Living with diversity

The importance of neighbourhoods for social contacts and daily activities in diverse urban areas

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Preface

This master thesis has been written during the spring semester of 2016 and is submitted as part of the requirements of the program Urban Geography at Utrecht University.

I would like to start this thesis by saying a few words about how I came to write it. I chose to continue my studies after graduating with a degree in environmental studies, as I have always been fascinated by cities, and I felt like I still needed to know more, so I chose to come to Utrecht University to study Urban Geography. I want to thank all the new friends I have met and the talented lecturers, my year in the Utrecht has been an extraordinary experience because of you and leaving will be difficult.

Before getting started, I would also like to thank all the people, who have helped make this thesis possible. I would like to thank all the residents and organizations in Sydhavnen who helped me with contacts and interviews, shared stories and shown me around. You welcomed me with open arms and without you, this thesis would not have been possible. Also thank you to the Rikke and Anne from Aalborg University, who helped me get started by sharing their experiences.

I would also like to thank my supervisor Gideon Bolt for his great help, valuable comments and constructive criticism throughout the process.

A special thanks to my supervisor Ronald van Kempen who left us all too soon. Thank you for getting me started on this journey with enthusiasm and outstanding supervision, I will always remember that.

Best,

Helene Lindskov Kjær

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Abstract

Cities are growing and are fast becoming more diverse. At the same time, the technological development makes it easier and easier to keep in touch with friends and family over longer distances. These changes affect cities and how people live in them, and one might expect that the role of neighbourhoods has changed as well and perhaps even has diminished as a result. At the same time, different groups of residents are in possession of different physical, financial and social resources, which might result in the neighbourhood being more important for some groups than others.

This is the starting point of this thesis, where the research question is *How important is the residential neighbourhood and its diversity for different groups of residents in different neighbourhoods?*. This is studied by looking at residents' social networks and daily activities In Sydhavnen in Copenhagen and comparing the results to another study of Bispebjerg, another neighbourhood in Copenhagen.

Existing literature studying what affects neighbourhoods and the residents living there is plentiful, and presents a list of expectations towards the residents and their use of neighbourhoods. Territorial stigmatization is e.g. expected to reduce residents' social networks and activities outside the neighbourhood, and high diversity is not expected to translate into diverse social networks, but might instead pose a threat to social cohesion. Furthermore, the neighbourhood is expected to be more important to certain resident groups. Elderly, families with children living at home and ethnic minorities are expected to have their life more centred around the neighbourhood than others.

In Sydhavnen several expectations were met, but many also differed. First, stigmatization did not seem to negatively affect the residents. Rather it is positive, as the stigma is related to high diversity, it makes the residents feel at home no matter their background. Stigma also keeps housing prices relatively low, which is important to the many of the residents.

Second, it was found that elderly did in fact have the majority of both their daily activities and social network within the neighbourhood. Families with children and ethnic minorities also had more close friends within the neighbourhood, but their patterns of activities did not differ from those without children and the ethnic Danes respectively.

Differences were also found between Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen. Residents with lower socio-economic status in Bispebjerg were e.g. found to have smaller local social networks, while this group in Sydhavnen had the largest networks, perhaps explained by them having lived there the longest.

The conclusion of the thesis is, that even though the neighbourhood perhaps does not have the same meaning that it did a few decades ago, it has not lost its importance. The neighbourhood still plays an active role in residents' daily lives, and even more so for the elderly, ethnic minorities and families with children.

Contents

Introduction 1

Many of the changes in the last decades affect today's cities. Women have started working outside the house, thus expanding their networks outside their neighbourhood (Forrest, 2008). Second, changes in communication and transportation technologies have made it possible to connect to friends, families and services independently of geographic proximity (Fischer, 1982; Forrest, 2008; van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). This has been helped along with cars and other modes of transport (e.g. air traffic) being more accessible and affordable, thus making us more mobile than earlier. Industrialisation and the subsequent urbanization has changed the way we live. More and more people tend to live in cities rather than in smaller communities on the countryside. Cities are also fast becoming more diverse with migration and immigration (Forrest, 2008). Diverse here means not only in terms of ethnicity, but also in terms of age, socio-economic status, sexuality etc. This means that people of different socio-economic status, different age and different ethnicity all live in the same cities, albeit not always in the same neighbourhoods.

With these changes one might expect that the role of neighbourhoods has changed and diminished. *"We live in a world where place is seen to be increasingly fluid and permeable and where our social identities and trajectories are apparently being increasingly shaped by the virtual and remote as opposed to the real and the proximate"* (Forrest, 2008, p. 129). At the same time there seems to be a continued or even increased interest in neighbourhood research (Forrest, 2008). However, the changes of women working, new technologies and larger, more diverse cities, makes it reasonable to believe that the role of the neighbourhoods has changed. This raises the question of whether neighbourhoods are still important at all.

Wellman (1979) deals with this question in his research on what he calls *the community question.* Here, three views on communities are presented; the community lost, community saved and community liberated. The community lost argument says that people are no longer fully enrolled into one single community, but are instead limited members of multiple loose communities due to urban disorganization. The community saved argument contradicts this by stating that communities continue to flourish and that even though sparser networks emerge in cities, strong networks tend to emerge from initially sparse ones. The community liberated argument does not have its point of departure in the physical area, but instead looks at communities directly from the point of primary ties. The liberated argument thus says that people are part of multiple communities, but that these are now more sparsely knit and spatially dispersed, which is allowed by technological advances in transportation and communication (Wellman, 1979).

In his study, Wellman (1979) concludes that the evidence points towards community liberated, but that the community might still feel lost for people, as they are now enrolled into several networks and it is not clear to which one they belong. Other studies have also found evidence for the liberated argument (Oliver, 1988; Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999;

Blokland and Savage, 2001). There is thus evidence that the neighbourhood might not have the same influence as it used to in regard to residents' social networks.

Another question raising from the discussion about neighbourhoods is, whether neighbourhoods are more important for some population groups than others, e.g. children, elderly, immigrants etc. As not everyone is capable of e.g. travelling far, this could be young children, frail elderly or residents with limited financial means, the neighbourhood must be more important to some groups of people than others (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). It would be interesting to see if these groups are also more affected by the changing neighbourhood composition than those to whom the neighbourhood is not as important. How do these groups deal with increased diversity in their immediate neighbourhood?

Great amounts of literature have already been written about neighbourhood effects and social contacts within neighbourhoods (see e.g. Forrest and Kearns (2001) and Galster (2012)), which are both important to understand how the neighbourhood affects residents. Different factors such as age, socio-economic status and ethnicity might all affect how important the neighbourhood is to an individual or a group.

However, while much research has focused on social interactions and neighbourhoods, less research has focused on diversity (Cabrera and Najarian, 2013), which would make it interesting to study the role of residential neighbourhoods in areas with great diversity. Again, not only diversity in terms of ethnicity, but also differences in age, socio-economic status, etc. Intuitively one would expect greater residential diversity to result in greater diverse networks of the residents, but literature shows that this is not always the case. Cabrera and Najarian (2013) e.g. found that higher levels of diversity did not mean diverse social contacts, while Blokland and van Eijk (2010) could not prove that desire for diversity affected the likelihood of actually having diverse contacts. It is thus difficult to predict whether diversity will actually create more diverse contacts.

However, one expectation is that both social contacts, social support and daily activities in diverse neighbourhoods will differ between different groups of residents, and this will be the main theme of this thesis. Another expectation is that the three parameters are interrelated; e.g. if ones' daily activities are outside the neighbourhood, ones' social contacts are also likely to be located outside the neighbourhood.

Another interesting point would be to see if different results are found amongst residents in different places, and what might explain these differences. The case studied during this thesis is Sydhavnen, while the results are compared to Bispebjerg. Both neighbourhoods are diverse, but the diversity differs. Bispebjerg consists of several smaller neighbourhoods with different levels of diversity, whereas Sydhavnen is understood as one coherent neighbourhood. The number of ethnic minorities is also higher in Bispebjerg than in Sydhavnen. Bispebjerg can thus be described as highly diverse and Sydhavnen as diverse. By choosing these two neighbourhoods, it is thus possible to study if the level of diversity plays a role in the importance of neighbourhoods.

This leads to the Research question:

- How important is the residential neighbourhood and its diversity for different groups of residents in different neighbourhoods?

    - How do social networks differ between groups of residents in diverse neighbourhoods?

○ How do daily activities differ between groups of residents in diverse neighbourhoods?

○ How are daily activities and social networks in diverse neighbourhoods interlinked?

Social networks are understood as the network of relationships of the residents, i.e. their friends, family and other personal contacts with whom they interact and get support from. When talking about relationships or networks, it is also important to reflect upon the level of the relationship; a superficial relationship could be a neighbour that you would only greet on the street, while a deep relationship is a friend that will help you through a personal crisis. Daily activities can range from grocery shopping to sports activities to work and is about how residents spend their time. The question for all is to what degree these networks, support and activities take place inside the neighbourhood or outside.

Figure 1.1 here gives an overview of the structure of the thesis as well as the content of the different chapters. Next chapter presents the theoretical framework used as the basis for answering the research questions.
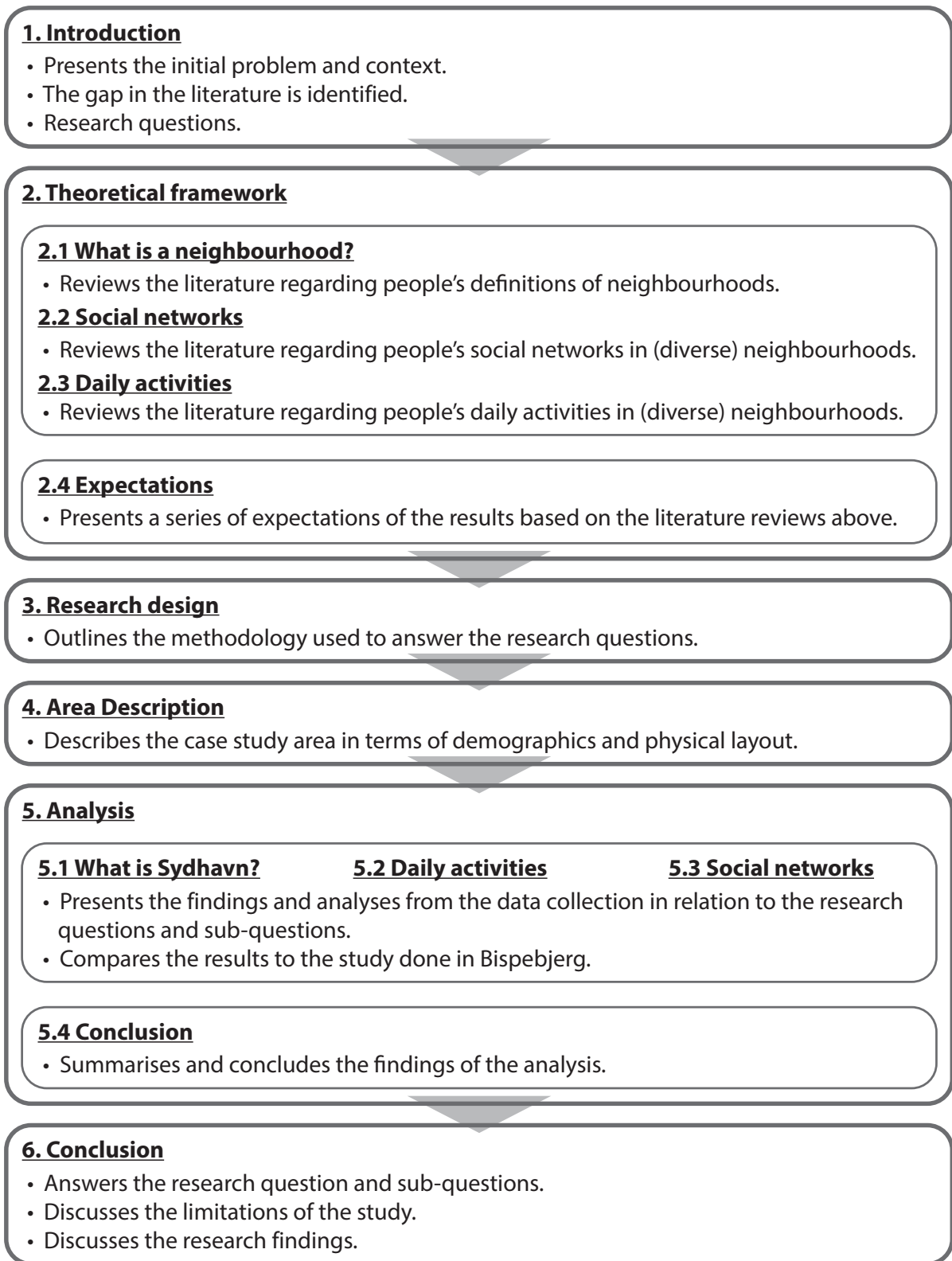
1. Introduction
- Presents the initial problem and context.
- The gap in the literature is identified.
- Research questions.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 What is a neighbourhood?
- Reviews the literature regarding people's definitions of neighbourhoods.

2.2 Social networks
- Reviews the literature regarding people's social networks in (diverse) neighbourhoods.

2.3 Daily activities
- Reviews the literature regarding people's daily activities in (diverse) neighbourhoods.

2.4 Expectations
- Presents a series of expectations of the results based on the literature reviews above.

3. Research design
- Outlines the methodology used to answer the research questions.

4. Area Description
- Describes the case study area in terms of demographics and physical layout.

5. Analysis

5.1 What is Sydhavn?   **5.2 Daily activities**   **5.3 Social networks**
- Presents the findings and analyses from the data collection in relation to the research questions and sub-questions.
- Compares the results to the study done in Bispebjerg.

5.4 Conclusion
- Summarises and concludes the findings of the analysis.

6. Conclusion
- Answers the research question and sub-questions.
- Discusses the limitations of the study.
- Discusses the research findings.

Figure 1.1. Structure of the thesis.

Theoretical framework 2

The concern that communities are disappearing and neighbourhoods lose their meaning is stemming from an idea that the local community is *"the only true supportive community"* (Fischer, 1982, p. 158). On the other side there are arguments that the liberation from space has made it possible to pursue more personally rewarding relationships than could be found within the boundaries of the physical neighbourhood. Wellman (1979) e.g. found that the community has been liberated from the place, making it possible for people to create their own communities across the physical place.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework used to answer the research questions presented previously. It starts by discussing what a neighbourhood is, as it is often understood differently by different people. The second section looks at territorial stigmatization and its implications for diverse neighbourhoods. The third sections look at social networks, how they are defined, how they emerge and their importance for people's lives. The last section deals with how daily activities both within and outside the neighbourhood impact the life and networks within the neighbourhood. Finally, a short summary of the theoretical framework is presented.

2.1 What is a neighbourhood?

When talking about the importance of neighbourhoods in regard to social networks and daily activities, it is important to understand what is meant by the word or the unit *neighbourhood.* This section introduces how *neighbourhood* can be understood differently in literature.

""The neighbourhood" is different for each individual" and there are great differences in definitions of neighbourhoods (Zwiers et al., 2016, p. 4). There can be differences between residents in the same area, e.g. between high-income and low-income residents, house owners and renters, long term residents and new residents, and (perhaps previously) also between men and women. Residents also often define neighbourhoods in a different way than authorities, who see it in the context of policy (Guest and Lee, 1984).

There is not a single universal definition of neighbourhoods to turn to, and different definitions have their own strengths and weaknesses. To discuss the definition of neighbourhoods is very important, as the definition can have implications for the way research is done and thus on the outcomes of studies as well (Zwiers et al., 2016).

Three lines of definitions of neighbourhoods can be identified, a social, a physical and an institutional. The physical definition is related to distance and defines neighbourhoods from a spatial point of view without looking at e.g. the social contacts of the residents or at the institutions found in an area (Guest and Lee, 1984). Morris and Hess (1975) e.g. defines the neighbourhood as an area where places of importance are reachable by

foot, while Golab (1982, p. 72) calls it *"a physical or geographical entity with specific (subjective) boundaries"*. The social definition uses the social context of the residents to define the borders of the neighbourhood. These tend to be smaller areas of maybe a few blocks, where residents have their strongest social ties (Guest and Lee, 1984). Social definitions thus contain both a social and physical element. E.g. Downs's (1981, p. 15) definition of a neighbourhood as *"geographic units within which certain social relationships exist"* or Warren's (1981, p. 62) definition *"a social organization of a population residing in a geographically proximate locale"*. The institutional definition defines neighbourhoods based on institutional centres, e.g. schools, parks or shopping areas. The key is that these institutions function as a focal point of the area and that it is something that the residents can identify with (Guest and Lee, 1984).

The first two types of definitions are not particularly specific and are open to interpretations, which makes it difficult to build a study around them. Galster (2001, p. 2112) thus came up with the following definition:

> *"Neighbourhood is the bundle of spatially based attributes associated with clusters of residences, sometimes in conjunction with other land uses."*

The *"spatially based attributes"* include e.g. building types and materials, infrastructure, residential characteristics such as ethnicity and religion, socio-economic status and environmental characteristics (Galster, 2001). However, this definition poses a problem when applying it to areas with mixed housing, where this type of spatial similarities is difficult to find (Zwiers et al., 2016).

In their study, Guest and Lee (1984, p. 32) found that residents *"tend to define neighbourhood primarily in terms of either human interaction or pure space"*, while often only accounting for institutional settings on a larger urban scale than neighbourhoods. Thus, they found proof amongst residents of the social and spatial definitions rather than the institutional. Community attachment, e.g. membership of local organizations or local friends, and the physical structure of the urban area both influence how neighbourhoods are defined amongst the residents.

