Social Cohesion and Everyday Built Environments
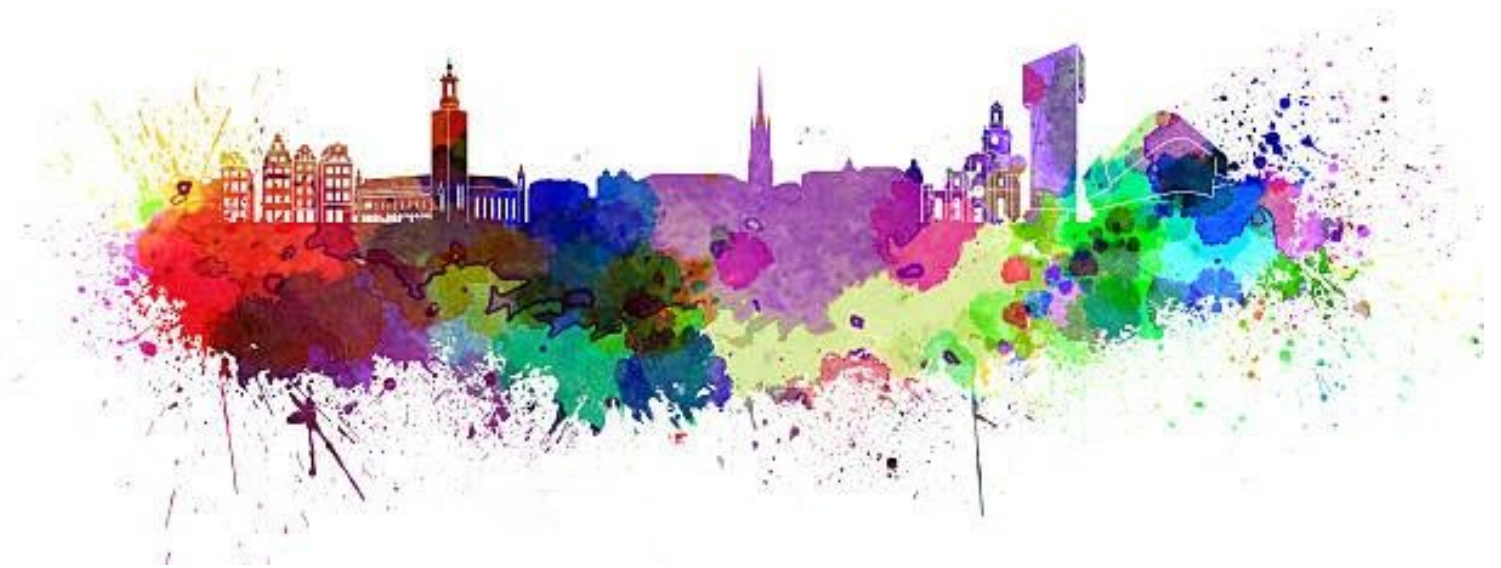
Els Bergman and Judith de Heer

Social cohesion and everyday neighbourhood environments

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Introduction

"I think it was that people who lived here could partake and do something together. Because when people do something together, it is... they feel that they are, eh, part of buildings and paintings… that they are part of it and then they leave it and not destroy, otherwise some places could be destroyed. When people do it together they respect it.''

- Karl[1], 11/02/2018

This quote is an informant's reflection on a collective painting in one of the neighbourhoods of Stockholm. This painting is collective due to the fact that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood painted it together. It introduces the main topic of this thesis: how the built environment relates to the social environment, in specific the social cohesion in a neighbourhood.

The Swedish government has recently introduced the 'stamped living environment bill' (Mairs, 'Swedish government introduces new benchmarks for architecture and design'), which includes benchmarks for architecture and design in Sweden's built environment. By introducing these benchmarks, the Swedish government tries to enhance the social and natural conditions of a certain built environment. From this point of view, these benchmarks will make Sweden a more *'sustainable, equal and less segregated society'*. *"Sweden has become one of the most ambitious countries in the world in its belief that design can improve people's lives"*, does Kieran Long, the director of ArkDes[2], state. The idea is that, by creating carefully-styled living environments through architecture and design, people's lives are positively influenced (Mairs, 'Swedish government introduces new benchmarks for architecture and design'). The benchmarks of this bill clearly demonstrate a connection between the built environment and social life. Moreover, the collected data in this research shows how the built environment is important in the construction of social cohesion. In neighbourhoods where there are certain social tensions, it is of interest to mind the built environment of that neighbourhood.

