can take advantage of significant agglomeration benefits and effects.

Regionally, the share of job growth in SI industries provided by the sectors varies widely. The private sector accounts for 76% of the growth in the capital, as against 57% in the category 1 cities (Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim). In small and medium-sized towns, the private sector accounts for half of the growth (53%), while the state sector and municipal sector also make significant contributions (35% and 16% respectively). In thinly populated regions, the private sector accounts for a smaller share (36%), while the state sector and the municipal sector in particular are highly significant (16% and 50% respectively). The county sector plays a marginal role in all regional types.

The *sector-wise share of the national growth* in jobs by *regional types* in SI industries shows clearly how the private and state sectors in the major city regions account for most (64%) of the national growth in jobs in the SI industries.

The report also shows the *varying regional significance and growth dynamics of SI industries in the private, state and municipal sectors respectively*. There is strong endogenous economic growth in the private sector which accumulates in the major urban areas through agglomeration and economic benefits and effects. This causes some of the imbalance in regional growth in SI jobs in the private sector, despite some growth and cluster effects in less central regions. Unlike the private sector, the municipal sector is overrepresented in the most peripheral regions, where decentralised localisation and growth patterns are powered more by national welfare and distributive policies and socio-demographic structures in the regions. The state sector's localisation pattern and regional growth dynamics are not as unambiguous. The state administration is primarily located in the capital, and characterised by endogenous growth in the bureaucratic organisations there. Other components of the state sector (directorates, inspectorates, universities and colleges, hospitals etc.) are less concentrated geographically and are growing in the other urban regions. There are stronger

interdependencies here between localisation and growth dynamics and democratic decision making in parliament and government, and specific sector dynamics at the national level.

The report also addresses characteristics of the different regional types in light of localisation conditions and growth characteristics of knowledge-intensiv industries. It shows, among other things, how much SI industries stand to gain from choosing major city regions as localisation and growth regions. The generous supply of highly qualified personnel at different levels and in different fields, high levels of specialisation in knowledge-intensiv industries, many knowledge institutions and skill-demanding customer markets are engines of innovation and growth for many types of knowledge-intensiv enterprise. At the same time, there is the risk of cost disadvantages, difficulties in some organisations to build skills and public/private sector rivalry for skilled personnel in the major cities, especially the capital. Practically at the other end of the scale, the report shows that small urban regions are consistently less likely to produce endogenous growth in knowledge-intensiv jobs than the major cities. Small towns have smaller pools U&C qualified individuals at different levels and in different fields, despite rising shares and variety. The rather narrow selection of industries creates few jobs in many small towns for the highly qualified, which explains why the state and municipal sector have been so important in the creation of knowledge-intensiv jobs there. In addition to the standards and attractions of industrial, business and expert environments, the quality of life highly qualified people can enjoy in small towns is becoming increasingly important. Small towns are very different as well in their capacity to attract skilled personnel. Exchanging successful recruiting strategies is one of several developmental steps small towns can take to strengthen labour supply over the longer term.

The knowledge economy itself creates spontaneous regional job growth imbalance. Having a policy for distributing growth in knowledge-intensiv jobs is important to facilitate balanced regional growth. Measures and means of growth distribution must be tailored to the circumstances of the different sectors and regional types. Strengthening overarching skills and innovation measures aimed at the private sector in different types of region throughout the country outside the capital, that is, aimed at specific large, medium and small urban regions, is also relevant and possible in regions with a good supply of relevantly skilled personnel. The choice of localisation region will here depend on the type of skills and specialisations required by the enterprises in question, including highly U&C trained people. For most knowledge-intensiv businesses, the other major cities (categories 1 and 2) and medium sized urban regions will have an adequate regional labour pool. For some businesses with job specifications in the lower or middle U&C range, many small towns would also be suitable locations. Refining the municipal income system for compensating low population numbers and thinly populated areas, together with adequate transfers from central government to the municipalities, will remain two of the most important mechanisms for ensuring decentralised growth in skill-intensive jobs (and welfare services) in the least central types of region.

Trends in living standards and migration patterns in the Fjell district of the city of Drammen

By Kjetil Sørlie, Eli Havnen and Marit Ekne Ruud
NIBR Report 2010:21

The background to this report was a desire on the part of Drammen city council to have trends in population size, migration and living standards in two areas of the city and two different population groups in the Austad/Fjell area. Austad/Fjell contains two distinct areas of housing. At the core we have an area we call "high rise area" with a mix of mostly low and high rise apartment blocks, and around we have a "low rise area" which constitutes mostly detached and semi-detached housing as well as terraced housing. While the proportion of immigrants in the **high-rise area** in Fjell is significant and growing, residents of the surrounding area are predominantly of Norwegian ethnic descent. In the younger age segments, however, the trend is towards higher in-migration of persons of immigrant descent there as well. We distinguish therefore between the **immigrant population** and **general population**. The latter is essentially of Norwegian ethnic origin.

Migration and habitation depend very largely on stage of life. While adolescents and young adults move to cities and city centres, the flow of families and senior citizens runs essentially in the opposite direction. In the case of Austad/Fjell, the effect of life stage is somewhat less pronounced. Migration to and from the area is more homogeneous across all stages of life than what we normally see. This has to do with the characteristics of this particular area, with its high and growing proportion of immigrants; net out-migration of the general population; and growing tendency of the remaining Norwegian ethnic residents to constitute to an ever more sharply defined group in terms of living standards. We can speak of a shrinking, "hardening core" of people of Norwegian ethnic origin, interspersed by high and low education groups and high and low income groups. Young families (i.e. families with children), do not find their way to the area to any appreciable degree.