Deriving from the different definitions of neighbourhoods, Guest and Lee (1984) also studied differences in these definitions amongst different groups. One of the themes in their study is differences between genders. They find that women more often than men define the neighbourhood from a social perspective and offer the explanation that women might prefer a social definition as they are more involved in the social life of the neighbourhood than men. However, it must also be noted that this study is made in the early/mid-80s, and that much has happened since then. Today, many women in the western world are working outside the house, which might alter the findings from earlier studies, where the premise was that women were more attached to their local area due to staying at home and being responsible for the household chores, and thus spending more time in their local area (Guest and Lee, 1984).

The next section looks into the role of social networks and how social networks are influenced by both individual and geographical factors.

2.2 Social networks

One of the important factors in determining whether the neighbourhood has lost its importance or not is people's social networks. It is thus important to know what is meant by social networks, and what is already known about these networks in regard to diversity. This section presents a brief literature review on what is meant by social networks, how they emerge, their meaning and also a discussion of their importance in regard to social capital.

What is meant by social networks or personal networks, as Fischer (1982) calls them, can differ greatly depending on the person asked and there are several aspects of networks that need to be explored to determine them. For one person, the network might be understood as only family and friends, while for others it also includes neighbours and co-workers, with whom they have contact or get support from, but not necessarily categorise as friends. Fischer (1982, p. 2) defines a personal network as *"an individual's relatives, friends, and associates, the set of people with whom an individual is directly involved"*. His definition thus is not limited to only family and friends.

Our social networks have great value and are important to most of us. People are e.g. equally likely to get a job through their network and based on their qualifications alone. Social networks have also been linked to lower crime levels and this has to do with social capital, which Putnam (2007, p. 137) defines as *"social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness"*. This is simply saying that social networks have value, which is measured in terms of social capital. If a neighbourhood has a lot of social capital, crime levels tend to be lower in the entire area, and this also protects the residents who do not actually take part in the network. Growing up in an area with high social capital is also linked to healthier, safer and better educated children as well as happier and longer lives (Putnam, 2007).

People generally form relationships with others they have met through a specific setting such as their family, work, school, organizations etc. and it is rare that someone who is met by chance, e.g. at a shop or a bar evolves into a deeper relationship. Meeting people and forming a relationship is however not enough. The relationship needs to be maintained to last over a period of time. The opportunities to do so might vary greatly between people and can be affected by a long list of factors, e.g. working might make it difficult to find a time to meet, having a child might result in having less energy, income might restrict the ability to travel etc. There are thus many factors influencing the time and means available to a person to maintain their social relationships (Fischer, 1982).

Social relationships are also where people get their social support. Here, it is interesting to look at residents in diverse neighbourhoods, as social problems are often sought resolved through policies that aim to mix residents of e.g. different income levels and ethnicities. However, Pinkster and Völker (2009) found that the level of social support low-income families received did not differ depending on whether they lived in a low-income area or in a mixed neighbourhood. It was also found that social housing residents living in poorer neighbourhoods had more local ties, but this did not influence the level of support they received. One of the author's explanations is that

> *"there is a considerable difference between knowing someone and actually benefiting from this relationship. From this perspective, residents in the mixed*

neighbourhood might know more people, but they might not be capable of deriving actual useful support from these contacts" (Pinkster and Völker, 2009, p. 240).

What type of support one can get highly depends on the type and strength of the relationships:

> *"Strong ties provide emotional aid, small services, and companionship. Parents and adult children exchange financial aid, emotional aid, large services, and small services. Physically accessible ties provide services. Women provide emotional aid. Friends, neighbours, and siblings make up about half of all supportive relationship"* (Wellman and Wortley, 1990, p. 558).

Because of this, people also tend to put in a lot of effort to maintain their strong ties with friends and immediate kin, as these ties are necessary to get the support needed in life (Wellman and Wortley, 1990).

It is also relevant to discuss the role of social networks in the creation of community. Community is understood as *"an arrangement in which individuals derive important personal benefits for well-being from doing things together with others"* (Völker, Flap and Lindenberg, 2007, p. 100). Contrary to what might be expected, Völker, Flap and Lindenberg (2007) found that the number of neighbours in residents' social networks is not necessarily important to the creation of community. Instead, they identify meeting opportunities, motivation to invest in local relationships, alternative relations outside the neighbourhood and interdependency as conditions that are needed to create a community. This means that e.g. facilities that can function as meeting places such as parks or supermarkets or residents that want to stay in the neighbourhood are more important for community creation than the inclusion of neighbours in their social networks.

What influences people's social networks and their ability to maintain them can be categorized into two groups; individual influences and geographical influences. These two are discussed below.

2.2.1 Individual influences

There are a number of individual factors that play a role in determining one's social network. These factors can either influence the network size in general, the number of neighbours in the network or how often interaction between neighbours takes place (Dekker and Bolt, 2005).

In regard to network size, age is found to be an important factor as older people generally have smaller networks than younger. On the opposite, high income is related to larger social networks (Dekker and Bolt, 2005). Membership of clubs is also found to have a positive effect on the size of social networks, and can thus be a good way to meet new friends (van Den Berg, Arentze and Timmermans, 2013).

Four factors are found to affect the location of social networks and the number of neighbours in them. First, education is found to be the most important individual influence on where one's social ties are living. The social relationships of people can be divided into three distances; short-distance or local, which is within a five minutes drive, mid-distance, which is within a five minutes to one hour drive and last distant, which is

more than one hour drive away. In his study, Fischer (1982) found that people with a postgraduate degree have 1.5 times more local, three times more mid-distance, and four times more distant nonkin ties than people without a high school diploma. Also when looking at relatives did the better educated have more dispersed networks. Postgraduates reported having 2/3 fewer local but 1/3 more distant relatives than those with the lowest education.

Second, ethnic minorities tend to have more friends and also family members within the neighbourhood than natives. At the same time, they have less contact with their neighbours. This can be explained with the fact that many minorities look for contact with others from their own ethnic group, and often neighbours do not fall into this category (Dekker and Bolt, 2005). Third, families with children tend to have more neighbours in their social network than others. This is because families with children often spend more time either at home or in the neighbourhood and get to know others through their children. Children from the same neighbourhood also often go to the same school, where both children and parents get to know each other (van Den Berg and Timmermans, 2015). Fourth, how long a person has lived in the neighbourhood is also found to be positively related with the number of neighbours in the network. The longer one stayed in the neighbourhood the more neighbours are found in their social network (van Den Berg and Timmermans, 2015).

The frequency of interaction with neighbours is found to be positively influenced by low education, having children at home and having lived in the neighbourhood for a long time, i.e. these groups have contact with neighbours more often, while residents who are working full time, have a low income or a high education tend to have less contact with their neighbours (van Den Berg and Timmermans, 2015).

Mollenhorst (2015) also found that the role of neighbours in one's social network has been increasing in recent years. This is especially true for residents with a higher education, without paid work or owning their own home, who saw an increase in neighbours in their social network between 2007 and 2013. This is contrary to much research that implies a decline of neighbourhoods (see e.g. van Kempen and Wissink (2014) for overview). For homeowners and the residents without work, he explains that it is *"in line with the argument that greater local attachment and more local meeting opportunities support investments in neighbourhood contacts"* (Mollenhorst, 2015, p. 117). For the highly educated he comes up with two possible explanations. One is that it might be attributed to them knowing more neighbours due to homeownership or raising a family. Another is residential segregation, where people with the same level of education tend to live together and thus become part of each other's social networks. Mollenhorst (2015) also concluded that close neighbours are especially important when one needs help or support with practical everyday matters. Geographical proximity is thus not without meaning in social networks.

2.2.2 Geographical influences

Urbanism

Urbanism is a geographical indicator of dispersion of one's social network. For people living in semirural areas, the percentage of local nonkin ties were much higher than for people living in cities. Urbanites also had more dispersed networks of relatives, but the

difference was not as strong as for nonkin ties. An explanation of why people in semirural areas tend to live closer to their relatives could be that there simply are no houses in between on the countryside. One has to either stay or move on to the next village, while people living in metropolitan areas have the option of living at almost any distance. It is also found that people living in cities overall have fewer local ties than those living in semirural areas supporting the idea that that social ties are stronger in small towns than in city centres (Fischer, 1982).

Territorial stigma

Territorial stigma is another geographical indicator. Stigma is defined by Goffman (1963, p. 9) as being *"disqualified from full social acceptance"*. This can be because people have attributes that do not conform with what is perceived as normal (Warr, 2005). Territorial stigmatization can be described as stigma that is linked to a specific place, e.g. a residential neighbourhood, where the stigma associated with living in this area follows and limits the resident's opportunities. It is possible to escape this type of stigma by moving to another geographical location (Wacquant, 2007).

Territorial stigma is often associated with poverty and ethnic diversity, and it rarely matters if the areas in fact live up to the bad reputation they have. It is enough that prejudices exist (Wacquant, 2007). Poverty is still perceived as something outside the norm, and thus poor people often experience stigmatization and the same goes for the neighbourhoods where poverty is concentrated (Warr, 2005). Neighbourhoods that are already stigmatized also often have the facilities that other neighbourhoods do not want, e.g. shelters and housing options for the homeless, which serves to reinforce stigma (Marcuse, 1933).

The consequences of living in a stigmatized neighbourhood are many. Residents have fewer job opportunities, are not able to get a mortgage, they have limited opportunities of social participation and perhaps also lower self-esteem due to living in that particular neighbourhood (Permentier, van Ham and Bolt, 2007). Participation in social networks outside the stigmatized neighbourhood is also limited, as residents either avoid stigma by only socializing within the neighbourhood or by trying to hide that they are from that particular area (Warr, 2005). These negative consequences create behavioural responses in the residents.

The most obvious response might be leaving the neighbourhood, but this is often not an option as residents rarely have the financial means to do so (Permentier, van Ham and Bolt, 2007). If residents are not able to leave the neighbourhood they can e.g. make excuses for why they live in that particular place, to alienate themselves from the place by saying that they are not *from* here, they just live here briefly (Wacquant, 2007) or to shift blame by disassociating themselves from the worst parts of the neighbourhood (Wakefield and Mcmullan, 2005), thus creating a hierarchy of places within the neighbourhood (Permentier, van Ham and Bolt, 2007).

Another response to stigmatization has to do with participation and social contacts within the neighbourhood. Permentier, van Ham and Bolt (2007) identify two directions in research here, one that finds a negative effect on participation and social contacts and one that finds a positive effect. A positive effect could be that residents stand together against what they experience as unfair stigma and perhaps also in conflicts with local authorities to improve their local conditions. The residents thus create a common identity

and pride of living in the stigmatized area (Mazanti and Pløger, 2003).

Stigmatization also affects the way residents identify themselves. Identities can be described as being a result of the social world a person inhabits (Stryker and Burke, 2000; Killian and Johnson, 2006). Identities can thus be described as being internalized or as 'internalized role expectations', meaning that the way one is expected to behave depends on the social context and the person's position within the social network (Stryker and Burke, 2000). Stigma can thus be part of creating the identity of residents of stigmatized neighbourhoods. However, it is not always that stigma is internalized and studies have found proof of externalization as well, where residents challenge the stigma imposed on them and create counter-narratives about their space (see e.g. Garbin and Millington (2012) and van de Wetering (2015)).

Stigma can thus have great consequences for residents living in stigmatized neighbourhoods.

Diversity

People form their social relations in different ways and through different networks. This can e.g. be work, hobbies, education, children and the neighbourhood. The role of the neighbourhood in forming social ties however, differs between different groups of people. It is found that the neighbourhood is most important in this regard for elderly and residents with children (Wissink and Hazelzet, 2012). More generally, the importance of the neighbourhood depends on *"social groups, life-course stages and cultural differences"* (Forrest and Kearns, 2001, p. 2141). It is also found that even in diverse neighbourhoods, the social networks tend to be homogeneous, even for the residents for whom the neighbourhood is important for the formation of social ties (Wissink and Hazelzet, 2012).

Putnam (2007) states that this homogeneity is necessary to create social cohesion. Social cohesion can generally be understood as the force that holds society together, and as an antonym for social exclusion (Maloutas and Malouta, 2004). Chan, To and Chan (2006) calls for a clearer definition of social cohesion across literature, and uses their study to come up with such a definition. They propose the following definition: *"Social cohesion is a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations"* Chan, To and Chan (2006, p. 290).

While Putnam (2007) discusses social cohesion, he does so mainly in regard to ethnic diversity. He makes three points; ethnic diversity will increase in all modern societies, in the short term this will have negative consequences for both social solidarity and social capital, and in the long term, based on successful integration, form new types of social solidarity.

In his paper, Putnam (2007) also focuses on how ethnic diversity can be viewed as an asset, and he identifies different aspects that can benefit society. First, creativity rises both in the arts and sciences, which e.g. leads to solving problems faster. Second, immigration is also related to economic growth, so even though immigration might be expensive at first, especially to low-wage natives, in the longer run, it leads to increases of general income levels. Third, immigration can help to take care of elderly citizens. This is important in countries where fewer children are born, as there are a larger groups of

elderly who need care from a much smaller group of working adults. Fourth, immigrants in the global North from the global South are aiding development in their home regions as they send back not only money, but also ideas and technologies through their networks.

However, to gain the benefits of ethnic diversity in the long-run, it is important to create trust and solidarity between the different ethnic groups, and this can be difficult or perhaps impossible according to Putnam (2007). Three different theories have been developed to explain the relationship between diversity and social contacts, which is necessary to understand to come up with solutions to tackle ethnic diversity. First, contact theory says that diversity will lead to higher tolerance and solidarity amongst different ethnic groups. More contact between different ethnic groups will lead to greater trust between them. Putnam (2007) argues however that much literature has not supported this theory, but instead supports the second theory, conflict theory. Conflict theory on the other hand believes that diversity leads to distrust in ethnic groups different from yourself and increased trust in your own group. The more time spend with someone different, the more pronounced this will be.

Both contact and conflict theory builds on the assumption that in-group and out-group trust is inversely correlated. This is related to the idea of bridging and bonding capital. Bridging capital is ties with others that are different from you and thus form a bridge between two groups. Bonding capital is ties with someone like yourself and form bonds within the same group. Putnam (2007) disputes these two should be inversely correlated, and argues instead that high bonding should be compatible with high bridging and the other way around, but believes mostly in the second variation. This leads to the third theory, which he finds evidence for in his study, the constrict theory. Constrict theory says that diversity leads to lower trust and solidarity towards both one's own ethnic group and others (Putnam, 2007). He thus understands ethnic diversity as something that stands in the way of creating the social cohesion necessary for society.

Understanding how contact between ethnic groups affect the levels of trust makes it possible to talk about solving problems related to this. To trust someone is found to be easier if the social distance is smaller rather than larger, as it is easier to find a shared identity. *"Social distance depends […] on social identity: our sense of who we are. Identity itself is socially constructed and can be socially de-constructed and re-constructed"* (Putnam, 2007, p. 159). It is thus important to create a shared identity amongst different ethnic groups to increase the trust between them. This is not only to get new immigrants to adapt to the identity of their host society, but requires the new diverse society to create a new identity as a whole.

Many researchers disagree with Putnam and believe that it is possible to successfully create diverse communities, where residents live in peace, e.g. by redesigning cities and creating micropublics for daily encounters that are not necessarily dominated by one resident group. This is to create social solidarity between the diverse residents and to accept the heterogeneous nature of diverse neighbourhoods (Amin, 2002).

Abascal and Baldassarri (2015) are authors that directly criticize Putman's findings, as they find an alternative explanation for Putnam's link between ethnic diversity and trust. Instead of diversity being responsible for lower levels of trust in heterogeneous neighbourhoods, the explanations should be found in the specific ethnic groups. Non-whites generally report lower levels of trust independent of where they live, while only whites report lower levels of trust when living with non-whites or immigrants. At the same time non-whites more often live in heterogeneous neighbourhoods, thus causing the

overall levels of trust here to be lower than in all white neighbourhoods. Overall Abascal and Baldassarri (2015, p. 724) find that

> *"preexisting differences in self-reported trust across ethnoracial groups, along with individual and contextual indicators of residential stability and economic well-being, are the strongest predictors of trust and cooperation."*

Another important point to keep in mind is that Putnam's work focuses primarily on the US. However, there are great differences between the US and Europe and it is thus important to be cautious when using the same conclusions in other nations or cultures (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

The next section looks into the daily activities of neighbourhood residents and how these are important for the social networks within the neighbourhood.

2.3 Daily activities

In this section, daily activities and the interaction between activities and social networks are in focus. Daily activities cover all activities ranging from work to shopping to recreational activities. These activities and whether they take place within the neighbourhood or outside are important as they affect the structure of the resident's social networks. If all one's activities takes place within the neighbourhood, the expectation is that one's social network within the neighbourhood is also strong, while the opposite is also expected.

Previously, the neighbourhood played an important role and was the centre of most everyday activities such as shopping and socializing. That the neighbourhood should still hold the same importance has been challenged in research in recent years as more people have gained the ability to travel further and participate in activities in places outside the neighbourhood. However, neighbourhoods today still hold many important facilities such as schools, doctors' offices, sports centres and grocery stores to be used by the neighbourhood residents. The neighbourhood thus still holds some importance, albeit differing for different groups of residents (Tersteeg, Bolt and van Kempen, 2015).

There are great differences in the mobility of different groups of residents within neighbourhoods. Residents with low income, immigrants, children and elderly all seem to be more oriented around the neighbourhood for various reasons. Immigrants might need the help from other immigrants, while children are restricted by e.g. parents wishing to keep them close to home, and elderly lack the physical ability to move around (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014).

These different groups and their activities in the neighbourhood also play a role in regard to diversity. The consequence of living in a diverse area depends on whether residents participate in activities with different resident groups and encounter diversity in their everyday life (Beckman et al., 2015).

Mixed housing is often promoted in a policy context to try to promote interactions between different groups of residents and to create bridging capital. However, it is often not the result of such policies. van Beckhoven and van Kempen (2003) e.g. find that both the old and the new residents have most of their activities outside the neighbourhood and only find interactions amongst residents with something in common, e.g. parents or elderly.