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[1] Unstructured interview with Karl on 11/02/2018. Karl, 64-years old, has a Swedish background and lives in Husby since 2000.
[2] Sweden's national museum and centre for architecture.

According to the Council of Europe, social cohesion is *"multidimensional in nature, not only to inclusion of and participation by all in economic, social, cultural and political life but to a sense of solidarity and belonging to society, based on an effective enjoyment of citizenship and democracy"* (CoE 2008, 8 *in* Beumer 2010). Multiple facets influence social cohesion on the local, neighbourhood level. Multiculturalism for example is a demographic process that influences social cohesion. Urban areas are nowadays confronted with the challenge of an increasing diversification of urban population. This has its negative effects on social cohesion, since the more diverse urban population have diverse needs, perspectives and opportunities. This can result in conflicts and ultimately in social exclusion, polarisation and socio-spatial segregation (Scheurer & Haase 2017). Beumer (2010) also states that communities which are very multicultural seem to have lower levels of interpersonal trust and formal and informal networks. There are other demographic changes that demonstrate great influence on social cohesion as well. These are for example the changing family and parenthood patterns and the 'double role of women'. Furthermore, there are globalization processes that demonstrate great influence on social cohesion. Globalization processes deterritorialize social relations; relations become more detached from the local neighbourhood area (Beumer 2010). What seem to be further eroding the residual bonds of spatial proximity and kinship, are the virtual social networks (Forrest & Kearns 2001, 2126). The ever-increasing individualism is also interpreted as something negative and destructive for the social cohesion in neighbourhoods.

However, besides the greater connection people feel nowadays with other places in the world, the daily experiences that make up most of their lives is centred around a fixed place of residency. It is therefore important to look at the local processes in relation to social cohesion. In our research, we study two different urban neighbourhoods in the city of Stockholm; an advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhood. Stockholm is a city that has demonstrated a rise of socio-spatial inequalities (Hårsman 2006, 1362). The rise of inequalities is mostly analysed in terms of a drastic turn towards a predominantly market-led urban development. This rise is to the detriment of the compromises between private economic interests and collective social responsibilities that were previously at the core of European urban society (Kaelble 2000; Häussermann & Haila 2005 *in* Cassiers & Kesteloot 2012, 1909-1910). Sweden also turned around their economy over the past twenty years. The country implemented market-oriented economic reforms during the nineties and a second

wave of legislation from 2006 to 2010 (Fölster, 'Twenty five years of Swedish reforms'). The spatial unevenness that comes from this is a hinder in developing social cohesion on the societal level. That is also why this research is conducted on the local scale; the uneven geographical development in an urban area can lead to social cohesion on smaller levels such as neighbourhoods.

The existing social cohesion in each neighbourhood of this research will be related to their built environment and the two neighbourhoods will then be compared. When conducting a qualitative research comparing a disadvantaged and an advantaged neighbourhood with each other, we hope to gain new insights in the relation between the urban built environment and social cohesion by focussing on the notions and lived experiences of the residents. It is then possible to argue if differences in the built environment result in different senses of social cohesion. The research is therefore carried out in a comparative manner. In practice, this means that the same research was carried out at two different sites. Judith de Heer has performed her research in a disadvantaged neighbourhood while Els Bergman conducted her research in a more advantaged neighbourhood. This comparison will give us insights in the contextual factors influencing the relation of the built environment and social cohesion.

Stockholm became the research site since this city is built out of neighbourhoods that differ significantly from one another on matters of design and demographic data. Husby is chosen as the disadvantaged neighbourhood of this research, while the advantaged neighbourhood is Midsommarkransen. We chose to compare these neighbourhoods because their population is of an equal size. The research took place over a period of ten weeks, from the fifth of February until the sixteenth of April 2018. Multiple neighbourhood organisations as well as community centres were contacted. Furthermore, we hung out at facilities, participated in local, everyday activities such as grocery shopping and participated in more uncommon activities like events and festivities in a neighbourhood. The findings of this comparative research can be added to the existing literary body on the built environment and social cohesion and hopefully contributes to new insights which are of theoretical and societal relevance. Additionally, the comparison of lived experiences in the two different settings can map the occurring differences. This creates the opportunity to overcome these differences and move towards a more inclusionary society. So, from conducting a comparative research on the local, neighbourhood level, we can contribute to a more cohesive

society on the societal level. This is done by answering the main research question of this thesis, which is as follows:

How does social cohesion relate to the built environment on the neighbourhood level, when comparing disadvantaged neighbourhoods with more advantaged neighbourhoods in Stockholm?