A few remarks on method. We monitored all members of two sets of cohorts selected by registry analysis and monitored through the same age phases over two periods. Three such age phases are described. We looked at the youth phase, from the mid teens to early twenties; the young family phase, which we took as starting in the mid twenties and lasting some way into the thirties; and a senior phase, from the mid fifties into the sixties. Each phase lasts eight years. To examine changes in

migration patterns and living standards over time, we studied transition through each phase over two periods, the first terminating in 2002, the last in 2008. The report's conclusions therefore show the changes over a six-year perspective.

The data were obtained from individual-level migration history data held at Statistics Norway, in which all notices of change of address and moves between basic spatial units in Drammen are linked for each individual. In addition come the annual data on socio-economic factors. The living standard variables examined in connection with place of residence and changes of address during the different stages of life are education, income, social assistance and number of children.

The analysis of the migration processes in the district of Fjell reveals very significant differences between the high-rise and low-rise areas. Again, differences between age phases are, as mentioned, smaller in Fjell than anticipated. Overall, the migration processes in the **high-rise area** are resulting in a larger immigrant population and a smaller, but "harder core" of persons of Norwegian ethnic origins. This is particularly apparent in the young family and youth phases. The immigrant population is growing as the general population shrinks, and migration weakens the educational and income profiles in both of the young phases, but mainly the young family phase. The migration results are negative for the immigrant and the general population in both periods during the senior phase, apart that is from seniors in the first period.

The two observed senior groups, born at an interval of six years, were born immediately before and around the end of WWII. The first are the only survivors of the "housewife generation", the second belong to the generation that produced the pioneers of '68. These two groups have tended to behave very distinctly both in terms of education and career, family formation and children. The Fjell high-rise area received quite a few immigrants belonging to the first of these groups in the late 1990s. They were almost all female, and almost always came from other districts of Drammen. Some of them moved to the low-rise development as well, it has to be said, though without creating the same impression there.

The immigrant population is growing in the **low-rise area** as well. Their number was initially low or non-existent. By the end of the period, the immigrant share of the resident population of the low-rise development was still small, especially in the senior group. The immigrants moving into the area did, however, not move from Fjell or other parts of Drammen; they came from everywhere, many directly from abroad.

The inflow of immigrants appears to exert a stronger effect on transitory moves and resident turnover, both in the youth and young family phases. Immigrants arriving during the senior phase tend, on the other hand, to stay, especially in the second period. Members of the immigrant population who move in are also more likely to develop roots in the area, though numbers are too small group-wise to investigate in terms of education and income.

What we do see among the great majority, the non-immigrants, is however a large and growing tendency to move out, among both the youngest and eldest. The migration result for the Norwegians in the young family phase has improved between the first and second period, with migration in balance through the life stage. The

youth are less and less likely to move to the area, and increasing numbers are moving out, as mentioned. The migration processes in the youth phase have turned gain into loss over the six-year period we studied.

Migration flows are largest in the young family phase, slightly lower in the youth phase and significantly lower in the senior phase. The different flow magnitudes across the different phases in Fjell are lower than average, for reasons already mentioned. The analysis of flow direction reveals a few clear patterns showing where people moving in come from and where people moving out settle. At a glance this says something about relations between Fjell and surrounding environment.

When we take a closer look at migration flows to and from the **high-rise area**, the most striking feature is the size of the flows from **abroad** among those beginning a family and the youth population. The flow of youth from abroad is largest in absolute numbers. The importance of foreign countries to the inflow of seniors to the area is virtually nil; on the contrary, a significant number of people in the senior phase move from the high-rise area to destinations abroad.

The rest of the country, that is Norway without the county of Akershus and the Drammen conurbation, is of little significant as a source of flows into the area or as destinations for people moving away from the high-rise area. The trends show rising inflows among the youngest age-groups, while influx to the high-rise area from the rest of the country is declining among young families and seniors. Going in the opposite direction we see stable outflows from Fjell to the rest of the country among youth and seniors, but a decline among young families.

By contrast, **Oslo, Asker and Bærum** play the greatest role during the young family phase, with increasing interaction over time. These three municipalities have little impact on migration balance in the other two age phases. The same applies to the **rest of Akershus**, which clearly is not important as a source of or destination for movers in any of the age phases. Migration from the **municipalities surrounding Drammen** to the high-rise area is declining in all age phases. The outflow of youth and seniors to the surrounding municipalities is rising slightly, but declining among young families, though from quite a high level.

It is also interesting to observe the role played by the high-rise area in moves within the city of **Drammen** itself. While the young tend not to move to the high-rise area from other areas of the city, the proportion of young families and particularly seniors moving to the high-rise area is larger. The flow in the opposite direction, that is from the high-rise area to other parts of Drammen, reveals a different pattern. First of all, there is a large and growing exit of young people from the high-rise area. A similar, though not as distinct a pattern can be seen among young families. Seniors too are very likely to move elsewhere in Drammen. While the seniors are the only ones to move from low-rise dwellings to the high-rise area, the flow of youth and young families in the opposite direction is quite large, that is from the high-rise area to low-rise housing. The flow of seniors in this direction is virtually nonexistent. If they leave the high-rise area, they head for destinations further afield than the city district of Austad/Fjell.