Research has also found that mixed housing and proximity to diversity does not necessarily result in strong ties between diverse residents, so-called bridging capital. Blokland and van Eijk (2010) studied whether this was different for residents actively seeking to live in diverse neighbourhoods. Richard Florida found that members of the creative class, often middle class and highly educated in creative fields such as architecture, engineering etc., seek to live in places that are openly diverse as it demonstrates tolerance (Florida, 2012). This group of residents are found to use facilities such as restaurants and shops in the diverse neighbourhood more than other residents, but it does not translate into increased neighbourhood engagement. Likewise, using neighbourhood facilities did not mean that deeper social ties were formed between residents seeking diversity and other residents (Blokland and van Eijk, 2010). Peters and De Haan (2011) also found similar results.

On the other hand, it is also found that encounters with diversity, even if only brief greetings on the street, have a positive effect on the perception of others. This means fewer prejudices and stereotypes and generally a more positive and realistic attitude to people of different backgrounds (Peters and De Haan, 2011; Blokland and van Eijk, 2010). However, other studies calls for caution, as everyday encounters *"does not necessarily equate with meaningful contact or positive change"* (Valentine, 2013, p. 9).

Public spaces can function as places for diverse encounters. Peters and De Haan (2011) found that the quality public spaces play a role in the attitude of residents towards diversity and their desire for segregation. If the public space is lively and people feel safe and comfortable it can foster integration and diverse encounters.

Public places are thus needed for these encounters between residents. This can e.g. be local facilities and institutions (Curley, 2010). It could also be *third places*, places that are neither home nor work. These are places visitors can shape and where the activities taking place are not regarded as special (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982). These third places set the frame for experiences and social interaction, and are not places where work takes place or where specific goals are achieved:

> *"They are not like businessmen clubs and singles bars which people inhabit in order to informally encourage the achievement of formal goals. Indeed, the majority of public places in our society fail to become actual third places"* (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982, p. 269).

Third places are important for everyone as they function as refuges where people can escape their ordinary commitments. Oldenburg and Brissett (1982) also add that participation in activities in third places will support the daily life in both the home and at work and thus increase the overall quality of life.

Curley (2010) found that the availability of facilities and institutions such as parks and libraries were the strongest predictor of social capital, as they provide meeting opportunities for residents of the neighbourhood. These places help build a familiarity with the neighbourhood and its inhabitants which is important to build trust. Thus, a lack of these public spaces can have a negative effect on social capital. Meeting places are also one of four conditions for the creation of community according to Völker, Flap and Lindenberg (2007), which was discussed in section 2.2.

Whether residents have activities within the neighbourhood or not might also influence their understanding of the neighbourhood and its challenges. It is often assumed that

middle-class residents living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods will move out whenever they are able to, but this is not necessarily the case. That middle-class residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods choose to stay rather than move out can be because they simply are not affected by the problems within the neighbourhood. These residents are often aware of the problems related to their neighbourhood, but as they do not invest in the neighbourhood or even have activities and spend time there, they do not experience the problems and thus they do not become a factor in deciding whether to stay or move (Pinkster, Permentier and Wittebrood, 2014).

The physical surroundings in the neighbourhood and the activities taking place are thus both relevant in regard to the importance of the neighbourhood. Whether residents have their activities within the neighbourhood or not depend on many factors, as shown above that all affect the resident's attachment to the neighbourhood.

2.4 Expectations

Based on the literature review presented in this chapter, several expectations have been formed. Here, some of the most important ones are highlighted.

First, it is also expected that there are differences in both the size and location of resident's social networks and their daily activities between residents with different age, life stage, ethnicity and socio-economic characteristics such as employment status, income and education. E.g. that families with small children will have activities and networks centred around the neighbourhood, while students or others without children at home is expected to have fewer neighbourhood ties and activities. Or whether a resident has a job or not, and whether that job is in the neighbourhood is expected to affect their social network within the neighbourhood. If both work and activities takes place outside the neighbourhood, the person's social network is also expected to be located outside the neighbourhood and the other way around.

Second, territorial stigma is expected to lead to smaller social networks outside the neighbourhood, but perhaps a stronger unity within the neighbourhood, as the residents stand together to fight the stigma. It is also expected that low-income residents live in stigmatized areas because they do not have many other options, if any at all.

Third, diversity has been not proven to lead to more diverse networks. Diversity in the neighbourhood is thus not necessarily expected to lead to strong diverse social networks of the residents. Instead, an expectation is that residents will have more diverse encounters in the public spaces in the neighbourhood, while their close friends will still be rather homogeneous and similar to themselves in regard to age, gender, background etc.

Research design 3

This section presents the methodology used to answer the research questions stated above. It outlines the research design, how data is collected and the structure of the thesis.

3.1 Case study

There are several different types of research designs, Bryman (2012) e.g. identifies five, and with their strengths and weaknesses they are appropriate for different types of research questions. To identify which type of research design is suitable, Yin (2014) presents three parameters. First, the type of research question asked, second, the extent of control of behavioural events and third, whether focus is on contemporary events. The case study is preferred if *a "how" or "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which a researcher has little or no control"* (Yin, 2014, p.14). The research at hand fits well with this description. It deals with *how* questions, it deals with contemporary rather than historic events and the researcher has no control with these, and this is the reason a case study research design is chosen.

The study will be limited to Denmark, and thus look at the research questions within a Danish context. This is mainly due to practical reasons such as language barriers, financial resources and the time frame of the thesis. To select a suitable neighbourhood as a case, several criteria were developed. The neighbourhood must be:

- At least partly residential.

- Diverse in terms of residents' age, occupation, income, ethnicity etc.

- Accessible for the researcher in terms of language, finances and safety.

Copenhagen was chosen, as the city is the largest in Denmark with great diversity (Beckman et al., 2015). This makes it possible to compare the results with parts of the larger European research project Divercities, which work with similar research questions, to see if the same results are found (see Beckman et al. (2015)).

Copenhagen has 10 districts (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016a), which were the starting point for case selection. One district, Bispebjerg, was disregarded as this was the case study done within the framework of Divercities. Of the remaining nine districts, Kongens Enghave (translated: The King's Meadow Garden) was chosen based on the criteria stated above. This district is actually part of the district called Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave, but as they are two separate neighbourhoods with each their own local committee representing the local interests in the municipality (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016c), it has been

decided to treat them separately here as well, thus only continuing to look at Kongens Enghave. Kongens Enghave is further described in chapter 4.

With the selection of Kongens Enghave as the case area, this thesis will be a single-case study. Single-case studies are often criticized for not contributing to science as it is not possible to generalize on the basis of a single case (Flyvbjerg, 2006). However, Flyvbjerg (2006) disputes this statement and finds that if the case is chosen strategically, it is possible to generalize. Yin (2014) identifies five rationales which make a single-case study appropriate. These are having a case that is either critical, unusual, common, revelatory or longitudinal.

The case chosen for this study can be described as a *common* case. A common case is a case that *"captures the circumstances and conditions of an everyday situation [...] because of the lessons it might provide about the social processes related to some theoretical interest"* (Yin, 2014, p. 52). Kongens Enghave can provide insight into how different population groups are influenced by diversity in their residential neighbourhood.

3.2   Data collection

Two overarching types of data is available when doing research; quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data is often associated with the use of numbers and statistics, as being deductive and identifying with positivism and objectivism. On the other hand, qualitative research is often associated with analysing text, as being inductive and identifying with interpretivism and constructionism. Often, the two is seen as either-or, i.e. the researcher should choose either a quantitative or a qualitative approach. However, the two methods can be mixed or used alongside each other, e.g. through triangulation, where different types of evidence support each other.

This research will use a qualitative approach, but quantitative data is also used, which is described in further details below. Using a qualitative approach with interviews makes it possible to observe feelings and receive comments of the interviewees, while also giving me the option to ask follow-up questions, which is more difficult or even impossible in a survey. The epistemology and ontology of qualitative research also fits well with my own position, and it will help to compare with the results found by Beckman et al. (2015) if the same methodology is applied. There is also an element of practicality, as distributing and managing enough surveys in Copenhagen is difficult when there is only one person without funds to do the job.

Six types of data is commonly used in case studies; documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation and physical artefacts. These types of data all have their own advantages and disadvantages, and none is significantly better than the others. They complement each other, and it is thus preferable to use different types of data within the same study (Yin, 2014).

Here, three types of data are collected; interviews, documentation and archival records. Interviews are produced directly by the author, while documentation and archival records are data produced by others and collected to support the first two data sources. How the four types of data is produced, collected and used is described in further details below.

Four principles of data collection is developed to ensure quality throughout the process of collecting data. Following these seeks to improve the construct validity and reliability

of the case study. The four principles are (1) use multiple sources of evidence, (2) create a case study database, (3) maintain a chain of evidence, and (4) exercise care when using data from electronic sources. The first principle deals with data triangulation as the use of multiple sources of data will be more convincing than only using one. When using triangulation, the different sources of data can corroborate each other. Following the second principle allows others access to examine the raw data used in the case study, while the third principle makes it possible for others to understand the basis for the conclusions of the study. The fourth principle deals with being critical of the data collected, and this is not only important for data collected from electronic sources, but here the risk is the largest (Yin, 2014).

All four principles are followed throughout this case study, and access to the case study database can be granted upon request. References will be used in-text and relevant information regarding e.g. interviews will be accessible in the appendices.

3.2.1   Interviews

Interviews are a very useful tool in qualitative research when the researcher looks for insights into the affairs and actions of people (Yin, 2014) and want these people's own perspectives on the research topic. The interview in qualitative research does not, unlike in quantitative research, follow an altogether structured interview guide, where the exact same questions are asked in the exact same order to all interviewees, what Yin (2014) calls a *survey interview*. Instead, the focus is on listening to the interviewee's responses and reflections and follow up on these (Bryman, 2012). The interview will resemble a conversation more than a formal interview (Yin, 2014).

Of course there are several levels of structure that can be applied in qualitative interviews. The interview can be almost completely unstructured, where the researcher only has a few topics that should be dealt with during the interview. The interview can also be semi-structured where an interview guide is developed. The interview guide refers to a list of topics or questions that should be covered. This interview guide is not necessarily followed closely, and new questions might be added along the interview depending on the answers given (Bryman, 2012). Both types of interviews are flexible, and are often referred to as being in-depth interviews (Yin, 2014; Bryman, 2012).

Some of the things to remember when doing interviews are how the questions are asked so that they do not create biased answers or answers that the interviewee thinks the researcher wants. It is also important to remember that the interviewee might be biased or that their answers might be inaccurate due to poor recollection (Yin, 2014).

In this thesis, the semi-structured interview, together with academic literature, provides the main data for answering the research questions. 22 interviews are conducted over a period of two weeks in April 2016, see appendix C for information about interviewees. The goal was to reach as diverse a group of interviewees as possible and the only criteria for interviewees were that they live in Kgs. Enghave and be able to conduct the interview in Danish or English. An interview guide has been developed based on the Divercities' interview guide and the research questions, and can be found in appendix B. All the interviews are conducted in Danish and have been transcribed and coded using the program Nvivo.

Interviewees

The interviewees should reflect the diversity of the neighbourhood and thus not all be from one cluster of residents. However, as a qualitative research approach is chosen, the aim has not been to create a representative sample of residents from Kgs. Enghave.

To arrange interviews, initial contact was made to a variety of organizations in the neighbourhood, including sports clubs, housing organizations, NGOs, the local committee and the municipal urban renewal project, for full list see appendix A. After initial contact, several organizations helped to establish contact with residents and several agreed to arrange interviews. One of the challenges of this approach is the risk of ending up with all interviewees being involved in neighbourhood organizations. These residents might have a stronger attachment to the neighbourhood and thus not represent the general residents of the neighbourhood. This was attempted to be avoided by using initial contacts to reach less involved members and by contacting housing associations to get directly in touch with random residents.

After arrival, initial interviewees were asked about further contacts, however this was of limited success. More successful was a visit to the social NGO, SydhavnsCompagniet. I had been invited to spend a morning there and to introduce myself at their weekly meeting. This meeting proved fruitful and several interviews were conducted over the following days.

Several groups of residents were very difficult to get in contact with. This goes especially for ethnic minorities, elderly and students. One reason for this could be that they are not as involved in neighbourhood activities, which was my main source to reach residents. Another reason is the language barrier for ethnic minorities, which made it difficult to reach certain resident groups. Even though these groups are small in this study, they are represented, see appendix C.

The characteristics of the interviewees are briefly described here. The interviewees include 13 women and 10 men and their ages are between 24 and 75 years. Four belongs to an ethnic minority and are either Somali, Turkish or Moroccan. They have all lived in Denmark for many years and mainly identify themselves as being Danish. A fifth of the interviewees have children living at home, while multiple more have children that are either grown up or whom are living with their other parent. Almost half of the interviewees live in public housing, while a third live in cooperative. How long interviewees have lived in the neighbourhood varies from less than a year to several decades. Four interviewees already lived in the neighbourhood before moving to their current home, while the rest moved from a home in another neighbourhood. Four of the interviewees have completed vocational training, while 10 have a medium-long higher education, e.g. teacher or nurse, and six a long higher education, e.g. master's degree from a university. Half of the interviewees are working, while the other half is either unemployed, unable to work or retired. 11 have a low income, i.e. below 200.000 Danish kroner per year, seven have a medium income, between 200.000 and 500.000, and five have a high income above 500.000. Four of the interviewees are very politically active within the neighbourhood or have been previously.

3.2.2 Documentation

Documentation covers everything from letters, written reports, planning documents, academic literature and newspaper articles and is relevant to almost all studies, as it is rarely possible to start with nothing and produce all relevant information within one single study. Also, documents can be used to corroborate other findings and is often specific, with detailed accounts of e.g. events. However, it is important to remember that the documents have been produced with another purpose than the current research in mind and that the original author might have been biased when writing. Another pitfall of documentation is the sometimes overwhelming amount of information available, which calls for a clear plan for collection of data (Yin, 2014).

Here, a wide range of documentation has been used, e.g. academic literature as the theoretical framework for the case study in chapter 2 and municipal documents for the neighbourhood description in chapter 4.

3.2.3 Archival records

Census and other statistical data, survey data from previous research, service records and geographical information such as maps, all produced by others, can all be characterized as archival records. Many of the same strengths and weaknesses that applied to documentation applies to archival records as well, and it is thus important to remember when using this type of data to be critical about the accuracy and that they are most likely produced with another purpose in mind than the research at hand (Yin, 2014).

In this thesis, statistical data and geographical information produced by Copenhagen Municipality about the residents and the physical characteristics of the case area Kongens Enghave have been used to make a neighbourhood description in chapter 4.

3.3 Limitations

This section will discuss the limitations of this study that might have influenced the results.

As this is a master thesis with limited time available, the sample size is only about half the size of the one in Bispebjerg, which was part of a larger European research project. The differences in sample size also show in the less diversity in the sample. Even though the sample of interviewees is diverse, it could have been even more so, especially in regard to the age of the interviewees. Both the number of elderly and young interviewees is quite small, and a bigger diversity in this regard might have had an impact on the results. Both the smaller and less diverse sample might have influenced both the results and the comparison to Bispebjerg.

The main starting point of recruiting interviewees was through organizations and associations working in Sydhavnen. This was an easy and quick way to get in touch with potential interviewees, however it also created a bias. As most of the interviewees were members of an association or using or working for an organization based in Sydhavnen, they might also be more centred around the neighbourhood and thus report greater social networks and activities there than other residents. This could of course give a

biased picture of the neighbourhood with greater local attachment than is actually true in general. The method of reaching interviewees was chosen despite the risk of bias. The reason was the limited time frame and that striking up conversations with people "on the street" in Denmark is generally very difficult. However, as the residents did not report having greater local social networks or local activities compared to Bispebjerg, this bias is probably not too strong.

Due to the physical distance between the case study area in Copenhagen and the university in Utrecht, it was only possible to collect data once. This made it difficult to ensure a highly diverse sample, but it also made it impossible to go back and ask clarifying or further questions. The study thus relies on the initial answers from the interviewees.

Area description 4

This chapter gives background information about Kgs. Enghave. It starts with presenting it in the context of Copenhagen, and then focuses on both the history, physical layout and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. It ends with a brief outline of the future plans and developments of the area.

Copenhagen is the capital of Denmark and has approximately 595,000 inhabitants (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016e). The city is highly diverse in terms of income levels, education, occupation, ethnicities, building conditions (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016d), as well as in regard to household structures and lifestyles (Beckman et al., 2015). Copenhagen is divided into 10 administrative urban areas, and Kgs. Enghave is part of Vesterbro/Kgs. Enghave (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016a). Each urban area has its own local committee, however two of the urban areas are split into two local committees corresponding the natural borders within the area (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016c). Vesterbro/Kgs. Enghave is one of these, as this urban area consists of two separate neighbourhoods; Vesterbro and Kgs. Enghave, see figure 4.1.
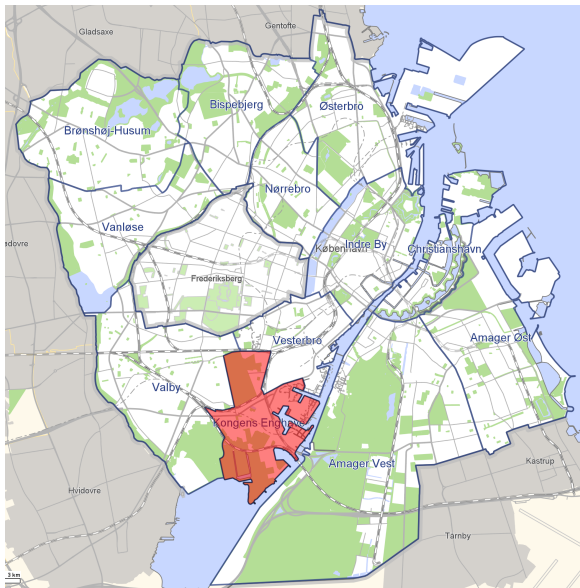

Figure 4.1. Local committees of Copenhagen. Kgs. Enghave is shown in red (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016b).