While conducting participant observation in both neighbourhoods, contact with the residents of the comparing neighbourhoods was managed through attending community activities. Formal relationships were developed with multiple persons who became informants, key informants and gatekeepers. Multiple forms of interviews took place, such as formal interviews, informal interviews, group interviews, walking interviews and conversations. These interviews enabled understandings of the inhabitants' experiences of the local social cohesion and their opinion on the built environment of their neighbourhood. Some informants even showed their own houses, which is part of the built environment of the neighbourhood as well. In this thesis there will also be references to informants, although to guarantee anonymity we will refer to them using pseudonyms. The method hanging out was used to partake in the daily lives of the inhabitants, trying to experience how they experience their place of residence. Furthermore, photos were taken to capture the built environment of each neighbourhood.

This thesis starts in depth with the theoretical concepts that are of importance to social cohesion and the built environment on the neighbourhood level. This theoretical framework consists out of three chapters: social cohesion on the neighbourhood level, built environment and social cohesion, and socio-spatial segregation. Consequently, these concepts will be explained and related to one another. We will follow-up with the context in which we elaborate on each of the two research settings in relation to our theoretical framework. Guided by the theoretical concepts and the context, the empirical chapters will start containing data from the comparative research. There are two empirical chapters; chapter one contains data on the advantaged neighbourhood Midsommarkransen, chapter two contains data on the disadvantaged neighbourhood Husby. Both neighbourhoods are discussed according to the same structure. First, the social cohesion on the neighbourhood level is discussed. Next, the findings on the topic connectedness to the neighbourhood is indicated.

And last, the daily experiences of the neighbourhood are discussed, in which the social cohesion will be related to certain aspects of the built environment. As follow-up on the empirical chapters, a discussion starts in which the found data is compared and a conclusion drawn. A small summary in research language is included afterwards. This thesis will end with our own reflections. These reflections are based on the used methods, techniques, the teamwork and on our own experiences.

Chapter 1 - Theoretical framework

1.1 Social cohesion on the neighbourhood level   Judith

The concept social cohesion finds its origin in the work of Durkheim. In 'The division of Labor and Society' (1893) Durkheim describes how social cohesion is the 'glue' of society, holding individuals together. He further discusses how social ties unite a society. The concept social capital entails these social ties: "*the features of social organisation such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. It enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital within an area''* (Putman 1993 *in* Morrison 2003, 118). Putnam's definition contains features which are of importance in defining social cohesion. This consequently means that social capital is of importance in defining social cohesion.

The worldwide organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) describes social cohesion as a broad concept, covering multiple features. The OECD has developed a concept of social cohesion that includes the features mentioned by Putnam and Durkheim in addition to other features (OECD, 'Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World'). Sense of belonging and active participation in society, trust, inequality, exclusion and mobility; all important features when conducting research on social cohesion. Following the concept defined by the OECD, social cohesion is build up out of three different but overlapping and interacting dimensions: social capital, social mobility and social inclusion. Social capital combines measures of trust, on the interpersonal as well as on the societal level, with various forms of civic engagement and social networks. Therefore, social capital goes in depth on the features sense of belonging, active participation and trust as discussed by the OECD. Social mobility measures the degree to which people can or believe they can change their position in society. Social inclusion is measured by aspects of the feature social exclusion such as poverty, inequality and socio-spatial segregation. However, there are multiple ways to operationalise social cohesion; there is not only one right way to do it. We chose to operationalise it this way because we believe that these

building blocks are indeed of importance in defining social cohesion. This way our research becomes operational which creates a clear structure.