The flow of migrants to and from the **low-rise areas** is similar in some ways, different in others. A natural similarity between the areas is the high immigration rate

of immigrants directly from **abroad**. These account for a large proportion of the increasing inflow of people of immigrant descent to the area. It occurs in both youth age phases, but hardly at all among seniors. Outflows to foreign destinations are consistently low, though there is a slight rise among young families. Unlike in the high-rise area, no seniors move abroad.

For this area, the **rest of the country** plays quite a large role in the migration balance, both for the young and young families. Flows in both directions of youths are relatively stable, while there is a marked rise in the influx of young families from the rest of the country, and a parallel decline in traffic going in the opposite direction. The preponderance of residents moving to the area from distant places has grown. No seniors move from the rest of the country to the low-rise areas, however, and although the flow of seniors in the opposite direction is growing, it has a minor impact. As for the high-rise area, **Oslo, Asker and Bærum** are the most attractive destinations and inflow sources among young families, although the youth population moves to these large urban municipalities in certain numbers. Oslo, Asker and Bærum have generally greater contact with the low-rise area than the high-rise area. Unlike the situation in the high-rise area, however, this contact is declining. **Akershus** is of little account in all age phases, and is similar in this way to the high-rise area.

Unlike the high-rise area, however, contact between low-rise residents and **neighbouring municipalities** is very high. Of the relatively low number of seniors who move into and out of the area, the neighbouring municipalities account for a large and growing proportion. There is a large flow in the other two age phases too, and growth is significant, especially from the low-rise areas to the surrounding areas. The flow of people to and from other parts of **Drammen** is quite large for all age phases, though the low-rise areas appear to have lost some of their appeal for Drammen residents over time. The flow is declining and all age phases are experiencing a distinct rise in out-migration, although it is least among young families. Youth and young families migrating into the low-rise areas come from all parts of the city, including the high-rise area, while the young who move out tend to settle in the two largest and most central areas of the city. The flow of seniors in both directions is limited almost entirely to these two largest, most centrally situated areas of Drammen.

The balance between **stability and volatility** in the city districts, as far as can be studied on the basis of the migration processes, is rather different, and different for the immigrant population and general population. Compared, for instance, with central Oslo, the population in both areas is relatively stable. But the comparison is unfair or irrelevant. If we had compared with other Oslo areas, such as Groruddalen for example, with which the area is comparable, we would, however, also find a relatively high level of stability.

This is said to underline area specificity of the range or scale we have adopted for stability and volatility. The interesting thing here are the differences between city district zones, country groups and age phases, and not least changes over time; making comparisons with the exceptionally high turnover rates in Oslo is of secondary importance. The following points can be seen as a way of summarising the results of the migration processes as well as providing information in their own right.

Not unexpectedly, the senior population is the most stable group. This applies only to the Norwegian ethnic population, however. Stability is of the same order in the high-rise and low-rise areas, but is declining at noticeable speed in both areas. In the second period, the population at the end of the senior phase in both areas accounts for 60 per cent of all current or former residents over the eight-year period, as against more than 70 per cent in the first period. This is what we are using as the summarised stability measure. The cause of the higher volatility rate is a combination of a higher outflows and higher transitory migration rates.

The next most stable group is the immigrant population at large. The differences here are not large either between phases or areas. The stability rate, however, has undergone a significant decline in both areas during both the youth and young family phase. Again, this picture stems from the rising outflow rates combined with transitory moves. In the second period, the immigrant population at the termination of the youth and young family phase accounts for 45 per cent of all immigrants to have resided in the high-rise area. The rising rate of change has been greater in the low-rise areas, and with greater differences between the different phases. Stability rates in the youth phase has declined from 50 to below 40 per cent; in the young family phase from 55 to slightly below 50 per cent; while in the senior phase the rate has grown from 50 to slightly over 60 per cent.

The only group where we find powerful growth in stability rates is immigrants in the senior phase in both areas. In the high-rise area, just half of all who have resided there are still there at the termination of the senior phase.

The groups about which something remains to be said are the least stable in the city district. These are people of non-immigrant origin in both areas and gone through the youth and young family phases. The lowest stability rates are attached to people in the young family phase. In both areas, the population at the end of the phases account for under a third of all current and former residents. Here, the stability/volatility balance has remained more or less intact. Behind this picture lies a lower rate of transitory migration of a declining group of migrants to the high-rise area (the hardening core), while elements of the migration processes in the low-rise areas have a similar impact on the result. This, then, is the strongest picture of volatility this analysis can show.

Volatility has risen during the youth phase, but with a resulting level of stability which is still higher than that observed for people in the young family phase. The first period gave the youth phase a stability rate of more than 45 per cent in both areas. Increasing outflow rates and transitory migration both fed into the rise in volatility.

In summary, we can say that stability is declining in most phases in both areas, and is lowest among Norwegian ethnic persons in the young family phase and highest among Norwegian ethnic persons in the senior phase, and that life phase accounts for less in terms of stability and volatility among immigrants than among persons of ethnic Norwegian heritage.

Many residents of the high-rise area display **low education levels**; also in relation to the national education profiles of the two country groups, the disparities are greater within the non-immigrant population than within the immigrant population. In the

former population, the proportion of residents of the high-rise area without upper secondary education has grown among the young and young families, but is unchanged among the seniors. In the immigrant population, education achievements have declined among young families, but improved considerably in the young population. This is connected with the stronger integration of young persons of immigrant heritage growing up in Norway into majority society.