Figure 4.2. Sydhavnen is separated by Sydhavnsgade into an old part west of the road and a new part (Tegl- and Sluseholmen) east of the road.

Kgs. Enghave is popularly known as 'Sydhavnen', or 'The South Harbour' in English, and will be referred to as such from this point forward. The area is situated in the south-

23

west of the inner city, see figure 4.1, and has almost 23,000 inhabitants (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016e). The area dates back to the middle of the 16th century where it was used for harvesting hay to the royal staples, hence the name *King's meadow garden.* In the end of the 18th century, the construction of roads and farms began in the area (Kgs. Enghave Local History Archive, 2016).

The area as it is known today originates from the beginning of the 1900s where it developed adjacent to the large harbour area. Due to the industrial harbour, Sydhavnen has always been a working class neighbourhood, which shows in the housing stock with 39 % being public housing compared to the 20 % for Copenhagen in general (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016e). Today, the harbour has been developed and Sydhavnen is effectively divided into two parts, the old and the new, separated by Sydhavnsgade, see figure 4.2. Sydhavnsgade is one of the large roads leading into Copenhagen with much and heavy traffic, which makes it difficult to move from the old residential neighbourhood to the newly developed neighbourhood.

The old part of the neighbourhood is still typically working class and the majority of the housing stock reflects this, see figure 4.3. In addition to the traditional forms of ownership, this part of the neighbourhood also sees some untraditional forms of housing. First, there is a number of allotment gardens that have been transformed into permanent residence, some of which you can only enter through either an extensive waiting list or through being directly related to an owner, who wants to sell, see figure 4.3. Second is a place called *Lorterenden* and *Guldkysten*, or *the shit trench* and *the gold coast* in English. Lorterenden is a canal where sewage water used to be disposed, and the impromptu "houses" along the canal is ironically called Guldkysten, see figure 4.3. It is often referred to as Sydhavnen's Christiania, and the inhabitants do not have any formal rights to stay on the land. The residents are often socially vulnerable (Information, 2005).

In the middle of the neighbourhood, Mozarts Plads, Mozart's Square in English, is found. This square is a meeting point with trees and benches with a few shops in the neighbouring buildings. Often it is occupied by some of the neighbourhood's quirkier residents, especially alcoholics sharing a drink, and every Saturday there is a small flea market. Another meeting point is Karens Minde, a park with the local library and cultural centre. Here, concerts, workshops and meetings are held in the cafe, and outside is Børnenes Dyremark (English: The Children's Animal Field) a small animal park for children with sheep, rabbits and horses. Furthermore, just west of Sydhavnen, Valbyparken, a large park, is found and in the south of the neighbourhood one finds Tippen, or the Tip in English, a large area with rather wild nature in contrast to the usual trimmed urban parks. These places, as well as other points of interest in the old Sydhavn, can be seen on the map on figure 4.5.

The new part of the neighbourhood is found in the old industrial harbour. Today, this harbour has been closed and developed with integrated housing and business in two areas called Teglhomen and Sluseholmen. The new harbour area, Teglholmen and Sluseholmen, is modern with high-rises and has been inspired by Amsterdam with canals and green urban spaces, see figure 4.3.

Due to the division of the newer harbour areas and the original working class residential areas, there are great differences between residents in the two. This is evident when looking at the statistical data for Sydhavnen, both in regard to the housing stock and the socio-economic status. Teglholmen and Sluseholmen are categorized as needing minimal actions, while all parts the old Sydhavn need ordinary to significant actions to reach

Figure 4.3. Top left: Typical working class housing. Top right: Garden association 'Havebyen Mozart'. Bottom left: Lorterenden and Guldkysten. Bottom right: Canal in Tegl- and Sluseholmen (Andersen, 2012).

a good standard (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016d), see figure D.1 and figure D.2 in appendix D. These numbers are specified further in the municipality's plan for urban renewal. Here, they compare the differences between the new harbour areas Teglholmen and Sluseholmen with the two areas where renewal is taking place; i.e. 'the green Syd-havn' and 'Sydhavnen's gate', see figure 4.4. It is clear that the residents in Teglholmen and Sluseholmen are considerably better off than those of the older parts of the neigh-bourhood. Here, fewer residents are unemployed, fewer has no education and fewer have low income. There is also less social housing, and fewer small homes (Urban renewal Sydhavnen, n.d.), see table 4.1.

Like in the rest of Copenhagen, housing prices in Sydhavnen are rising. Buying an apartment in Sydhavnen has long been cheaper than the Copenhagen average, however, this gap seems to be closing in recent years (The Danish Mortgage Banks' Federation, 2016), see figure D.3 in appendix D.

Sydhavnen has long been known as one of the poorer areas of Copenhagen, sometimes with the prefix 'the poorest postal code of Copenhagen', e.g. Bloch (2013). The area is known for its quirky inhabitants such as homeless and socially excluded. After the urban renewal and the subsequent gentrification of the adjacent neighbourhood Vesterbro, many of the displaced residents from there have moved to Sydhavnen, which was more affordable due to its many small apartments. Some also ended up living in allotment gardens, with
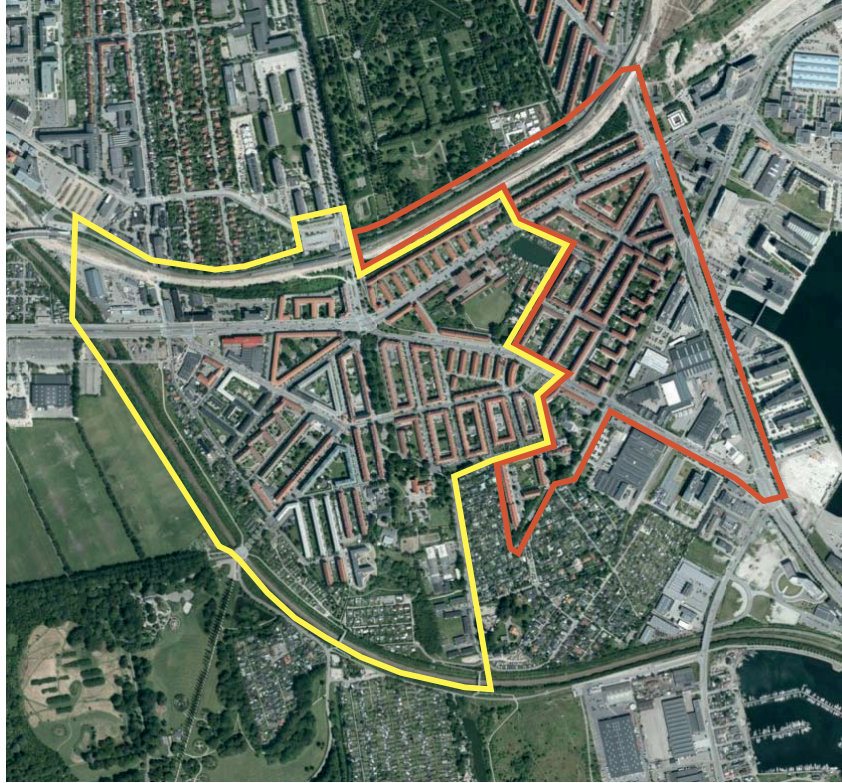
Figure 4.4. Map showing the two policy-areas in the urban renewal project, The Green Sydhavn shown in yellow and Sydhavnen's Gate shown in red. Edited from Urban renewal Sydhavnen (n.d., p. 10).

Table 4.1. Comparison of socio-economic and housing statistics from Sydhavnen's different areas with the Copenhagen average. Areas defined on figure 4.4 and figure 4.5. Edited from Urban renewal Sydhavnen (n.d., p. 10).

	Outside the work-force	Unemploy-ment	No edu-cation	Low income	Homes under 60 sq m	Public housing	Singles without children
Urban renewal Sydhavnen	22.1 %	8.8 %	32 %	40.2 %	48 %	53 %	70.6 %
The Green Sydhavn	18.5 %	7.5 %	28.2 %	44.9 %	58.6 %	30.5 %	70.9 %
Sydhavnen's Gate	28.9 %	11.9 %	39.4 %	37.9 %	28.6 %	96.7 %	69.9 %
Tegl- og Sluseholmene	9.6 %	2.9 %	15.8 %	21.7 %	0.4 %	7 %	44.9 %
Copenhagen average	17.1 %	5.9 %	21.3 %	30.6 %	30.2 %	20.1 %	64.2 %

friends or simply became homeless in their new neighbourhood (Larsen and Hansen, 2008).

Due to it being one of the poorer and quirkier neighbourhoods of Copenhagen, Sydhavnen has previously been the focus of urban renewal, and again in 2014 a new urban renewal plan for parts of Sydhavnen was adopted. This plan focuses on improving the physical environment, ensuring better energy efficiency in housing, climate protection and develop local networks through the cultural institutions. The concrete projects in the plan

includes a metro line with stop at Mozarts Plads, renovations of a local school, cloud-burst protection and investments in the cultural centre Karens Minde (Urban renewal Sydhavnen, n.d.). The vision is that

> *"Sydhavnen should be a diverse, coherent and safe neighbourhood, where there is room and need for all citizens. Therefore, green growth and quality of life should be strengthened in Sydhavnen to provide coherence between the neighbourhood and the surrounding city – both physically, culturally and socially"* (Urban renewal Sydhavnen, n.d., p. 3).

The focus on diversity goes again throughout the renewal plan, and is mentioned several times in a positive context as something that should be valued, protected and actively worked with in the renewal process (Urban renewal Sydhavnen, n.d.).

In summary, Sydhavnen is a typical working class neighbourhood in the south-west of Copenhagen. It is split into two by Sydhavnsgade and the old part of the neighbourhood consists mainly of public housing. The neighbourhood has two larger park/natural areas. The residents are diverse in terms of income, education, attachment to the labour market and ethnicity, and the neighbourhood is in the process of urban renewal to both improve the housing stock and solve the social challenges.

4.1   Bispebjerg

As the analysis will include comparisons with the neighbourhood Bispebjerg, this section will briefly introduce the main differences between Sydhavnen and Bispebjerg in regard to the neighbourhood composition and physical layout.

Bispebjerg is larger than Sydhavnen both physically and in number of inhabitants. Bispebjerg has almost 55,000 inhabitants, while Sydhavnen only has about 23,000. Perhaps due to its size, Bispebjerg is more fragmented and consists of several smaller neighbourhoods in the eyes of the inhabitants. These smaller neighbourhoods differ in terms of housing stock and type of residents with some areas being very homogeneous, while others are very diverse (Beckman et al., 2015). Sydhavnen on the other hand is understood as one coherent neighbourhood with fewer internal differences in regard to types of residents and housing stock.

In Bispebjerg, the level of ethnic minorities is also higher. Here, 24 % of the residents are either immigrants or descendants from non-western countries. In Sydhavnen, this number is only 17 % (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016e), including the new harbour areas, which likely makes the number lower than if only looking at the old part of the neighbourhood.

The next section presents the methodology used to answer the research questions, analyse the results and examine whether the expectations presented here are met in the research data.

Figure 4.5. Map showing important points of interest in Sydhavnen
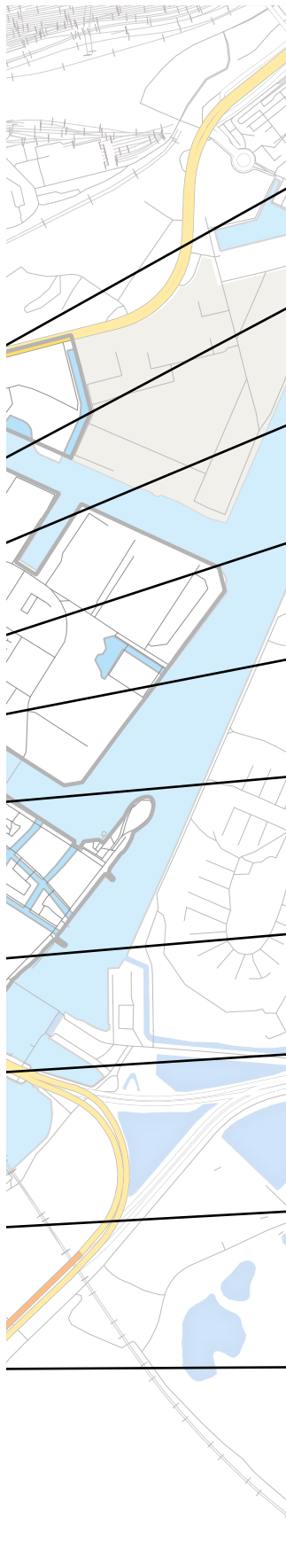
Small commercial centre with supermarkets.

HULA Café.

Mozarts Plads Central square and meeting point.

Rallys Café.

Karens Minde Cultural centre and local library.

Børnenes Dyremark Small animal park for children, with e.g. sheep, rabbits and horses.

Valbyparken Urban park.

Lorterenden and Guldkysten Canal and impromptu houses.

Marinas Two small marinas, both include a small restaurant serving Danish food.

Tippen Nature area with improvised fire places, fruit trees and free-ranging sheep.

Analysis 5

This chapter presents and analyses the findings from the data collection. 22 interviews have been performed to answer the research questions. The chapter starts with a section on what residents understand as their neighbourhood, the diversity within this neighbourhood and how they experience and respond to the stigma of the area. Then two sections deal with the daily activities and social networks of the residents. Here the location and type of activities and the use of public spaces are discussed as well as the characteristics of resident's social networks. In the end of every section, a subsection will compare and discuss the results found in Sydhavnen with those of Bispebjerg (see Beckman et al. (2015)).

Throughout the chapter references will be made to the interviews. In appendix C, a list of the respondents and their corresponding characteristics such as age, income, household type etc. is presented. Respondents will be referred to as R and then their corresponding number from the appendix. The map on figure 4.5 in chapter 4 can be helpful, when specific places throughout the neighbourhood are mentioned.

5.1 What is Sydhavnen?

This section presents and discusses interviewee's perception of their neighbourhood boundaries, the neighbourhood's diversity and stigmatization. These are all important in regard to the research questions. First, what residents understand as their neighbourhood is important to know whether their daily activities and social networks is within or outside their neighbourhood. Second, their understanding and attitude towards diversity within the neighbourhood might influence their social networks and third, their experience with stigma can tell something about both their social networks and opportunities for networks and activities both inside and outside of the neighbourhood.

5.1.1 Perceptions of neighbourhood boundaries

The interviewees were asked to define the boundaries of their neighbourhood, or in Danish, their local area. As Sydhavnen is one of the old neighbourhoods of Copenhagen, it is already a clearly defined neighbourhood, both in a government framework and within the minds of the residents of the city. This also shows in the answers to the question, where almost everyone defines their neighbourhood as Sydhavnen, more accurately the old Sydhavn, see figure 4.2, or as a smaller area within the administrative boundaries of Sydhavnen.

However, there are still variations in the size of what interviewees see as *their* neighbourhood and there are also several themes to how interviewees explain the boundaries of

their neighbourhood. First, for some the size of the neighbourhood depends on their age and their ability to move around without the help of others. For older and fragile residents, this considerably narrows down what area they perceive as their neighbourhood. One woman, R9, has trouble walking in her older days and thus problems getting around. She and her daughter say about the size of her neighbourhood:

> *"Daughter: Right now it is actually not very large.*
>
> *R9: No, it's not, because I can't really walk so I can't get to the library, that is too far. I can get to Brugsen and if I am really, really lucky, then I can, on rare occasions, reach Mozarts Plads, but that is also…*
>
> *Daughter: But it has very much been from Mozarts Plads and down here…*
>
> *R9: Yes, yes, it has been the whole area here.*
>
> *Interviewer: But today it is only the very closest?*
>
> *R9: It is only that, yes."*

Second, many interviewees define their neighbourhood boundaries in terms of where they participate in daily activities, e.g. where they go for walks and do their grocery shopping. Most interviewees indicate that they do grocery shopping in the shops located in the central part of Sydhavnen, while many also point out their use of the green spaces in Valbyparken and Tippen. These points, together with the train stations in the northern part of the neighbourhood thus outlines the perceived neighbourhood for many interviewees. For instance, a woman, R19, also talks about differences in the size of her neighbourhood depending on the season, as this affects what places she visits:

> R19: *"It also really depends on the season, when the weather is nice it becomes larger, but it is very much here, Karens Minde, where I use the café and also the library very often to get books, academic books. […] And then there is Tippen and part of Valbyparken, which I use very much. And it is also very nice to just walk around here in the allotment gardens, where you can take a look. And then there is Mozarts Plads, where I also, there are flea markets, that is very nice, I use that too and also down Mozartsvej, where you find Irma and Brugsen[1]."*

Third, as many interviewees mention Sydhavnen as their neighbourhood, many also mention the differences between the old and the new Sydhavn, when defining the boundaries of their own neighbourhood. Many acknowledge that they know that the new Sydhavn is actually part of the official neighbourhood, but that they will not include it in their own, as the differences are too great. This refers both to physical differences, such as a different building style, as well as differences in terms of atmosphere, where they do not feel at home 'over there'. Many are using the facilities in the new neighbourhood, but still do not include it as part of their own neighbourhood. About her neighbourhood, one woman, R5, says:

> R5: *"It is Sydhavnen, and I almost can't say this, but the new Sydhavn by Sluseholmen, I don't care for that very much. But I come there often as I am*

---

1. Both of these are supermarkets. Irma is a more upscale supermarket, while Brugsen is an ordinary.

a winter swimmer and I go winter swimming there. But I really think that
the people that live in the boxes over there, it must be so terrible."