The interest of this research goes out to conducting research on social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. A neighbourhood is not just a territorially bounded entity, but a series of overlapping social networks (Forrest & Kearns 2001, 2130). As Castells (1997 *in* Morrison 2003, 116) noted, residential-based networks are the building blocks to social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. Social cohesion is about getting by and getting on at the more mundane level of everyday life. A site that is likely to be important for these mundane routines is the residential-based neighbourhood (Forrest & Kearns 2001, 2127). Local neighbourhoods act as an important source of social identity and provide a sense of belonging (Morrison 2003, 115). Based on literature, each one of the building blocks will now be discussed, including an explanation for why they are deemed important when conducting a research on social cohesion on the neighbourhood level.

Social capital

The Health Development Agency (The Health Development Agency, 'social action research project') developed a baseline study using six components that can be used as indicators for social capital in empirical studies. These components include the important features named in the definition of Putnam (1993 *in* Morrison 2003, 118) and the OECD (OECD, 'Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World') in addition to a few more components which facilitate coordination and cooperation of daily life for mutual benefit in a certain area. These components are: participation in the local community, reciprocity towards other inhabitants, feelings of trust and safety, social networks, citizen power and community perception. Almost all features speak for themselves, but what is meant with citizen power is the joining of local services, committees or NGOs that fight for a local cause. However, safety is the most important feature when conducting a research on social capital as it is a fundamental requirement of social cohesion that all people feel safe in their living surroundings (Dempsey 2008a, 107). It is impossible to have a socially cohesive community without any feelings of safety or trust.

Social mobility

The local neighbourhood is also an important element when defining the meaning and structuring of someone's life-chances (Forrest & Kearns 2001, 2137). We can connect the structuring of life-chances with the social mobility concept explained by the OECD (OECD, 'Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World'). If someone experiences upward social mobility, that person is likely to encounter more important life-chances. Take for example education; education provides chances on an upward social mobility in which someone attains a higher social status. Being highly educated is beneficial since this will lead to more important life chances like promotions and international trips. Being socially mobile will most likely assure you of connections to many people outside your own neighbourhood. We can then actually say that more socially mobile people could feel less connected to their own neighbourhood. In this way, it is possible to imagine that social mobility is not really a building block of social cohesion, but rather social immobility. Wilson and Taub (2006 *in* Dempsey *et al.* 2009) clarify this by stating that low residential mobility is linked to increased feelings of attachment to neighbourhoods and an increase in local social networks and interaction. Therefore, social mobility as a theoretical concept is important to look at in relation to social cohesion on the neighbourhood level.

Social inclusion

Social inclusion entails the feature sense of belonging. Social inclusion is about the inclusion of people who share similar aspects such as age, ethnicity or thoughts. However, social inclusion also leads to social exclusion or othering. As stated earlier, social inclusion is measured by aspects of social exclusion. An example of operationalizing social inclusion would be to look at feelings of territoriality, discrimination and sense of place (Dempsey 2008a, 107). Sense of place is linked to the concepts of belonging and territoriality which are all important dimensions when conducting research on social inclusion. People can share a particular order, or share a special ensemble, which distinguishes them from others (Relph 1976 *in* Dempsey *et al.* 2009). Feelings of territoriality leads to processes of social exclusion and inclusion through divisions in space. Amin (2002, 967) also recognizes territoriality as an 'agent of social cohesion', concluding that such territorial norms are commonly perceived as negative for social cohesion on the societal level. However, the process of social cohesion takes place at different levels within society. Feelings of territoriality can for example lead to

processes of othering on the neighbourhood level. Namely, it could be that the whole neighbourhood is considered one territory. It therefore socially excludes people from outside the neighbourhood. These processes of exclusion will not enhance social cohesion on the societal level, but it can benefit the local social cohesion through these local processes of inclusion.

The built environment

People use the built environment they live in on a daily basis. It is the décor of their everyday lives (Dempsey 2008a, 105; Secor 2004, 352). As Holston puts it: *"Their [cities] layered surfaces, their coats of painted stucco, their wraps of concrete register the force of these currents [of social time] both as wear and as narrative"* (Holston 1998, 37). However, because there are multiple definitions of the built environment and many ideas on the manner in which it is supposed to be studied, various scholarly works come up with different results on the relationship between the built environment and aspects of people's daily lives. The aim of this paragraph is to explain a variety of conceptions relating to the content and approach of the built environment.