Education profiles for the low-rise area are more homogeneous. Females of Norwegian ethnic descent are more highly educated than the national average, and there is a rising percentage of persons with highest educational achievements. The picture for the male population is the opposite, with low educational achievements prevailing at a growing rate. This applies to the two youngest groups. Among the seniors, however, the male group displays a higher education level than the national average. Of the in-migrants from the immigrant population who arrived during the young family phase, the educational profile is nearly as good as the national average, though less so for women. In the other age-groups, the number of people of immigrant descent is very low indeed.

Both Norwegian and foreign ethnic high-rise area residents earn less than the national average across all three age groups. In the low-rise areas, income is higher than the national average across all groups, especially among men. The proportion of people in the lowest income bracket did not worsen between the first and second period in any of the Norwegian ethnic age groups.

There is a tendency over time for the number of immigrants at the lowest end of the income scale to grow in the high-rise area. In the low-rise area, there are not many immigrants. In the Norwegian ethnic population, the income profile has improved in part and consolidated in part in the mid-range of the scale. Changes in the youth group are not particularly distinctive, however.

People on social benefit in the high-rise area is more likely to be found among those in the young family phase than others. The number of Norwegian ethnic persons on social benefit is particularly large, more than in the immigrant population. In the youth group, the level is more or less the same in both country groups, and lower than among those who have completed the young family phase. The number of the youngest on social benefit has risen slightly, but fallen among the young family age group. Both apply to both country groups. Among seniors, immigrant males stand out as recipients of social benefit. In the low-rise area, use of social benefit has declined markedly between the first and second period. Although the number of immigrants is low, this is clearly where the use of social benefit is concentrated.

In the Norwegian ethnic population, the number of childless women is remarkably high in both city district zones. The lowest child rate is in the high-rise area, while the number with just one child is higher than the national average. This applies to women at the end of the young family phase, in their mid thirties. And the number of young women of Norwegian ethnic descent who had children in their early twenties is lower than the national average. The opposite trend is observable among immigrant women, where those in their early twenties have already had one or two children.

There is a very high rate in the high-rise area of completely childless ethnic Norwegian women born in the mid 1940s and now in the senior age phase. The same was not the case among those born six years before, those of the "housewife generation". The change between 2002 and 2008 is greater among the senior group with regard to child number structure than in composition by education and income. This says nothing about the changes in the circumstances around starting a family, but suggests something about the changes in networks and a stronger selection of women who remain as residents of the high-rise area. For those residents of the low-rise area, the two-child norm has prevailed in both groups, both for the "housewife" generation and the generation featuring pioneers of '68.

Interreg: Norway's role

In Transnational and Interregional Programmes Experiences and challenges, achievements and footprints (1997-09)

NIBR Report 2010:22

By Sverre Mauritzen:

Report requested by the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development (November 2009)

To start with, the report outlines the background for Norway's participation in the Interreg B and C programmes and deals with the situation after the Norwegian referendum in 1994, when Sweden, Finland and Austria entered the EU.

It is described in the report how the programme period 1997 – 99 was influenced by EU policy discussions on Spatial Planning, resulting in the ESDP (*European Spatial Development Perspective*) – document in 1999. The transnational Interreg II – programmes, and the Article 10 Pilot Action Programme Northern Periphery, reflected the aims and goals of the ESDP, with an emphasis on a polycentric city structure, the need for cooperation between urban and rural areas, equal access to knowledge and infrastructure, and the importance of a more sustainable use of resources.

The Interreg II – generation was a pioneering period, both for Norway and the EU. Norway wished to participate in programme and project activities as much as possible on equal terms with Member States, however all activities fully financed by Norway.

The Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development is in charge of all coordination and implementation of the Interreg programmes in Norway. The practical work and follow – up in the regions has been carried out by regional bodies, also being employers of the National Contact Points. Norway established a common national sub – group for all programmes, making smooth cooperation between layers of administration possible. The Mission of Norway to the EU and the Barents Secretariat have given active and positive support to the Interreg process.

The Interreg III – generation (2000 – 06) meant larger programme budgets and higher ambitions. Small physical investments were allowed. The Interregional programme was launched (Interreg C), making it possible to find partners all over Europe. In addition, the Espon, Interact and Urbact programmes were launched, making Interreg a larger and even more attractive toolbox.

The Interreg IV – generation (2007-13) follows up the main pattern from previous programmes, but with an increased emphasis on innovation, competitiveness and sustainability. The programmes comply with the large territory of EU 27 and a closer cooperation with external countries like Russia and Belarus.

The dynamics of the Interreg programmes is illustrated by the rise in status from a Community Initiative to an integral part of the EU regional policy (*Objective 3 – Territorial Cooperation).* The Interreg programmes and projects play an increasing role in EU strategic policy development (*i.a. the Northern Dimension, the Maritime Strategy, and the Baltic Sea Macro Region).* The importance of the maritime Interreg projects was underlined in the Norwegian input to the Maritime Strategy process.

The activities of Norwegian regions is closely linked to linked to transnational regional co-operation bodies, like the CPMR (*Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions)* North Sea Commission and, in the Baltic Sea Area, BSSSC (*Baltic Sea States Subregional Conference*). Also network organizations like the Euro Montana have played a positive role. Norwegian involvement in this type of organizations is extensive.

In addition, the County Councils in Norway have taken the position as regional developers, normally in broad partnerships with municipalities, businesses and various types of NGO's. Several Interreg initiatives emerge from this type of partnerships.