A man, R12, has a similar point and explains that he does not include it as he feels like there is a divide or a barrier with Sydhavnsgade separating it from the rest of the neighbourhood.

Generally, the interviewees explain that the places they use, where they take part in activities and where they feel comfortable are central to what they perceive as their neighbourhood.

5.1.2 Perceptions of diversity

When asked to describe the residents within their neighbourhood, the majority described them as typical working class people and mainly diverse in sense of socio-economic status, but without the presence of the really rich. The interviewees tend to see more residents who are like themselves, e.g. the more well-educated interviewees will mention the presence of well-educated residents more than the lower educated, who tend to not see them as much. Some of the resident groups that have been identified are alcoholics at Mozarts Plads, families with children, young students, workers etc. Only few interviewees mentioned ethnic diversity by themselves even though most agree that it exists when asked directly. Often when people think of ethnic minorities within Sydhavnen, they think of Sjælør Boulevard and the area around, as it is most visible here.

The interviewees also generally agree that the diversity and the quirky residents living in the area makes it okay to be different. One man, R12, tells that because there are so many different people in the area, also quirky ones, this makes it okay. Because there are so many different people, it is easy for everyone to feel at home, also if you do not fit into society's stereotype. And this is something many interviewees highlight; that there is room for everyone in Sydhavnen and there is acceptance and inclusion. This is one of the most positive sides of the neighbourhood's diversity according to the interviewees. One man, R1, says:

> R1: *"I have always been proud that there has been a diversity in the neigh-*
> *bourhood where I lived, and there has been a fair acceptance of others [...] My*
> *experience is that it is a plus that we are all kinds of Danes, also many with*
> *different ethnicities. And I find that cool in my everyday life. I like that."*

There seems to be a difference between how residents across the socio-economic scale and life stages value the diversity in the neighbourhood. Several interviewees with social problems of their own value the diversity as it makes them fit in, also when they e.g. are out drinking too much. Some of the residents with children at home value the diversity because it both teaches their children that not everyone comes from the same background and how to socialize with people different from themselves. A young woman values the diversity, as it gives her some perspective and keeps her grounded to be surrounded by people not like herself:

> R2: *"I also think that it is very cool to live here exactly because it makes you*
> *discover another type [of people] than myself and this diversity. I think that*

is very healthy when you have gotten a little bit of "Copenhagen brain" after you moved here."

Some groups of interviewees seem to value diversity to a lesser extent even though they do not see it as something negative either. Ethnic minorities and elderly e.g. do not talk about diversity as something especially important to them or of specific positive outcomes of the neighbourhood diversity.

No groups have been identified to oppose the diversity in the neighbourhood, but some interviewees point to some of the problems stemming from the diversity in the area. A few mention problems with gangs with many young members around Sjælør Boulevard that creates a very unpleasant and unsafe environment. Others mention the problems with many alcoholics living in the area and say that the area has reached the limit of how many quirky residents they can handle.

As much as residents enjoy the diversity of the neighbourhood, they also realize that different groups often live in segregated enclaves and not necessarily mixed. One man, R21, explains it like this:

> R21: *"People very much stay in their own bobbles. It is rare that you see a boozer in Irma over there and it is rare that you see an Audi-man... It is rare that you see one in an Audi over there."*

'Over there' means the small commercial centre pointed out on figure 4.5. So even though the area is generally diverse, people tend to live and stay somewhat separated.

5.1.3 Perceptions of stigmatization

The residents in Sydhavnen have come to live in the neighbourhood for very different reasons. However, it is possible to make a distinction between those with higher and lower socio-economic status.

The residents with higher socio-economic status are often met with surprise, when they say that they live in Sydhavnen, as this is unexpected - they could afford to live in other places. When asked why they live in this neighbourhood, their response is often that they simply like it. They like the diversity, they like the atmosphere, that people know each other and they love the green spaces around the neighbourhood. These things, as well as relatively low housing prices, are often the reason that they moved there in the first place and all outweighs the bad things they heard about the area before moving there. About moving here, one man, R15, says:

> R15: *"It was a special place, you know, there was a truly special atmosphere that is... you get to know each other in a very different way than you did in other places in the city. You know, you talk to each other, when you meet on the street, then you greet each other. If there is someone who needs help, then you help each other. It can be: "Can you please help me with this fence or with moving or whatever it could be?" You know, in that way... and that, that is quite unique out here. You don't find that in other places."*

This is different for residents with lower socio-economic status. Many of the interviewees living in public housing live there because they were in acute need of housing and this was the area where the municipality could provide it. In this situation, you only get one offer, so it is take it or leave it. Thus many of these residents have not made an actual choice to live in Sydhavnen. Some even had prejudices against the area themselves before moving there, but almost all agree that they like it and that they do not wish to move away again.

As the neighbourhood generally consists of public housing with poorer, working class residents it has gotten a bad reputation around the city. Most interviewees have experienced this themselves when telling outsiders that they live in Sydhavnen. Many interviewees are being asked why they are living in Sydhavnen, why they do not move somewhere else, and the general prejudices they meet is that Sydhavnen is full of alcoholics, hobos or Greenlanders, who are heavily stigmatized in Denmark as all being alcoholics (The Danish Institute for Human Rights, 2015). One interviewee, R12, has met this prejudice, but also agrees that it has some validity:

> I: *"Do you meet any prejudices about Sydhavnen from other people? When you say that you live in Sydhavnen?"*
>
> R12: *"Yes, I probably do a little…"*
>
> I: *"What do they say? What are their prejudices towards the place?"*
>
> R12: *"That it is here the hobos are living…"*
>
> Other person, overhearing our conversation: *"That is also pretty damn true…"*
>
> R12: *"Yeah, it is not completely wrong…"*

The interviewees generally agree that the reputation in regard to alcoholics are stemming from the group of people hanging out at Mozarts Plads. Here, alcoholics are very visible in the urban landscape in a place where many residents and visitors pass through. This thus creates an image of the whole neighbourhood being like this. However, the neighbourhood is also home to many bodegas that could also be expected to contribute to the reputation of high alcohol consumption.

A few also meet the prejudice that the neighbourhood is full of Nazis or racists, while a few also mention the neighbourhood's reputation as being very quiet, boring and far away from the city. The prejudices meant that one woman, R5, experienced that her new partner would not tell his friends that she was living in Sydhavnen, but rather told them that she was from the neighbouring district, as this was less stigmatized than Sydhavnen:

> R5: *"When I first got to know my new husband, then he told people that he had gotten to know someone, someone in Valby, because he did not dare to, he didn't think you should say Sydhavnen, and where I got very mad and said "No, hell no. I am not from Valby - I am from Sydhavnen!"*

Her response was a sense of pride of the place where she had lived for many years, and this feeling is also true for many of the other interviewees. They are proud to be from Sydhavnen, and they perceive the neighbourhood very differently compared to outsiders. They might agree that it is in some ways living up to its reputation, but at the same time they like it, as it shows that there is room for everyone.

Most interviewees across socio-economic status agree that one of the reasons they like living in Sydhavnen is that there are so many wonderful green spaces. Another reason is that there is room for everyone, no matter who you are, what problems you have, whether you have a job or not etc. Both of these are something that outsiders often do not see, but it is something that for the residents seems to outweigh the negative effects of the stigma they experience.

The group of interviewees who have moved home within Sydhavnen is also interesting, as one might have expected them to leave the neighbourhood as a response to the stigma last time they changed home. Instead they have chosen to stay. There does not seem to be any difference in how these interviewees experience the stigma of the neighbourhood compared to other interviewees. They also tell about others wrinkling their noses when hearing that they live in Sydhavnen, but tell that they are generally happy living there. One woman, R9, also mentions that many change their mind about Sydhavnen as soon as they have actually been in the neighbourhood and seen it for themselves. Likewise, no differences were found between between interviewees that have lived in the neighbourhood for a long period of time and those who have lived there for a short period.

Some interviewees also mention that the stigma attached to Sydhavnen might be changing and that the neighbourhood is becoming more hip. These signs that gentrification is beginning are overwhelmingly noticed and brought up by residents of higher socio-economic status. One man, R10, told that he used to get questions and weird looks when he told people that he would move to Sydhavnen, but that this has changed:

> I: *"Is that [prejudices against Sydhavnen] still something that you meet? That people think like that or?"*
>
> R10: *"Not at all. People they… It is actually one of the most hip places to live right now, that is out here, so it is rather "Oh yeah, you got an apartment out there?", "Mmm, and for cheap money actually", "Oh yeah"."*
>
> I: *"So it has changed a little perhaps?"*
>
> R10: *"Definitely."*

R2, a young woman also meets this type of response, but she also points out that she is not sure if the ones saying it are serious or just trying to make her feel better about living there:

> R2: *"Actually, I often get a "oh, that is also really upcoming", where I am "oh, is it?" But there are actually quite a lot who say it, but I don't know if they say it to comfort me?"*

This change is also viewed positively by some of the poorer residents. One woman, R13, e.g. said that she has noticed that after a new type of residents have started to move in, there is less noise and less trouble during the night. At the same time, there is also a worry about what this change will mean for the neighbourhood. A woman, R14, moved to Sydhavnen because of its character and diversity and has grown to love it. Now she is afraid that what she has grown to love will disappear and instead become *too fancy and classy.* It is not only amongst the residents with higher socio-economic status that the development is cause for concern. A man, R6, tells that he gets this feeling from the "real" Sydhavn-residents:

R6: *"There are some of us out here who think that Sydhavnen is a little bit too conservative. They are a little bit too nervous, that they do not want new things, right. They are sceptical if a new café or something is coming, and it is also because they have some sort of fear that what if the same thing happens here as on Vesterbro? That in 10 years, then we cannot afford to be here. So sometimes you can feel that there can be these, that people are sizing up each other."*

This way stigma can be seen as something positive, as it makes sure that there is both diversity and affordable housing in the area. It also ensures that not too many new residents want to move in and thus change the atmosphere that the current residents enjoy.

5.1.4 Comparison with Bispebjerg

In this section, the comparison between the two neighbourhoods Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen will begin. The differences discussed are based on the three sections above. Only the main differences are discussed, and here two have been identified. First, diversity and especially ethnic diversity is experienced differently by the interviewees in the two neighbourhoods. Second, stigmatization affects the two neighbourhoods in different ways.

Diversity

One difference between the two neighbourhoods or case study areas is how interviewees perceive diversity. Both Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen are diverse both in terms of ethnicity and residents' socio-economic status. However, while interviewees in Sydhavnen did not highlight ethnic diversity, it seems to play a larger role in Beckman et al.'s (2015) study.

In Bispebjerg, ethnic diversity is seen as an advantage for two reasons. First, because it means diverse facilities and encounters such as *"Middle Eastern grocer's shops, public-space celebration of the Muslim Eid Holiday, and cross-cultural encounters in streets shops, schools and so on"* (Beckman et al., 2015, p. 22). Second, because it makes interviewees with a minority background feel safer in the neighbourhood (Beckman et al., 2015). There are fewer ethnic minorities in Sydhavnen, and ethnic diversity is not as visible in Sydhavnen as it is in (certain areas of) Bispebjerg. In Sydhavnen, facilities like ethnic shops are generally not seen in the urban landscape. The interviewees in Sydhavnen instead say that they know the minorities are present, but that they generally blend in well. Only in one specific part of the neighbourhood do they stand out, i.e. Sjælør Boulevard.

Interviewees in both Sydhavnen and Bispebjerg also identify challenges with ethnic diversity, but also these are slightly different. In Bispebjerg, some interviewees find certain areas to be less diverse because they are dominated by ethnic minorities, and others, especially elderly, feel unsafe because of the ethnic minorities (Beckman et al., 2015). In Sydhavnen some also talk about safety in regard to ethnic minorities, but more in regard to gangs and groups of young boys that harass others on the street. Again, the problem seems to be confined to Sjælør Boulevard, and not the central parts of the neighbourhood, which makes it easy for most to avoid them. Contrary to Bispebjerg, the elderly residents in Sydhavnen did not report this feeling of unsafety at all.

As ethnic diversity is both higher in terms of numbers and more visible in the streets of Bispebjerg than in Sydhavnen, it leads to very different experiences of diversity amongst the interviewees in the two neighbourhoods.

Stigmatization

Another difference between the two neighbourhoods is their size. Bispebjerg is both larger and more fragmented than Sydhavnen. Bispebjerg is the municipality's name for that administrative urban area, but by the residents of Copenhagen this area is understood as several smaller neighbourhoods (Beckman et al., 2015), whereas Sydhavnen is understood as one coherent neighbourhood. This might have implications for how stigmatization affects the two.

Both Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen are considered some of the less attractive parts of Copenhagen and housing prices are thus cheaper here than in other neighbourhoods. Bispebjerg however has more variety in dwelling types than Sydhavnen, with more detached and semidetached housing (Beckman et al., 2015), which perhaps attracts a different type of residents than those living in the flats in Sydhavnen. Some places in Bispebjerg that are very stigmatized are the social housing estates, e.g. in the neighbourhood Nordvest, which is a highly diverse neighbourhood in regard to ethnicity (Beckman et al., 2015). Nordvest was even mentioned by one woman, R22, as being too rough for her family and because of this they instead chose to move to Sydhavnen. The stigma is thus not affecting all residents of Bispebjerg in the same way, as some neighbourhoods within the area is more stigmatized than others.

This is different in Sydhavnen, where the whole area experiences the same stigma as it is seen as one coherent neighbourhood with only one name. The stigma cannot be attached to just one part of the neighbourhood and all residents thus have to deal with it. In their study, Beckman et al. (2015) do not focus much on how stigma affects the residents of Bispebjerg, and only address it briefly as it makes access to housing easier. In Sydhavnen stigma was a theme brought up repeatedly by interviewees, making it clear that it is a part of their daily life in the neighbourhood that they cannot ignore.

In the next section, the results from Sydhavnen regarding interviewees' daily activities and use of public space is presented, analysed and discussed. In the end of this section there is another comparison of the results from Sydhavnen and Bispebjerg.

5.2 Activities

This section looks at the daily activities of the interviewees. First is a discussion of the location of the interviewees' activities and how these relate to the expectations based on the literature. Second is a discussion of how interviewees make use of the public space in their neighbourhood.

5.2.1 Location of activities

In section 2.3 it was found that different groups of residents have different patterns in the location of daily activities depending e.g. on their income levels, ethnicity and life

stage. It would thus be reasonable to assume that some groups of residents would have more activities within the neighbourhood than others. However, in general interviewees all have activities both within and outside the neighbourhood. An example is R6, who often goes for walks in Karens Minde, at Tippen and in Valbyparken, visits the local restaurants at the marinas and the new cafés, supports the local football team at home games and is a member of the local winter swimmers club. All of this takes place within the neighbourhood. However, he also enjoys visiting museums, going to the theatre and shopping, which are activities that always take place in other parts of Copenhagen and thus not within his own neighbourhood.

Some groups of residents are expected to be more tied to the neighbourhood than others. These should be residents with lower socio-economic status, families with children, ethnic minorities and elderly. This is however only to a certain extent supported here.

When looking at interviewees with different income levels or different educational levels, there do not seem to be any significant differences in where their activities takes place. This is contrary to the expectation. They all make use of both their immediate neighbourhood as well as other neighbourhoods and places in greater Copenhagen when participating in activities. One explanation might be that due to Sydhavnen's central location, the interviewees have easy access to the same places by using their bikes and the public transportation.

Interviewees with jobs all work outside Sydhavnen, and thus of course have at least that daily activity outside of the neighbourhood. This also often leads to other activities outside of the neighbourhood. One woman, R5, e.g. meets a friend who lives close to where she works and they go for runs together after work. Others meet colleagues outside of Sydhavnen for both work-related and social events. However, residents without steady jobs also meet friends outside of Sydhavnen and visit other neighbourhoods.

Another expectation is that interviewees with small children living at home would have more activities within the neighbourhood than interviewees without children at home. However, this is not confirmed either. One interviewee, R4, has her child in a private school outside the neighbourhood and thus activities related to school do not take place within the neighbourhood. Many of her daily activities however still take place within the neighbourhood, e.g. she goes swimming with her son in the local swimming pool and uses Valbyparken and Tippen for walks with her family. Another woman, R22, who has four children living at home also often uses places outside of the neighbourhood together with her children. She does this, as she misses places for them to enjoy within the neighbourhood, especially for teenagers, as her son has now turned 13. She finds this in other places in Copenhagen:

> R22: *"The red square [Nørrebro], it is a square where a lot of young people and families with children come, where there are both a playground, the octopus is a playground, and young people are skateboarding and sitting, also some swings - where you can just sit and enjoy and talk, if you… yes, and there are different, there are playgrounds next to and it is… I would really like that Sydhavnen was developed like this [...] I am missing that you see young people skateboarding or just playing football, a large football field [in Sydhavnen], you know a bit more open, more playgrounds and that… of course there is a playground at SuperBrugsen, up at Mozarts Plads, but I think that it is way too closed off. I really love what they have done at Nørrebro."*

Ethnic minorities are also expected to spend more time within the neighbourhood than ethnic Danes. This is also not supported by the findings here. Actually, there seems to be no real difference to the patterns of the ethnic minorities and Danish residents. Their patterns quite follow those of the Danish residents at the same life stage and with the same socio-economic background.

Where an expectation is met is in regard to elderly residents. These are expected to be more centred around their local area than younger residents because of their reduced mobility. As already mentioned in section 5.1.1, R9 has trouble walking and thus almost all of her daily activities take place within the home. Before her legs got this bad, she participated in a senior club in her housing association, i.e. also within her neighbourhood, and thus her activities have for quite some time taken place within her immediate neighbourhood. R7, a woman just about to retire at the time of the interview, also tells that most of her daily activities outside of her work take place within the neighbourhood. She also prepares for times when she might not be as mobile as she is today by setting up activities and caring for her network within Sydhavnen.