The report gives examples on how Norway has entered into strategic and ambitious projects, as Lead Beneficiary or active partner. Projects like Roadex (NPP), Metropolitan Areas (BSP), North Sea Cycle Route, Northern Maritime Corridor and Safety at Sea (NSP), Aquareg and Connect (IIIC) have become reference projects, several of them followed up in consecutive programme periods. In the present programme period, the Roadex (NPP), EfficienSea (BSP) and StratMos (NSP) projects may serve as examples, all being identified as "strategic projects" by the EU. Since the beginning in 1997, Norway has participated in more than 200 transnational and Interregional projects, being Lead Beneficiary in more than 30 of these.

Norway has taken up issues in the projects reflecting challenges in society, like distance problems, service level in areas with low population density, the need for efficient transport systems, equal access to the information society and challenges for SME's. Furthermore, one will find quality projects also dealing with the opposite type of challenges, like growth problems in the metropolitan areas.

Norway has tried to build a positive image dealing with Interreg programmes and projects, being punctual and orderly. The report underlines that Interreg to Norway is an important instrument for regional cooperation.

In spite of many success stories, there will always be a potential for further improvements, for example when it comes to information activities. It is also a future challenge is to improve good partnerships involving different layers of administration and politicians, and also private partners. For Norway it is important to maintain the possibility of being in charge of future projects as Lead Beneficiary.

Of course, people working with Interreg projects are met with problems in their daily work. The application process and many of the administrative procedures are rather

complicated, representing difficulties for the partners. Also, sometimes it is sad, but true that good initiatives disappear when the project period is over.

However, there are lessons to be learnt from this kind of experiences, in order to make future programmes and projects even better.

In conclusion, the report underlines the importance of giving planning and strategic development work higher priority at all levels. It is a common experience that the most successful projects deal with issues given high priority by countries and regions, linked to strategic development.

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Socio-economic cost of accidentals falls on stairs in residential buildings

NIBR Report: 2010:23

By Frode Kann, Bjørg Langset and Per Medby

The project explores the economic cost of accidental falls and how installing a lift could reduce accident frequency. The background for the project is an earlier report on the socio-economic gains of universal design (Medby et al. 2006). Some of the measures required for implementing the policy to increase the number of universally designed homes are likely to be relatively expensive, not least when the measure includes the installation of lifts. Conversely, there are some significant advantages from installing lifts. It can be difficult, however, to accurately estimate the benefits accruing from installing a lift. Benefits are often harder to measure than costs. In a socio-economic profitability analysis, benefits are balanced against costs. The problems associated with estimating the benefits could therefore result in net benefits being underestimated.

Medby et al. (2006) found that many of the benefits of universal design could be estimated if the data were gathered. One benefit which the report believed could be quantified was reduced costs of resulting from a lower incidence of accidental falls on stairs. The assumption was justified insofar as it had been investigated in Sweden.

In this project we have discussed ways of estimating the socio-economic costs of accidental falls. While we assumed initially that such costs were quantifiable on the basis of Norwegian data, it turned out that it was impossible to compute them in a satisfactory way. The data are simply too meagre, one reason being the unsystematic manner in which accidents are registered. A more comprehensive project will have to be conducted before we can estimate costs. We assume that the data situation could improve somewhat in the near future.

The results of several studies of accidental falls are accounted for in the report, though none of them includes cost estimates.

Medby (2003) provides an illuminating example of the socio-economic gains from installing lifts with a good margin given the assumptions underlying the analysis. The assumptions were quite "normal" and the study therefore concluded that installing a lift is socio-economically advantageous if the investment costs are not extremely high and the construction of the buildings is not such as to require major alterations in the flats to satisfy universal design standards.

The benefit accruing from the lower rate of accidental falls is likely to be low in some housing cooperatives, but will pull in the same direction. For the sake of illustration we attempt to complement the estimates in Medby (2009) with an additional term, a very rough estimate of savings arising from a lower incidence of accidental falls. To do this we demonstrate a stylised stepwise procedure for establishing the costs of accidental falls. One needs input on the following factors:

- What is the cost per injury/death?
- How many are injured/die?
- Aggregated cost of accidental falls. This is calculated by multiplying the number of mortalities, major and minor injuries with the estimated cost of respectively a death, a major injury and a minor injury.
- What percentage of falls on stairs happen in dwellings?
- What percentage of falls on stairs happen in blocks?
- How many accidents could have been avoided by having a lift installed?
- What is the cost saving per dwelling? This is calculated by dividing the reduced cost by the number of dwellings in blocks without lifts.

When we have done this, we can find the benefit of lower costs resulting from the lower incidence of accidental falls on stairs. On the basis of the Norwegian data, this cannot be estimated in a satisfactory way and the numerical exa

Renewal and restructuring – evaluation of discretionary funds from the Telemark County Governor

NIBR Report 2010:24

By Kjell Harvold, Sigrid Skålnes og Vidar Valvik

This report sums up experiences gained from the project *Evaluation of renewal and restructuring project in Telemark*. The project was conducted by the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR) at the request of the County Governor of Telemark. The project was conducted in its entirety in 2010.

In connection with the project a number of interviews were made with each of the four regional councils in the county. Interviews were also conducted with the heads of the secretariats of the four councils, as well as with some chief municipal executives. Two meetings were held with representatives of the Telemark County Governor, one in an early phase of the project, and one during the final phase.

The main question the project sought to answer was whether discretionary funds for restructuring were used in accordance with the given guidelines. The answer to this question is – based on the interviews we carried out – **yes**. The representatives of the regional councils informed us that the funds had facilitated growth and development in the regions (which is an important criterion for the use of discretionary funds). They had also led to improvements and definitely been instrumental in developing cooperation in the regions across municipal boundaries, criteria of some importance for measuring the success of the projects.

Through our work on this project we made certain observations about the scheme. We would like to highlight one in particular, the bureaucratic element of the scheme.

Several informants emphasized – in a positive sense – the arrangement's lightweight bureaucracy. We would stress that bureaucratic systems can have their advantages, such as predictability and verifiability. That the reports from the regions to the County Governor are "light on bureaucracy", as several indicated was a good thing about the scheme, means that it is difficult assess, on the basis of the reports, how *well* the individual measures actually performed.

Whether this lack of bureaucracy in the discretionary disbursement scheme is considered an advantage or drawback depends on the role one believes the County Governor should play. In relation to the municipalities, the office of governor should

act as *both* a bureaucratic control entity and a more partner-oriented development actor. In the allocation of discretionary funds the Telemark County Governor appears to have given greater precedence to the development than the control aspect.

This strategy has clearly been welcomed by the municipalities / regions in Telemark. It can also be said to echo the guidelines issued by the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development on discretionary disbursement in which it is emphasized (under part 8) that the main responsibility for municipal restructuring and renewal lies with the municipalities themselves.

Svalbard: Society and industrial affairs 2010

NIBR Report: 2010:27

By Hild-Marte Bjørnsen and Steinar Johansen

Svalbard is a part of the Kingdom of Norway, but foreigners and foreign economic interests have freer access to Svalbard than they have to Mainland Norway. Norwegian sovereignty at Svalbard is regulated in the Svalbard Treaty. Several conditions have to be met in order to secure that Norwegian sovereignty is prolonged. One important one is that there have to be Norwegian economic activities at Svalbard. When the treaty was signed, mining was the dominating economic activity.

Mining continued to be the dominant activity at Svalbard up until the 1990s. The main Norwegian settlement of Longyearbyen was built as a company town, close to the existing coal mines. Longyearbyen was run by the mining company (Store Norske, or SN), which provided the inhabitants with all the goods and services they needed. The company was the employer of the miners and other workers, the economic base of Longyearbyen and Svalbard, and responsible for most societal functions in Longyearbyen. It also paid for (most of) these. In other words: SN was behind (almost) all activities in Longyearbyen.

At the start of the 1990s, however, the future of coal mining at Svalbard didn't look too prosperous. The mines in Longyearbyen were emptying, and the price of coal was relatively moderate. These prospects forced the Norwegian Government, which also owned (and still owns) SN, into discussing the future of the Norwegian settlement at Svalbard and Longyearbyen. What would happen if mining was no longer viable, and could other economic activities replace mining in the future? Norwegian presence at Svalbard is important for the claim of Norwegian sovereignty and, hence, the choice of economic activities based there is of national importance. One of the tools applied for answering these questions was the analysis of the local community[4], which commenced in 1991 and since has been repeated (almost) annually.

This report is the 2010 version of the analysis, which is based on similar methods to earlier versions. The data applied represent the situation at Svalbard in 2009. Before 2008, Longyearbyen Lokalstyre (LL – the local public administration body) collected information from all enterprises at Svalbard. From 2008 on, Statistics Norway

[4] "Samfunns- og næringsanalysen" in Norwegian.

collects this information and has now become the main data provider for the analysis.

The economic base at Svalbard consists of activities within *Mining*, *Travel and Tourism*, *Research and Higher Education*, *Students*, and *the Public Sector (both national and local administration and services)*. These economic sectors produce goods and services directed (mainly) at markets outside Svalbard, or are controlled and/or financed by central authorities. Income earned in the base sectors is (partially) spent locally and serve as the base for *Derived Economic Activities* (production of goods and services for the local market). Total *employment* is the sum of employment in the base sectors and derived activities. The employment rates are very high at Svalbard (Longyearbyen). On average, each adult person (above 19 years of age) in the population register works one man year per year. At the same time, the population turnover rate is between 20 and 25 per cent, which means that one out of every 4-5 people living in Longyearbyen is replaced by new inhabitants each year. This implies that the labour market is a (the) main factor influencing also demographic development. Children follow their parents, and the high turnover rate of the population implies that the number of children in different age groups varies from year to year depending on the household structure of in and out migrants, respectively.

Employment and population

Employment opportunities attract people, and employment is the driving force behind the demographic development at Svalbard. During the past 20 years, both employment and population grew steadily. Since 2008, we see some signs that this trend is turning. The conditions for continued growth in the base sectors, and thus for derived activities as well as for population, are determined outside Svalbard. International economic trends as well as national economic trends and political decisions are important factors.

Since 2007, employment in the base sectors was reduced by 76 man years (6 per cent). Reduced employment within *Mining* (88 man years down since 2007) and fewer *Students* (26 man years down) was, to some degree, compensated by increased employment in the other base sectors. *Travel and tourism* was, however, badly hit in 2009 and employment was reduced by one third in hotels and restaurants. In 2009, the base sectors employed just below 70 per cent of total employment at Svalbard. This is an increase from around 60 per cent in 2000.

Within *Derived activities*, employment shares fell from 40 to 30 per cent during the same period. Investments are important for the year-to-year number of employed within these activities. During the last decade, and especially the last 3-4 years, the share of employment within *Construction* fell more rapidly than the share of employment within *Other derived activities*. From 2007 to 2009, the number of man years within derived activities fell by 87 (16 per cent), mostly within construction and business services.