The youngest interviewee, R2, a student, stands out, as most of her daily activities take place outside of the neighbourhood. Her activities are centred around her friends from school, who do not live in Sydhavnen and she points out that her lifestyle might not be compatible with what Sydhavnen has to offer. To the question how she likes to spend her free time she answers:

> R2: *"In Copenhagen itself. And that means outside my neighbourhood. I really like just taking walks around Copenhagen or sit in parks and just enjoy the big city in that way. And be with friends and go out drinking beer in funny beer places and… so it is not in my local community that I, or neighbourhood, that I want to spend my free time, certainly."*

It would also be reasonable to expect that the interviewees who are or have been politically active in Sydhavnen would invest more in the neighbourhood in regard to activities than those not active. Generally, this is also true, and they tend to have the majority of their daily activities within Sydhavnen. However, they also have activities in other places, e.g. one man, R1, likes to go to the cinema but there is not one in Sydhavnen, or a woman, R5, who has her boat in a harbour in another city entirely.

There are two things that do seem to drive residents to do activities in other neighbourhoods or areas in Copenhagen. The first is the lack of shopping opportunities within Sydhavnen, which only has a few supermarkets and next to no specialized shops. This leads residents, especially those with higher socio-economic status, to visit other neighbourhoods when they need to buy something special or simply go window shopping. Both R4 and R7, who generally make use of Sydhavnen's facilities, mention that the neighbourhood lacks shopping opportunities:

> R4: *"I still think it is nice to go to Vesterbro, it is also that neighbourhood that if you need to buy a present or something… It is some of that that is missing in Sydhavnen, it is these specialized shops with clothes or gadgets or something like that. Then it can be either Vesterbro or Valby I go to."*
>
> R7: *"I love shopping in Valby since we don't have those shops here, you know […] If you go to Mozarts Plads, then you can take 4A to Fields, right, and*

then you can go to Valby, but I use Valby a lot, I really do. You can also go to Fisketorvet."

The second is the lack of cultural amenities within Sydhavnen, e.g. cinemas, theatres, museums etc. One man, R1, tells that he loves going to the cinema, but since this is not possible in Sydhavnen, he meets his friends in the neighbouring districts instead.

One thing that also seems to have been missing, but has come to Sydhavnen recently are the two cafés, Rallys and HULA. These are mentioned and frequented especially by interviewees with higher incomes, but also to some extent by the residents with fewer means. About the new cafés, one man, R6, says:

> R6: *"It is really nice that we have gotten these cafés which means that you can go sit… I also like sitting in a bodega once in a while, but it is nice that you can come down here [café Rallys] in the evening, they are open until 10 […] It's not that long ago I always had to bike to Vesterbro every time I felt that something needed to happen, you know."*

5.2.2 The use of public spaces

Most interviewees do their grocery shopping within their neighbourhood, and almost everyone also makes use of the many public spaces throughout the neighbourhood, especially the green spaces Tippen, Valbyparken and Karens Minde. This also means that diversity is encountered in all of these places, which are not dominated by any particular resident groups. This is in line with the expectation presented in section 2.3 that local facilities and *third places* can create opportunities for diverse encounters, which is important for the creation of social capital. However, it does not mean that there is much interaction between the groups in these public spaces beyond friendly greetings.

What most respondents agree on though, is that there is a general feeling that you know each other when you walk around the neighbourhood. People greet each other and there is a feeling that many describe as a local community, something many associate with something only otherwise experienced in small towns in the countryside, not in Copenhagen:

> R20: *"First time we went shopping in Irma/SuperBrugsen it was as if people knew each other. I don't know people, but it felt like coming home to the small town I am from with 5,000 inhabitants."*

Even though most public spaces within the neighbourhood are used by all interviewees, there are some differences in their patterns, especially in regard to whether they also make use of public spaces outside of the neighbourhood or not. When looking at who regularly uses public spaces outside of their neighbourhood and who does not, two groups stand out.

First, families with children. The interviewees with children living at home generally did not make use of public spaces outside of Sydhavnen. Only one mother, R22, mentioned using spaces outside of her neighbourhood regularly together with her children. The rest make more use of the public spaces close to where they live, and both R22 and R3 are

concerned with spaces within Sydhavnen and how they can be improved for teenagers, the age group their children are soon entering.

Second, interviewees without a job. The interviewees that mentioned using public spaces and areas outside of Sydhavnen the most were all without work for various reasons. This does not mean that everyone without employment uses spaces outside of Sydhavnen. However, there is a group of interviewees without employment that often uses public spaces outside of Sydhavnen more than those with employment, perhaps because they have more time to move around as they are not bound to be at work during the day.

Not many of the interviewees deliberately avoid places in the neighbourhood. The only place that comes forward multiple times is Mozarts Plads, and here people are divided. People with higher socio-economic status, especially women, talk positively about the people sitting there and will say that they are friendly and never hurting anyone. So even though these interviewees do not go there and sit down, they are not avoiding it either or seeing it as a problem. This is different for some of the residents with lower socio-economic status. Here a few interviewees mention that they consciously avoid sitting down there, as they do not like the people and do not want to be part of the violent environment. One man, R17, says:

> R17: *"So, I don't sit down at Mozarts Plads. I don't do that. [...] Consciously, I don't feel like sitting there, because I do not want to be part of that crowd. There is a relatively high amount of violence, and how long are you going to ignore seeing some guy beating all the others, and no one dares saying anything to him, because he will just come out again and beat you?"*

This difference in perception of Mozarts Plads might also stem from people's knowledge of the place. Residents with higher socio-economic status often refer to the problems at the square as internal quarrels that do not affect outsiders, which they see themselves as, while interviewees like R17 avoids the place because he can imagine himself being part of that group and that is not something he wants to. This somewhat corresponds the study of Pinkster, Permentier and Wittebrood (2014) that says that as the middle-class does not spend time in the neighbourhood, they do not care about the problems. Here, they do spend time in the neighbourhood, but not in that particular place or environment, and thus they do not experience the problems themselves. Other groups of residents, e.g. those with lower socio-economic status do experience it, which make them respond differently.

5.2.3 Associations

Associations and clubs play a big role in leisure activities in Denmark (Beckman et al., 2015) and this is also seen in Sydhavnen, where most interviewees are involved in some sort of association or club, often because of a specific interest of theirs. Associations are connected to the daily activities of the interviewees, but also to their social networks, as they often get to know people through these associations, even if they do not become close friends.

Many are a member of some type of sports club, especially the local running club or winter swimmers club. These allow the interviewees to do sports together with others from the neighbourhood. Especially in the running club there seems to be a social element to it:

> R5: *"There are many in the running club who are very different from me, but we are having fun together, we enjoy ourselves."*

It is mainly the elderly interviewees who mention joining clubs to build up or maintain social networks. R9 e.g. participated in the senior club that used to exist for the residents in the buildings where she lives, while R7 is planning to join the neighbourhood senior club when she retires. Both say it is a way to keep active and do activities with others in the same life stage as themselves. Both R3 and R4 also tell that they have been active in Børnenes Dyremark, an association whose aim is to give all neighbourhood children a greater connection to their local area through learning about and caring for animals. Both have been active here because they have children themselves and thus thought it was worth investing in this specific association.

Many of the interviewees with lower socio-economic status or who are without employment at the moment volunteer at SydhavnsCompagniet and/or are members of Sydhavnsforeningen [The Sydhavn Association], an association that organizes trips and cultural activities. Sydhavnsforeningen also focuses on the social aspect of doing activities together. However, it is important to notice that many of these interviewees were met through SydhavnsCompagniet, which is closely linked to Sydhavnsforeningen. If this type of interviewees had been found through more diverse entries, there probably would not have been as many affiliated with this organization and association.

But some of the reasons for joining these two are still worth mentioning. One man, R11, is currently unemployed and had first been through a program at SydhavnsCompagniet and then volunteered. He did this as it meant getting to know new people as well as staying active:

> R11: *"Yes. When I had been there, then I joined voluntarily afterwards, you know… It is also about, then you get to know people and…"*
>
> I: *"There is also a very cosy atmosphere up there."*
>
> R11: *"Yes, and if you just sit at home all day, then you go crazy."*

5.2.4   Comparison with Bispebjerg

This section focuses on both the similarities and differences between Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen in regard to the interviewees' daily activities. First the similarities are outlined and then the differences are discussed.

Two similarities between the two neighbourhoods are in regard to age and lifestyle. First, age is found to affect the activities of interviewees in both neighbourhoods. Older interviewees tend to be more focused on their neighbourhood, especially if they are having difficulties getting around due to poor health. Younger interviewees on the other hand tend to have most of their activities outside the neighbourhood, and do not see the neighbourhood as a permanent place to live but rather something temporary. However, in Bispebjerg the young interviewees are generally attracted to the diverse street scene in Nordvest with its ethnic shops etc., while the elderly avoid it. This is something that does not exist in Sydhavnen and thus does not affect the use of public space for these two groups.

Second, lifestyle also affects interviewees' patterns of activities. In both neighbourhoods some interviewees enjoy cultural activities such as going to museums, concerts, restaurants, theatres etc., and these are generally interviewees with higher socio-economic status. For this group other neighbourhoods are very important, as they here find these cultural facilities.

Another similarity is how the encounters in public space is perceived as breaking down barriers amongst the diverse residents of the neighbourhoods. Both in Bispebjerg and in Sydhavnen these encounters in e.g. the supermarket do not evolve into relationships, but they give the interviewees a feeling of community, which makes them feel safe and at home in their neighbourhood.

Several differences are also found between Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen. The different results are found between families with children and in regard socio-economic status and ethnicity. These are discussed below.

Families with children

In Bispebjerg, Beckman et al. (2015) found differences in the patterns of activities for the interviewees with children living at home. Even though some parents would work outside the neighbourhood and thus have activities there, the fact that most children attend childcare or schools within the neighbourhood means that the neighbourhood plays a great role in the lives of these families. However, the diversity and the accompanying poor reputation of the public schools mean that some of the socio-economically strong families choose private schools for their children instead. Some families also choose to move to another neighbourhood/school district to get their children into a school with a better reputation. It of course has implications for the interviewees' activities in the neighbourhood if their children attend a school outside the neighbourhood (Beckman et al., 2015).

In Sydhavnen, the results differ a bit from those in Bispebjerg. Here, the families with children do not have more activities within the neighbourhood compared to outside than the interviewees without children, regardless of where their children attend childcare and school. On the other hand, they make less use of public spaces outside the neighbourhood than those without children. Only one mother, R22, often takes her children to playgrounds outside Sydhavnen. Perhaps this difference can be partly explained by differences in the quality of facilities focused towards children. In Sydhavnen, the interviewees with (soon to be) teenagers e.g. explained the lack of facilities for this age group. If the facilities are not present, it could explain why the families with children in Sydhavnen does not have more activities within the neighbourhood than those without children.

Socio-economic status

In Bispebjerg, socio-economic status was found to influence interviewees daily activities as well. Both interviewees with and without children that have a job participate in more cultural activities and engage in more associations than interviewees without a job. It was also found that interviewees with low socio-economic status and with children engaged in more social activities than those without children (Beckman et al., 2015).

In Sydhavnen, no difference was found in where interviewees with different socio-economic status have their daily activities. Both those with higher and lower socio-economic status make use of their immediate neighbourhood for activities as well as other neighbourhoods and places in Copenhagen.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity was also found to affect their patterns of activities amongst interviewees in Bispebjerg. In general, ethnic minorities participated less in associations, clubs and cultural activities than the ethnic Danish interviewees. However, when looking at religious activities, ethnic minorities participated more than the ethnic Danish (Beckman et al., 2015).

In Sydhavnen, no distinct difference is found between ethnic minorities and ethnic Danish interviewees in regard to the location of activities. Instead the differences found amongst ethnic minorities mirrored those of the ethnic Danish with the same socio-economic background and life stage.

The next section takes a look at how interviewees' social networks differ between different groups of residents within Sydhavnen and ends again with a comparison to the results of Bispebjerg.

5.3   Social networks

This section presents the interviewees' social networks. Both the characteristics of interviewees' social network and whether it is located inside or outside the neighbourhood is discussed.

Four groups of people with whom interviewees socialize have been identified; family, friends, neighbours and colleagues. In the following, interviewees' relationship with people from these four groups are identified and discussed.

Family

Only very few interviewees have family members within the neighbourhood. For many, their families live somewhere in Copenhagen or Greater Copenhagen and some again have their family further away. Several interviewees also tell that their siblings are very important to them and that they are amongst those they feel closest to even if they do not live in the same neighbourhood.

Only a few told that living close to their family has been important to them. One woman, R22, told that being close to her family played a role when they chose where to live, as she and her husband had small children at home and needed her parent's help. When asked if being close to her family had been important, she said:

> R22: *"Yes, it was. When we chose, when we said yes to the apartment on Hørdumsgade, we had small children and it was a priority that we thought, now we want to live closer to the parents, my parents, who lived there. Also because, well, if we needed some babysitting."*

The residents living in public housing and who were provided with housing through the municipality, did not have a big say in where they wanted to live, and thus were not completely able to choose if they wanted to live close to family or not. However, no one mentioned living close to their family as being especially important.

Friends

Even though Sydhavnen is a diverse neighbourhood in terms of residents, this does not show in interviewees' friends. Almost all interviewees describe their closest friends as people that look like themselves in terms of socio-economic status, ethnicity and background. The biggest variation found was in terms of age differences, but even here differences were rarely more than 10 years. Often, this is not a conscious choice. One interviewee, R10, explains that he does not choose close friends based on their background, but rather looks at their will to engage in a meaningful relation. About finding close friends he says:

> R10: *"It could be something with the same income, level of education I don't think necessarily has something to do with it. It is about the desire to engage. And I think that makes a lot… yes, that is perhaps the best way I can explain it. The desire to engage. If you feel that people want to, then I want to as well. If I feel that people don't want to, well, then I also quietly move on. That is probably the best answer."*

Even the interviewees with higher socio-economic status that explained that diversity was important to them and something they valued in their neighbourhood, did not have much diversity in their personal social networks, especially not amongst their closest friends. This is in line with the expectations based on the studies by Blokland and van Eijk (2010) and Peters and De Haan (2011) presented in section 2.3.

There are certain patterns when looking at different resident groups and where they have their closest friends. One expectation was that ethnic minorities, older residents and residents with children living at home would have a stronger network within the neighbourhood than others. These trends are also seen in Sydhavnen.

First, the interviewees with a minority background generally have their closest friends within Sydhavnen, or have at least met them while they were both living in Sydhavnen. Second, for the families with children the picture is similar. Most of these interviewees have the majority of their closest friends within the neighbourhood, but here there also seems to be a link with how long the parents have lived in the neighbourhood. The shorter their residence, the fewer close friends within the neighbourhood. Third, the older residents also seem to have the majority of their closest friends within the neighbourhood, but it also seems to be related to their ability to travel without help. R9 has most of her friends in Sydhavnen, which might both be explained by her having lived in the neighbourhood for a long time and her having trouble moving around. R7 also has friends within Sydhavnen, but she does not have problems getting around and thus also maintains close friendships outside of the neighbourhood.

It is thus not that these groups always have all of their closest friends in the neighbourhood where they live, but most have many, and it is more evident for these groups than for the rest of the interviewees.

There are also some interesting differences between the group of interviewees who report to have most friends within the neighbourhood and those who report to have most friends outside the neighbourhood. The group who have most of their closest friends within the neighbourhood are generally those interviewees who have lived in the neighbourhood the longest, but also those with lower socio-economic status. Those with most of their closest friends outside the neighbourhood can both be categorized as having high socio-economic status and having lived in the neighbourhood for a shorter time. An expectation would have been that the residents who have lived in the neighbourhood the longest would also have most friends within the neighbourhood, but because both time lived in the neighbourhood and socio-economic status seem to follow each other here, it is impossible to say which of the two factors is the most influential, if one is at all stronger than the other.

The interviewees who are politically active might also be expected to have more friends in the neighbourhood as they have been particularly involved in the neighbourhood. All of the politically active in Sydhavnen do indeed have close friends within the neighbourhood. However, it is not to say that all of their friends are living within the neighbourhood, but it still shows that they have a larger local social network than other groups.

While some of the interviewees tell that they enjoy having friends close by, one man, R6, sees it differently. For him Copenhagen is a relatively small city, so where his friends live is not so important:

> R6: *"I also think that it is because Copenhagen in reality is so small, you know compared to many other big cities. It takes 25 minutes by bike and in reality I see… In New York, all of Copenhagen would be one borough, it is so small that I don't think… if people live on Østerbro or live in… you know it is so easy to jump on your bike."*

Because Copenhagen is so small, it might not make a big difference to many of the interviewees whether their friends or family live within their own neighbourhood or in one of the others. This of course only goes for those who are physically fit to move around and not e.g. elderly with difficulty walking.

Neighbours

The interviewees' neighbours are generally similar to themselves. This means that for most interviewees their close neighbours are not very diverse, and the greatest differences are in terms of age. Both in public housing and cooperative housing a few interviewees mention students living next door, thus creating some diversity in terms of educational level and life stage. A few of the interviewees with higher education who live in public housing also describe their neighbours more as working class residents, so here there is a difference in terms of income and educational levels.

Most of the interviewees report that they know their neighbours and are able to describe them in general terms. Almost everyone says hi to their neighbours when meeting them in the hallway and the majority also do activities with their neighbours. These activities can be many and range from summer parties in the courtyard, to having coffee together, to helping each other out with practical matters. One man, R21, says that they spend time with their neighbours as much as possible:

I: "You also say that you sometimes do things together with the neighbours socially?"

R21: "As much as possible actually. If there is a good reason for it, then there will be a Friday bar or a tent party or a practical task…"

R20: "Something spontaneous… Somebody needs help holding something or carrying something… driving something…"

There does not seem to be a pattern in what type of interviewees spend time with their neighbours and it happens across socio-economic status, age and ethnicity. Only one group stands out and this is the interviewees living in an allotment garden or at the harbour area close to the marinas, both places have alternative ownership forms and are houses instead of flats. While almost everyone in Sydhavnen reports having contact with their neighbours, this group seems to value this contact and support even more than the rest, and thus also have even more activities with their neighbours.