Total employment at Svalbard fell by around 163 man years (10 per cent) from 2007 to 2009, of which more than 100 man years disappeared in the last year alone. We don't know for certain if the reduction represents a trend shift, or if it is merely an adjustment. However, representatives from the major companies and organisations at Svalbard seem to think that international economic trends, reduced reserves of coal,

and national policy signals together imply reduced economic growth at Svalbard in the near future.

Population was reduced in 2009. The reduction was in total 33 people and comprised a reduced adult population by 41 individuals, a reduction in 0-5 year-olds by 36 and a growth in 6-19 year-olds by 44. This implies that the child population in Longyearbyen has grown compared to the adult population. We can read this as a signal that the settlement is strengthened as a family community, in accordance with the national objectives.

Future prospects

The average employment multiplier for 2009 is estimated to 0.42, which means that it has not changed in the last year. Each man year worked in the base sectors generates another 0.42 man years in derived activities. Together with the average number of man years worked per inhabitant and assumptions on the number of children per male worker and industry, we use these multipliers to construct prognoses of employment and population in Longyearbyen for the coming five year period.

In order to complete the prognoses, we have to make assumptions about how the base sectors will develop. We have already mentioned that representatives from the companies and organisations at Svalbard are not very optimistic about the future. Employment within *Mining* will go down due to already planned activity reductions. For the other base sectors, the future is more uncertain. Excluding some special consideration, *e.g.* for mining and the public services' dependence on population growth, we have assumed zero growth in the coming five years.

All in all, we find that employment at Svalbard might be reduced by around four per cent (or 65 man years of labour) during the coming five year period. Employment within derived activities will be reduced by a somewhat stronger rate. Population will be reduced by around 100 individuals, of which the major share is adults (67 people). The number of people will, however, go down in all age groups.

"We the residents at Ammerud" – community cohesion and divisions in a neighbourhood in Groruddalen

NIBR Report 2010:29

By Guri Mette Vestby and Katja Johannessen

The report is based on interviews and conversations with 45 persons who either live or work in the local neighbourhood of Ammerud in the Grorud city district of Oslo. The qualitative data convey a good idea of the resources and opportunities, as well as failings and shortcomings. Conditions for children and adolescents, social and housing conditions, and leisure and cultural opportunities are focused on. Qualities of place, housing and migration choices and residents' assessment of Ammerud's reputation are also investigated. We suggest various strategies for moving the development work ahead aimed at making Ammerud a more attractive residential choice.

An area rich in diversity

The statistics we present reveal an area of wide internal variation with regard to the physical housing structure and neighbourhood environment, and also to characteristics of the population. The differences between the four wards comprising the area are relatively marked and can be traced in the prevalent types of housing. In the residential area with villas, row- and atrium houses in close proximity to the forests, the dwellings are larger in terms of floor space, and the residents are more likely to be educated at college/university and to be employed. This area boasts a higher number of returnees, and a lower rate of challenges in the area of social and municipal housing. The differences in housing type also encourage an accumulation of the most disadvantaged in housing market and socio-economic terms in just two of the wards.

Of Ammerud's 7,113 residents, nearly 60 per cent are ethnic Norwegian, and slightly fewer than 40 per cent of non-western origin. About 5 per cent come from other western countries. But there are wide differences internally in Ammerud. The statistics show the proportion of immigrants from non-western countries is growing. Most of the immigrant population, essentially from Asia, Africa and Latin-America, have lived here since at least 1999, including those born here. The rate of employment among non-western Ammerud residents, moreover, is higher than for similar groups in the Grorud city district and across Oslo as a whole. Conversely, the employment rate is lower among the ethnic Norwegian population in Ammerud,

although this is the case in just some of the wards. There is distinct internal variation, in other words, in individual and family resources, with socio-economic problems tending to concentrate in certain housing association projects. The relative differences might therefore be perceived as being greater.

Many good reasons for moving to Ammerud – and some reasons for choosing other locations

Movers to Ammerud tend to come from the central areas of Oslo, usually the East Central district. Reasons for moving include a wish to get away of the city centre while living relatively centrally thanks to good public transport services. Housing is cheaper, and residents get more floor space for the cost of a smaller dwelling in the city centre. Other factors include green areas and proximity to the surrounding forests. The reasons mentioned by some for staying in the area include assets such as the qualities of schools and school environment. Some are attracted by the anonymity of living in large apartment blocks, while some move here because they know people in the area already (a combination of social and cultural factors). Returnees give the same reasons for moving back (apart from anonymity). But a sense of belonging and pleasant memories of living here as a child obviously play a role, together with what many describe as a socially tolerant and relaxed community. For returnees the value of living in a highly diverse community, including cultural diversity, was instrumental in their decision to move back. When residents move out of the area they tend to head in a north-easterly direction, towards Lørenskog, Lillestrøm, Skedsmo and Nittedal. Most of the leavers, whether ethnic Norwegian or of immigrant heritage, appear to be motivated by housing career factors: more space, ground floor access and affordable price. Knowing people in the prospective area is also a factor. However, according to some, ethnic Norwegian families move when the children start school because the immigrant ratio in Ammerud is considered too high. In the opinion of others, it's because the inflow of families with special language education needs and social and cultural adaptation challenges diverts too much attention and resources at the expense of the majority. For some immigrant families it was the growing imbalance between the Norwegian and multicultural that prompted them to move. It is difficult to say without conducting a wider survey how prevalent these views are or how much weight they carry as statement of reasons for moving out of Ammerud.

Schools provide a good formative setting for children

Ammerud junior school has 558 pupils ranging across 57 nationalities. Of these, 68 per cent speak minority languages. Teaching is done in Norwegian, but just under a half receive special tuition in Norwegian during the last year. The city district authorities have managed to channel the children through the day care system before starting school. A newly built school, division by ward and focus on quality assurance have helped boost educational standards. In recent years parents have become increasingly concerned about educational standards, and both Norwegian and minority ethnic parents remarked on the good environment at the school. The school and school nurse work hard to improve relations with parents and, at the level of the family, between parents and children. What is considered a problem, however, is the relatively low coverage rate (50–60 per cent) of the after school provisions, the importance of which from an integration perspective is considered to be high. The

outdoor area around the school is expansive, well equipped and a resource also in terms of out of school activities.

Apalløkka school is depicted as a lower secondary school with a highly diverse student population, both in terms of ethnicity and socio-economic family background. While not creating social and cultural divisions among the students, there is reportedly a certain difference between "school friends" and "leisure time friends". Of the 420 students, the first language of 55 per cent is a minority language, and about 25 per cent attend special tuition in Norwegian. The school has an untraditional system of streaming based on optional programme classes throughout the student's school career, a system the young themselves consider extremely good; it is said to promote a sense of well being and enjoyment. The secondary school has noted parents' increased interest in educational matters and standards. There remain, however, certain challenges in communicating with some of the parents (Norwegian as well as minority). The school nurse also works a lot in relation to families with problems. Both the student survey and interviews suggest a good school environment. There are significant resources in the school's neighbourhood as well: a new sports centre, proximity to the forest and the outdoor amenities provided by a sports club .

Leisure time activities and preventive actions

Sport occupies a prominent place in Ammerud, and is important not only as an activity for the young, but as a means of furthering integration. There is, however, a consistent pattern where immigrant youth choose football, basketball and Taekwondo, while handball, skiing and orienteering are the preferred sports of ethnic Norwegians. Some want to see a wider selection of activities, including for example athletics, gymnastics, dancing and mountaineering, or culture activities. Youth centres like Ammerud Activity Centre and Red Cross Resource Centre at Grorud are important as social venues offering different out of school activities. Staff at both places are consistently focused on facilitating social skills and integration. Adolescents over the age of 16–17 would like a more café-type venue, which also could be used for school and project work when lack of space and younger siblings make it difficult to concentrate at home. The city district arranges affordable holiday trips; they are popular and the waiting lists are long. In addition to the preventive work performed by clubs, voluntary organisations and youth centres, the city district authority runs its own multi-sectorial programmes for the 12–23 age-group considered at risk (crime prevention and hotline, situations involving health problems and life crises, school drop-outs, labour market activities, problems facing female students including bullying and violence). There is a relatively large number of young people between 18 and 23 on social assistance in Ammerud, and the city district is working on measures particularly designed for this group, including employment and education programmes.

Community cohesion and divisions mark everyday life and children's social environment

Both adolescents and adults highlight the value of living in a diverse area where people of different ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds live side by side. The main divisions as perceived by most people are not those between ethnic Norwegians and minority communities, but primarily between those with and without Norwegian

language abilities. Second, divisions are between those who manage to get on and those who can't cope with particularly difficult circumstances. All the same, some anxious voices are raised because what is considered a positive multicultural element could grow and tip the balance to the disadvantage of 'the Norwegian'. The traditional civil society in clubs and associations is run mainly by ethnic Norwegians. It is difficult, they say, to persuade minority parents to take part in voluntary work and activity. This situation could undermine the essentially positive attitude towards immigrants – an attitude which in a multicultural community should be considered an asset. At the same time, many members of the ethnic minorities are said to spend time and resources on cultural and religious activities, but which in practice are not open or relevant to ethnic Norwegians. Local neighbourhoods act as community arenas to varying degrees, and there seems to be a higher likelihood for people to mix if they live in the same neighbourhood and are also similar in terms of age/generation, ethnicity/country background and socio-economic background.

Ammerud's reputation and the identity of place

People at Ammerud clearly identify with the area, which they experience as their own local community, and are extremely concerned for its wider reputation. Residents largely experience that external images of the place are either negative, erroneous or inaccurate. Their neighbourhood, they feel, is unfairly condemned. They omit what is positive about the place, its diversity in terms of housing, people, area and resources. At the same time, outside criticism appears to have produced an awareness to act as good community representatives and ambassadors. Young and old alike highlight the necessity of combining efforts to enhance Ammerud's reputation. An even stronger commitment to culture and sports would benefit the place, alongside with brand management which showcase the obvious qualities of place.

Development strategies for an attractive residential area

The popularity of the catchphrase "we-the local residents at Ammerud" is testimony to the sense of identification with the area and people's experience of it as a local community in its own right. This should be conceived of as a basic resource in the work ahead to develop Ammerud. We can suggest some strategies that embrace everyone in the area and could strengthen Ammerud's assets and in consequence; its attractiveness as a place to live. This work should proceed in tandem with a greater focus on preventing an accumulation of socio-economic problems likely to exacerbate social and cultural segregation. The city district authorities, residents and civil society should join forces to plan separate measures centred on certain selected strategies: (I) establish a "main hive", a community arena that can act as the "heart" of the neighbourhood of Ammerud; (II) create an interactive strategy of participation in order to involve different groups in local community development efforts; (III) devise an integrated, cohesive cultural strategy embracing different age-groups, cultural actors and ethnicities; and (IV) address the issue of reputation and formulate strategies for reversing negative images and impressions of Ammerud.