Only two interviewees talk about not really knowing their neighbours. A man, R1, tells that it is probably a typical Danish trait that you do not engage in conversation with people you do not know, at least not more than saying hello on the stairs. A woman, R14, tells that not knowing her neighbours better has been disappointing to her, as she had expected more socialization in the housing cooperative where she moved in a few years ago:

R14: *"It has actually been one of the things that disappointed me little, that I thought that there would be more social stuff in a housing cooperative because that is what I was used to from before. […] now parents are buying for their children, so in one way or another it happens that many are living here because their parents bought them something, but they do not really participate in the social life."*

These two are also both politically active in the neighbourhood. As they invest time and energy in their local political work, one might have expected them to want to be more involved with their neighbours. Perhaps this is the reason why the woman, R14, express disappointment about not having more contact with her neighbours. However, the other two politically active both have extensive contact with their neighbours.

Only a few interviewees talk about having conflicts with their neighbours and for most these are minor and do not affect whether they have contact with other neighbours. Only R13 has greater problems with one of her neighbours, which means that she generally avoids them. However, she still has a fine relationship with the rest of her neighbours.

The neighbours also play a great role, when interviewees need help or support with day-to-day problems. Most mention that they either get help from or help neighbours themselves with tasks such as borrowing chairs, carrying up groceries, hanging up shelves or moving home. Some also get help from neighbours with emptying mailboxes and taking care of pets while they are away on vacation. One woman, R5, is living in one of the allotment gardens, and tells how some of her neighbours created a "Tuesday Club", where every Tuesday they help neighbours with whatever necessary, e.g. handywork around the house.

There does not seem to be any differences between residents living in different types of housing or between age groups, ethnicity or income levels. Almost all interviewees give examples of how they have given or received help from neighbours.

Those interviewees who come at SydhavnsCompagniet all talk about the help they are able to get and give in the neighbourhood. It can thus be difficult to tell if the network they get help through is that of SydhavnsCompagniet or the neighbourhood in general. It is thus not completely possible to compare this to the general neighbourhood support. However, there does not seem to be a significant difference between those residents coming in SydhavnsCompagniet and those who do not.

Almost all interviewees also report that they trust their neighbours. For some this means that neighbours have the key to their apartment, some help emptying each other's mail boxes and feed the pets when the other is travelling and for some it is simply knowing that the neighbours look out for each other and their homes. For one man, R17, it also includes that he knows that his neighbours will treat him well, even if he has been partying too hard. When asked whether he can trust his neighbours, he answered:

> R17: *"Yes, I will, I actually think I would be able to. You know, if, yes, I really think so. At least I would trust that if I am lying really, really drunk, then they would not come out and kick me, then they would just, okay, we just leave him lying."*

So to him the trust has an element of safety, which others have not mentioned. He can feel safe, also when he is vulnerable, even if his neighbours are not actively helping him, they are at least not hurting him either.

Only two interviewees hesitate when asked if they trust their neighbours. One man, R12 tells that he simply does not know them well enough to say and another man, R15, says that one should be careful to lend out money, which he feels can be a delicate subject in the neighbourhood, which can cause conflicts and where you cannot trust that you will be paid back.

As was expected in regard to friends, one might also have expected that the elderly, the families with children and the ethnic minorities would have more contact with their neighbours, but here no pattern is found between any specific groups and their interaction with or trust in neighbours. Most interviewees, regardless of age, education, income etc. report to interact with their neighbours.

Colleagues

Most respondents with a job have some form of socialization with colleagues, even though it is most often in relation to work and rarely completely outside a professional context. As no one works within the neighbourhood, these activities also most often take place outside of Sydhavnen. Three interviewees are still studying, which include those working towards a PhD. They all spend time with their colleagues outside of the university, but more often than not the activities take place outside of Sydhavnen. The activities can be anything from enjoying a beer, to going for a trip, to doing sports. There seems to be a greater element of friendship involved, even if it is not with their closest friends.

5.3.1 Comparison with Bispebjerg

In this section, the differences between Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen regarding interviewees' social networks are identified and discussed. The differences found are sorted into three

categories, housing types, friends and neighbours, and are discussed in this order.

Housing types

One of the differences between Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen that repeatedly shows up is the difference in the type of housing. In Bispebjerg, areas with detached and semi-detached houses are found throughout the neighbourhood (Beckman et al., 2015). In Sydhavnen, this is not the case. Here the only detached or semi-detached houses are one cooperative housing estate and those homes found in the allotment gardens and at the waterfront, and both of these are not houses in the traditional sense. These houses can be described as an alternative form of housing, which often appear simpler and also placed closer together than regular houses in residential neighbourhoods. In Sydhavnen the regular type of home is flats regardless of whether it is social housing, cooperatives or owner-occupied dwellings. This plays an important role.

In Bispebjerg, the researchers use the distinction between detached/semi-detached houses and flats to analyse differences in interviewees' social networks as well as the diversity of these. Here they find that interviewees living in detached or semi-detached houses often are a more homogeneous group, often more higher socio-economic status, with larger local social networks and more contact with their neighbours than those living in flats. They explain this partly as these interviewees tend to see their home as more permanent than those living in flats, and because houses present more meeting opportunities than flats, as it is possible to e.g. chat across the hedge of the garden (Beckman et al., 2015).

In Sydhavnen, it is not possible to e.g. compare socio-economic groups based on housing types, as all types of ownership tend to be flats and thus many residents with high socio-economic status also live in flats. However, the same patterns as in Bispebjerg are seen in Sydhavnen's alternative housing types such as the allotment gardens. Here, the interviewees that live in such housing, i.e. R5, R20 and R21, as well as other interviewees who do not, describe a rather homogeneous resident group, often with a higher socio-economic status, who have a stronger sense of unity than is found in the flats. Also one woman, R4, who lives in one of the few semi-detached cooperative houses reports of this sense of unity amongst her neighbours.

Friends

For most interviewees in Bispebjerg, their social network within the neighbourhood is weak, and their closest friends are people they have met in other contexts, such as school, work or associations, and thus they do not necessarily live in the same neighbourhood. The friends of the interviewees are also a quite homogeneous group with little variation in regard to age, socio-economic status, ethnicity etc. One exception here is children who go to the public school and their parents (Beckman et al., 2015). These patterns are similar in Sydhavnen, where the social networks of the interviewees tend to be homogeneous and mainly located outside the immediate neighbourhood, even though some differences can be found between groups, as presented in the section 5.3 above. The exception of children and parents is to some extent also found in Sydhavnen.

In Bispebjerg, Beckman et al. (2015) also finds that those interviewees who did not choose to live in the neighbourhood, but moved in because of e.g. an acute housing need and had a home allocated by the municipality, have fewer friends within the neighbourhood than

others. As these interviewees did not choose their home, they often see it as a temporary dwelling, and thus perhaps do not invest much in creating a local network (Beckman et al., 2015).

This is different in Sydhavnen. Here, most of the interviewees who moved to their current home out of need do not see it as a temporary dwelling, and most report that they do not wish to move. Also, this group, which consists particularly of interviewees with lower socio-economic status, are actually the ones with the largest network within the neighbourhood. However, they are also the ones who have lived in Sydhavnen the longest, so whether their larger local network should be attributed their socio-economic status or the length of their residency is uncertain.

Neighbours

In Bispebjerg, the authors come up with four explanations for the lack of contact and support between neighbours in flats, i.e. those of lower socio-economic status. First, diversity, which makes it difficult for interviewees to identify with their neighbours. Second and third, the reduced meeting opportunities in flats and that the home is not considered permanent, both also discussed in the section about *'housing types'* above. And fourth, that the residents living in flats generally have fewer social and personal resources to engage in relations with neighbours (Beckman et al., 2015).

In Sydhavnen, the interviewees with lower socio-economic status do not have less contact with or get less support from their neighbours than those with higher socio-economic status. Some of the explanations mirror those found in Bispebjerg. First, their immediate neighbours are rather homogeneous, with only a few exceptions. Second, they do not see their home as temporary. This might mean that they are more inclined to engage with their neighbours.

In Bispebjerg, it was also found that elderly had more contact with their neighbours than others, e.g. by having dinner or coffee with them (Beckman et al., 2015). In Sydhavnen, elderly did not stand out. This does not necessarily mean that elderly have less contact with their neighbours in Sydhavnen, but perhaps the explanation is that since everyone else also has regular contact with their neighbours, the elderly just did not stand out.

The next section presents the summaries and conclusions from the analysis presented in this chapter.

5.4   Conclusion

In this section, the most important conclusions from the analysis are presented.

The interviewees came to live in Sydhavnen for different reasons. Those with higher socio-economic status chose the neighbourhood for its diversity and affordable prices, while many of those with lower socio-economic status moved there due to an acute housing need. The high share of social housing and residents with lower socio-economic status have caused the neighbourhood to become stigmatized. Prejudices against the neighbourhood are something most interviewees have experienced, but it was not found to affect the interviewees negatively, neither in regard to their social networks nor their activities.

Rather, there is a sense of pride amongst them for living in Sydhavnen, and they enjoy that the diverse composition of residents makes everyone feel like they belong.

The interviewee describes the neighbourhood as diverse, but mainly in terms of socio-economic status. Ethnic diversity exists, but is not pronounced and something only few mentioned by themselves. The diversity of the neighbourhood is something valued by many, e.g. by those of lower socio-economic status because it makes them fit in, and by parents as it teaches their children to value all types of people.

All interviewees have activities both inside and outside of Sydhavnen, and other neighbourhoods are generally easy to access by bike as Sydhavnen is very centrally located. The only groups that stand out are the youngest and the oldest interviewees. As expected, the youngest have most activities outside the neighbourhood, while the oldest have most within, especially if they have trouble getting around on their own.

The interviewees also generally do their grocery shopping within Sydhavnen and make use of the area's green spaces. Only when they want to go shopping for something special or participate in cultural activities, they venture outside of their neighbourhood, as these possibilities hardly exist in Sydhavnen.

For social networks, multiple expectations were met. First, the social networks of the interviewees are all rather homogeneous, and even those reporting diversity as a reason to move to Sydhavnen did not have diversity amongst their closest friends. Second, ethnic minorities, families with children, elderly and politically active interviewees all have a stronger local social network than others. Third, those who have lived in Sydhavnen the longest also have larger local social networks than those who have lived there shorter. However, this might also be explained by their socio-economic status, which corresponded to length of residency.

It was also found that interviewees' close neighbours are generally homogeneous, and the biggest diversity is found for those interviewees with high education who live in social housing. Everyone knows their neighbours and say hello to their neighbours on the staircase. Most also report to do activities together with them. The interviewees generally trust their neighbours and give and receive help from neighbours with practical matters, e.g. borrowing an extra chair or with moving.

There were several differences in the findings from Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen, and in Bispebjerg, more of the expectations were met. Some of this might be explained by two differences between the neighbourhoods.

First, where Sydhavnen is understood as one coherent neighbourhood, Bispebjerg is not. Rather, it is understood as consisting of multiple smaller neighbourhoods, and Bispebjerg as it is researched is merely the municipality's administrative borders for that area. This also means that there are multiple differences between the different smaller neighbourhoods in regard to resident composition and housing types. Second, the housing stock is different between the two neighbourhoods. While they both have many flats, including both social and cooperative housing, the housing stock differs in regard to owner-occupied housing. In Bispebjerg one finds residential areas with detached and semi-detached houses, while this is not normal in Sydhavnen, where detached houses are mainly found in the allotment gardens. This means that both renters and home owners tend to live in flats in Sydhavnen. Third, ethnic diversity is higher in Bispebjerg than in Sydhavnen, which makes ethnic minorities more visible in the streets, e.g. by many middle-eastern grocery shops.

The next section will be the overall conclusion, where the results presented and discussed here are used to answer the research questions.

Conclusion 6

This chapter starts by presenting the conclusions to the research question and then moves on to discuss the findings.

6.1 Conclusion to research question

More and more people live in cities, and cities are also fast becoming more diverse due to e.g. migration and immigration. Diverse not only in terms of ethnicity, but also in terms of socio-economy, age, life style etc. This has changed cities and thus neighbourhoods. This has raised the question of whether the role of neighbourhoods has changed and whether the neighbourhood has lost its importance in people's daily lives. Even though much research has looked into social networks and neighbourhoods, less has focused on the role of residential neighbourhoods in diverse urban areas.

This gap in the literature has been the basis of this master thesis. The research question has been split into three sub-questions and together they answer the research question. Thus, the conclusion here is structured around these three sub-questions, which are answered below.

- Sub-question 1: How do social networks differ between groups of residents in diverse neighbourhoods?

As expected, the interviewees' social networks were very homogeneous in terms of age, ethnicity, life stage, education and income levels. Even amongst those interviewees' who claimed that diversity is important to them and part of the reason for moving to Sydhavnen, diversity is not present amongst their closest friends.

Differences in local social networks were found for several groups of residents. Confirming the expectation, ethnic minorities, families with children and elderly interviewees all have stronger local social networks than others.

Amongst the interviewees, the length of residency in Sydhavnen and socio-economic status somewhat corresponded. Those who have lived there the longest are generally also those with lower socio-economic status, and vice versa. The group that has lived in Sydhavnen the longest also has the strongest local social network, while those who have lived there for the shortest period have more friends outside the neighbourhood. However, it is not possible to say if the reason should be found in length of residency, socio-economic status or both.

In regard to the neighbours in interviewees' social networks, not many differences between different groups were found. Everyone reported knowing their neighbours and greeting them on the staircase. Almost all interviewees also do activities together with their

neighbours and rely on them for help with everyday practical matters. The only group that seemed to have even more contact with their neighbours are those living in detached housing in some of the neighbourhood's more alternative housing types, such as allotment gardens.

When comparing Sydhavnen and Bispebjerg, a few differences in social networks were identified. First, they distinguish between houses and flats to separate those with higher and lower socio-economic status. This is not possible in Sydhavnen, where the majority of residents live in flats regardless of socio-economic status. Second, children in the school age and their parents were found to have more diverse networks through the child's school. The same pattern is to a certain extent confirmed in Sydhavnen, but these are not considered close friends by the parents. Third, in Bispebjerg those with lower socio-economic status had smaller local social networks, which was partly explained because they saw their home as temporary. In Sydhavnen this is the group that had the largest local social network and this group also does not see their home as temporary and they are generally the ones who have lived in the neighbourhood the longest. Forth, in Bispebjerg they conclude that diversity amongst neighbours challenges the social cohesion of the neighbourhood. However, this is not found in Sydhavnen where levels of diversity is lower and where diversity to a certain extent makes the interviewees feel at home, as it proves that there is room for everyone. Different levels of diversity thus seem to affect social cohesion differently.

- Sub-question 2: How do daily activities differ between groups of residents in diverse neighbourhoods?

All interviewees have activities both inside and outside of Sydhavnen, and other neighbourhoods are generally easy to access by bike due to Sydhavnen's very central location in Copenhagen. This makes it easy and cheap for all interviewees to get around.

The only groups that really stood out in regard to activities were the youngest and the oldest interviewees. The youngest tend to have most activities outside of the neighbourhood, perhaps as they see the neighbourhood as only a temporary home. On the other hand, the oldest, especially those with trouble getting around, tend to have most of their activities within the neighbourhood. The politically active generally have more activities within the neighbourhood compared to others as well, but everyone participates in activities outside of the neighbourhood as well.

Families with children living at home and ethnic minorities were also expected to have more activities within the neighbourhood than others, but this was not confirmed here. Likewise, differences were expected but not found amongst interviewees with different educational and income levels, perhaps because other neighbourhoods are easily accessed by everyone. Those with jobs outside of Sydhavnen did have activities outside of the neighbourhood in this context, however, those unemployed did not seem to have less activities outside of the neighbourhood either.

Many of the interviewees also participate in associations to a certain extent. This is not particular for any specific resident group either, but happens across age, ethnicity and socio-economic status.

The interviewees also generally do their grocery shopping within Sydhavnen and make use of the area's green spaces. Only when they want to go shopping for something other than groceries or if they want to participate in cultural activities such as going to the

cinema or a museum, they use places outside of their neighbourhood, as these possibilities hardly exist in Sydhavnen.

When making use of the public spaces in Sydhavnen, e.g. the parks or when grocery shopping, the interviewees report that people greet each other and seem to know each other. This creates a feeling of community, where the interviewees feel at home in the neighbourhood.

There were several similarities in the results found in Bispebjerg and Sydhavnen. In Bispebjerg it was also found that the elderly had most activities within the neighbourhood, while the younger had most activities outside the neighbourhood. Also for the interviewees who enjoy cultural activities it was found that other neighbourhoods are important to them, as the variety of cultural activities becomes bigger. In Bispebjerg, interviewees also report that public space encounters creates a feeling of community. Two differences between the two neighbourhoods are identified. First, in Bispebjerg the families with children the neighbourhood was more oriented around the neighbourhood, while they in Sydhavnen did not have more activities within the neighbourhood than those without children. Second, socio-economic status led to more cultural activities and participation in associations in Bispebjerg, while interviewees with lower socio-economic status who had children had more social activities. In Sydhavnen, no differences were found in activities between higher and lower socio-economic status.

- Sub-question 3: How are daily activities and social networks in diverse neighbourhoods interlinked?

Generally, there does not seem to be a strong connection between interviewees' social networks and their daily activities. Most residents have many activities inside Sydhavnen even though their closest friends and family live in other places. That close friends and family live somewhere else can of course mean that the interviewees spend more time outside the neighbourhood than they otherwise would have, but having activities in the neighbourhood does not seem to affect the location of their close social network.

There are several groups where a correlation between activities and social networks could be expected. However, it does not seem to exist.

First, the elderly residents generally have the majority of both their social network and their activities within the neighbourhood. However, this should probably be explained with their limited ability to move around and thus it is out of need more than because their activities in the neighbourhood provide a basis for their social network there or the opposite.

Second, both ethnic minorities and families with children have larger social networks in Sydhavnen than other groups. However, they do not necessarily have the majority of their activities within the neighbourhood, and they often make use of other locations as well. Thus, having their closest friends within the neighbourhood did not make them have a different pattern of activities than other interviewees. For the politically active, it is the other way around. They have more activities within the neighbourhood than other groups, but their social networks are not more local than those of other interviewees.

For one group, there does seem to be a correlation between activities and social network. The interviewees who work all do so outside of Sydhavnen. Due to the interviewees working outside of Sydhavnen they also meet colleagues for work-related and social activities

outside of work hours. This also happens outside of the neighbourhood and though their colleagues are not their closest friends, they form a social network outside the neighbourhood that is directly linked to an activity also taking place outside the neighbourhood.

Generally, interviewees' daily activities within the neighbourhood do not seem to translate into a greater local social network or vice versa. Only the social networks outside of the neighbourhood seem to be able to affect the daily activities outside of the neighbourhood, but they do not necessarily mean fewer activities inside either.

Overall, the residential neighbourhood still plays an active role in most interviewees' daily lives, both in regard to their social networks and daily activities, and even more so for the elderly, ethnic minorities and families with children. The neighbourhood might not have the same meaning that it did a few decades ago, but it does not mean it has lost its importance.

6.2   Discussion

This section will discuss the findings of the thesis, the consequences of these, if the results can be generalized, and in the end what the limitations of the study are.

Due to the neighbourhood's socio-economic diversity, Sydhavnen is a stigmatized neighbourhood, and stigma is something most interviewees have experienced at some point or another. Territorial stigmatization is expected to have negative consequences for social networks, activities, levels of trust and social cohesion in a neighbourhood, but surprisingly this effect is not seen in Sydhavnen, where social cohesion and mutual trust are high.

Rather, the stigma seems to have positive effects. First, as the stigma is related to the diversity of the neighbourhood, it makes the interviewees feel at home, even if they are what they describe as 'quirky'. Second, the stigma helps to make sure that the neighbourhood does not get too popular. As many of the residents in the neighbourhood have low incomes, affordable housing is crucial, and the stigma helps ensure this.

These findings are conflicting with many other studies that have found stigma to have widely negative consequences for neighbourhoods and their inhabitants, and thus questions our understanding of how stigma affects diverse urban areas. It will require further studies to both confirm and understand more about why the stigma of Sydhavnen does not seem to affect the daily lives and social cohesion of the neighbourhood.

The stigma might be changing though. Just like in many other inner city neighbourhoods, Sydhavnen is experiencing rising housing prices, and interviewees also report that the neighbourhood is becoming more hip and attractive to outsiders, e.g. are more affluent residents, students and young families moving in. Besides the rising housing prices, another sign that the gentrification process has started is that most of the interviewees with high socio-economic status have lived in the neighbourhood for a shorter period of time than those with lower socio-economic status. They also report having moved there both because of affordable housing, and because of the neighbourhood's character and diversity.

If the neighbourhood gentrifies, it can have severe consequences for the low-income residents, who risk being displaced, as they can no longer pay the high rents. This is something that has happened in the last few decades in Sydhavnen's adjoining neighbourhood

Vesterbro, where many low-income residents were displaced and moved to Sydhavnen. However, Sydhavnen is somewhat protected against this by its high share of social housing, where rent can be controlled.

Another interesting result is that there does not seem to be differences in the location of activities between interviewees with higher and lower socio-economic status. One explanation can be that Copenhagen is a rather small and very bikable city, which makes it possible to most residents to move easily around without having a car. The public transport system is also generally well-functioning, with several buses going through the neighbourhood. As all residents have easy access to other neighbourhoods, they might just take advantage of this, and thus a difference between the two groups cannot be seen. Good and affordable infrastructure can thus even out differences in the location of activities between different socio-economic groups.

An interesting result across both social networks and daily activities is that no particular differences has been found between men and women. In Denmark today, the percentage of women working is almost the same as for men, a number which has climbed from 46.9 % in 1950 to 70.8 % in 2007. For men the same number has dropped from 95.4 to 77.4 % (Brøndum, Mackie and Nielsen, 2008). It is thus reasonable to expect that the results of older studies (see e.g.) showing differences in men and women's definition of neighbourhoods as well as both activities and social networks in the neighbourhood would have changed in Denmark with the change of women working.

The main differences between Sydhavnen and Bispebjerg have been differences in levels of ethnic diversity and the coherence of the neighbourhoods, where Bispebjerg consists of several smaller neighbourhoods and Sydhavnen is more coherent. The higher levels of ethnic diversity in Bispebjerg were found to affect the residents' perceptions of diversity and also the levels of social coherence in the neighbourhood. Diversity is thus a relevant element to discuss when trying to create neighbourhoods with more social cohesion, but at the same time diversity was not found to directly affect the social networks or daily activities of the residents in neither Bispebjerg nor Sydhavnen. In Sydhavnen, several interviewees also appreciate the diversity, as it shows that there is room for every type of person. This means that even the residents that might be considered 'outsiders' in other places feel at home in Sydhavnen. Diversity can thus be a way to include the urban residents that otherwise feel different and unwanted. The level of diversity thus seems to be play a role in whether it is considered positive or negative in a neighbourhood.

In Bispebjerg, the interviewees who were assigned a home there by the municipality are generally less happy with living there and see the home as more temporary than the interviewees in the same situation in Sydhavnen, where they see their home as permanent. One difference could be that these residents in Sydhavnen have lived in the neighbourhood longer than their counterparts in Bispebjerg and thus have established a closer network and familiarity with the place. However, this explanation has not been possible to check.

A way to ensure that residents are happy with where they live and do not want to move could be to change the way homes in the public housing sector are being allocated. Choice-Based Letting (CBL) is a model, where the available housing is advertised and prospective renters apply themselves, instead of simply being allocated a home by the public housing associations. This way the renters can choose their home, which is expected to increase the liveability of the area (van Daalen and van der Land, 2008). However, due to the complexity of this system, especially people of lower socio-economic status and ethnic minorities found it difficult and were generally less successful in finding housing (Kullberg,

2002). It is thus important to make sure that the system is transparent and that it is possible for the applicants to get the help needed in the application process.

It is also reasonable to discuss whether the results here can be generalized and used to explain what happens in other places. Copenhagen is a small city compared to other major cities in the world, which might make comparisons difficult. As one interviewee R6 said, when compared to New York, Copenhagen would just be one single borough. Copenhagen also has a good infrastructure system with both bike lanes and public transport. This might have consequences for the results, e.g. where a person has his or her social network, as it is easy to get around Copenhagen for most residents.

It also leads to the discussion of whether results from European cities can be compared to or explain phenomena going on in e.g. the US. In the US, the cities tend to be more segregated and the coloured neighbourhoods are often mono-ethnic, while they in Europe consist of many different nationalities. These differences could mean that different factors are at play, and thus make comparisons difficult.

These considerations should be taken into account, when generalizing the results of this thesis or comparing them to other locations.

The results of the thesis also have implications for urban policies. As the diversity in a neighbourhood does not lead to residents having diverse social networks, planning for mixed communities in the hope of creating relations between the diverse residents and thus create bridging capital might be bound to fail from the beginning. Even though most of the interviewees in Sydhavnen had contact with their neighbours and gave and received support from them, it was mainly with practical matters and not emotional or social problems. No one mentioned neighbours helping them with e.g. finding a job.

However, meeting opportunities in the public space between the different groups of residents, even though they did not evolve into lasting relations, are found to enhance the mutual trust and social cohesion in the neighbourhood. Thus, it is important to create meeting opportunities for the residents, but it should be done with the purpose of creating a neighbourhood with strong social cohesion, not to help solve the social problems of the area. Improving the quality of meeting spaces might thus improve the overall social cohesion, especially in parts of Bispebjerg where social cohesion seems worse than in Sydhavnen.

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Organizations A

The following organizations were contacted to get in touch with residents and possible interview candidates. Not all organizations replied, some just referred to others, while many helped directly by sharing the request in their network, on Facebook or intranets etc.

- 3b

- A/B Elleparken

- A/B Stubmøllegården

- A/B Tjørnen

- Badekompagniet Sluseholmen

- Børnenes Dyremark

- Bådeklubben Sjællandsbroens

- Cafe Rallys

- Ejerforeningen Kalvebodhus

- Frivilligcenter VSV

- Grundejerforeningen Vildrose

- Grøn Agenda Sydhavn

- Havebyen Mozart

- Haveforeningen Kalvebod

- KAB

- Kalvebod Bådelaug

- Karens Minde Kulturhus

- Kongens Enghave Lokalhistoriske Arkiv

- Kongens Enghave Lokaludvalg

- Kvarterhuset

- Motionsklubben Sydhavn

- Områdefornyelse Sydhavnen

- SydhavnsCompagniet

- Sydhavnsforeningen

- Ungdommens Røde Kors

- Friends and family

Introduction

- Thank you for your help

- Anonymous

- Can I record the interview?

Presentation

1. Can you start by introducing yourself? How old are you, what do you do, what is your education, do you live with anyone…?

Housing

2. Can you tell me when you moved into this home, and why you chose this specific home and this area?

   a) What type of housing is it?

   b) What ideas did you have about this area before you moved here?

3. What do you see as your local area? Where are the boundaries?

Diversity

4. Can you describe the residents in your local area?

   a) Are there any groups you feel especially connected to or different from?

5. What do you think about the diversity in the local area? Is it good or bad?

   a) Why?

Social networks

6. Can you tell me about the people you feel most attached to, whom you do not live with?

   a) Do any of these people live in your local area?

7. Can you tell me about your neighbours? What do you think of them?

   a) Do you socialize with your neighbours?

8. Would you say that you can trust your neighbours in general?

   a) Some more than others? Whom and why?

9. Do you experience that people in your local area help their neighbours? E.g. in regard to work or personal problems.

   a) How and to what extent?

10. Do any of your family members live in the local area?

   a) If relevant: How important is it to you that you live in the same local area as them?

11. Can you tell me about your job? Is it in the local area?

12. If the interviewee has/had a job: Are you friends with or did you socialize with your colleagues?

   a) What do you do together? Where?

Daily activities

13. How do you like to spend your free time?

   a) Does this take place within or outside your local area?

14. What places in the local area do you go to? What do you do there?

   a) What other types of people use these places?
   b) If local area is not used: Why?
   c) Are there places you intentionally avoid? Where and why?
   d) Do you use places outside the local area? How and where?

15. Are you a member of any local associations/communities? Which?

Socio-economic characteristics

- What is you education?
- Can you place your family's overall income within one of these four groups?
  - A: Under 200.000 DKK//B: 200.000-300.000 DKK//C: 300.000-500.000 DKK//D: Above 500.000 DKK
- How old are you?
- In what country were you born? What about your parents?
  - If relevant: Do you feel Danish or XX or Danish-XX or something else?
  - If relevant: How long have you lived in Denmark?
- Are you living with anyone? Who?
- Are you married (divorced/single/boyfriend-girlfriend)? Do you have children (number and age)?

Ending

- Those were my questions, do you have anything you want to add?

- If you would like to see my final report, you can give me your e-mail address.

- Do you know anyone else I could talk to?

- Thank you.

Interviewee background C

No.	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Household	Dwelling type	Income group	Educational level
1	Male	37	Danish	Single	Cooperative housing	A	Vocational training
2	Female	24	Danish	Single, living with roommate	Private rental	A	Medium-long higher education
3	Female	39	Danish, born in Germany	Boyfriend and two children	Cooperative housing	D	Long higher education
4	Female	37	Danish	Husband and two children	Cooperative housing	D	Medium-long higher education
5	Female	62	Danish	Boyfriend, children grown up	Allotment garden	C	Medium-long higher education
6	Male	47	Danish, raised abroad	Single	Public housing	A	Medium-long higher education
7	Female	65	Danish	Widow	Public housing	C	Medium-long higher education
8	Male	42	Turkish	Single	Public housing	A	No education
9	Female	75	Danish	Divorced, children grown up	Public housing	A	Vocational training
10	Male	31	Danish	Single	Cooperative housing	C	Medium-long higher education
11	Male	43	Danish	Single	Owner occupied housing	A	Vocational training
12	Male	57	Danish	Single, one adult son and two children living with their mother	Public housing	A	Vocational training
13	Female	44	Somali	Divorced	Public housing	A	Medium-long higher education
14	Female	53	Danish	Husband, children grown up	Cooperative housing	D	Long higher education
15	Male	42	Danish	Single	Owner occupied housing	C	Medium-long higher education
16	Female	56	Danish	Divorced, children grown up	Public housing	A	Short higher education

| 17	Male	38	Danish	Single	Public housing	A	Medium-long higher education
18	Male	39	Somali	Divorced, son living with mother	Public housing	A	Elementary school
19	Female	33	Danish-Canadian	Girlfriend, but living alone	Public housing	B	Long higher education
20	Female	30	Danish	Husband and one child	Other, similar to cooperative	D	Long higher education
21	Male	38	Danish	Wife and one child	Other, similar to cooperative	D	Long higher education
22	Female	37	Moroccan	Husband and four children	Public housing	C	Medium-long higher education
23	Female	31	Danish	Single	Owner occupied housing	C	Long higher education

Housing stock and socio-economy

D
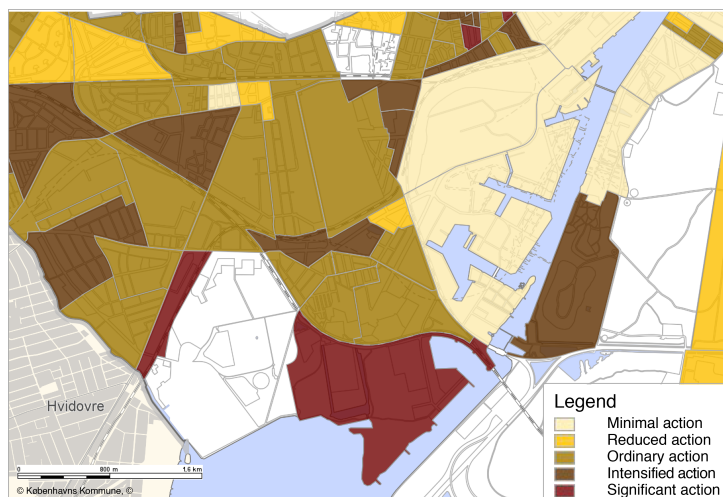
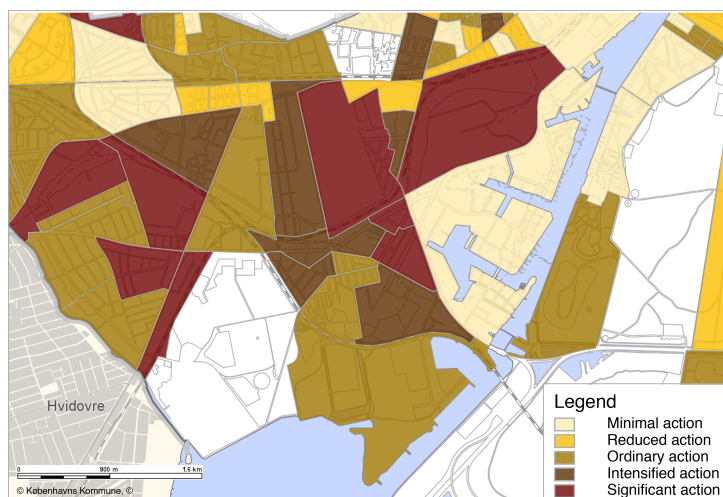Figure D.1. Level of action needed to bring housing stock up to a good standard (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016d)[1].

Figure D.2. Level of action needed to solve the socio-economic challenges (Copenhagen Municipality, 2016d)[2].

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1. Data includes statistics about small homes, small living space per resident and homes with inadequate installations.

2. Data includes statistics about residents with no education, low income, non-western background and outside the workforce.
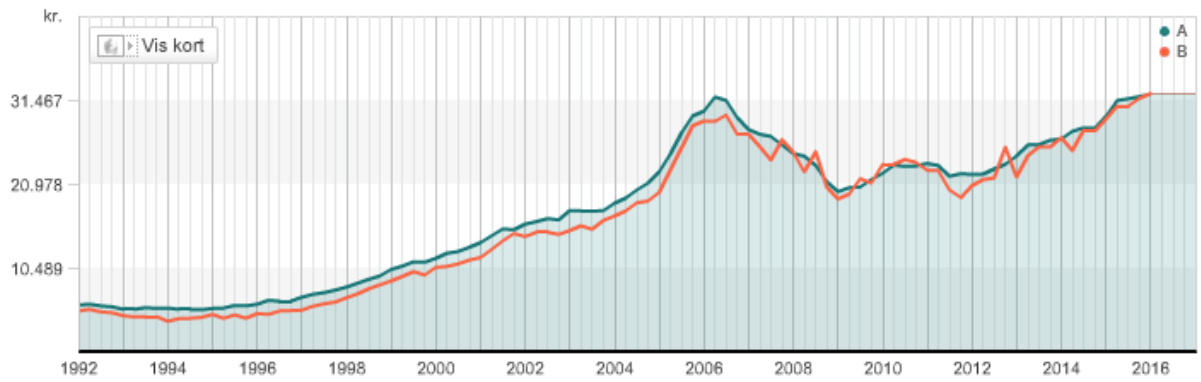
Figure D.3. Comparison of square metre prices for apartments in Sydhavnen and Copenhagen between 1992 and 2016. Sydhavnen is the orange line and Copenhagen the green (The Danish Mortgage Banks' Federation, 2016).