Definitions of the built environment are to a large extent dependent on the scientific background of the scientist or practitioner (Carmona 2014, 4). Their background defines whether emphasis is being placed on the built environment in relation to top-down urban planning processes or in relation to the concept of 'place' as a center of meaning constructed by experience and everyday practices of its inhabitants (Tuan 1975, 151).

The most general definition of the built environment available is ´all products of human building activity' (Saelens and Handy 2008, S551). The result of this physical alteration of the natural environment by human activity are built forms. These built forms are among other things characterized by the material they are made from, their size and shape and the purpose they serve. Specific elements within the built form (e.g. a window) are characterized by these same things (Lawrence & Low 1990, 454). The built environment is thus defined from the smallest details of somebody's bedroom to the entire layout of the neighbourhood and every scale in between. Because this is an abstract definition, the built environment can be operationalised in multiple ways, depending on the angle of research. While traditional anthropological ethnographies on the relationship between the built environment and human behavior is mostly focused on the relationship between the personal dwelling (e.g. house, apartment, etc.) and matters of family organization (Lawrence & Low

1990, 460), more recent anthropological research focuses on the overall urban environment in relation to human behavior (Holston 1998).

Within research on built environment and planning theory, there are three traditions of thought at hand. The 'visual-artistic tradition' places emphasis on the visual form of the built environment. The 'social usage tradition' focuses on people their experience of the built environment. It emphasizes the image people have of the city is loaded with memories and meaning and, in addition, that the design and form of the city has to support everyday city life (Dempsey 2008b, 255). The newest is 'making places tradition' in which accepted ideas from the latter two traditions are synthesized. It acknowledges the importance of the built environment as both an aesthetic entity and a behavioral setting (Dempsey 2008b, 253). This tradition provides useful concepts for researching the relationship between residents and their built environment.

Sense of place

Within the making places tradition, 'sense of place' is a key concept. Sense of place is about the relationship between human beings and spatial settings (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 233). According to this approach a space becomes a place when it has meaning. The meaning of a place is created by users and inhabitants in the process of using and living in it (Ryden 1993, 38). Sense of place consists of place identity, place dependence and place attachment. Place-identity is related to self-identification in relation to one's physical environment. Place dependence measures the extent to which a place serves the needs of its users. Place attachment is an emotional bond between people and their environment. (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234). The combination of these factors results in people endowing places with value. This value and meaning people give to a place differs per person because they are constructed by experience (Tuan 1975, 152). But this relationship between people and their spatial setting is not only defined by experience. The quality and characteristics of place also contribute to sense of place (Stedman 2003, 673). Within our research we refer to this relation as residents' 'personal connection' to the neighbourhood. According to Dempsey, a positive sense of place is considered a dimension of social cohesion because: '*it contributes to people's enjoyment of where they live*' (Dempsey 2008a, 108).

Modern planning theory pays a lot of attention to the social impact of the urban environment, in line with the making places tradition. Modernism strives to advance planning

and architecture as a solution to the social crises of industrial capitalism. Modern planning is executed and still feasible in many cities across the western world. Rohe (2009, 213) states that from the 1920 onwards, urban planners have acknowledged the importance of physical design of the city as contribution to solving social problems in addition to physical problems. Furthermore, Rohe (2009, 227) argues that neighbourhood design *'does not determine social behavior but it can encourage or discourage certain behaviors'*. However, according to Holston (1998, 45), modernist planning does strive to determine some aspects of people their social lives in order to create an egalitarian society.

Social implications

As Forrest and Kearns (2001, 2137) state in their article, social cohesion tends to take on a strong sense of local space. Local space also plays an important role in the management of local social cohesion. As stated above, the built environment is most generally defined as the part of the physical environment that is constructed by human activity. The built environment of a neighbourhood is encountered by people on a daily basis, and the quality of the built environment makes a direct contribution to people's daily lives (Saelens & Handy 2008, S551). It is consistently argued that a high-quality built environment has a positive effect on social activities and behaviours in urban settings (Dempsey 2008a, 106). And as Rohe states, neighbourhood design can both encourage and discourage certain behaviours (2009, 227).

Dempsey (2008a, 107) argues that trust and reciprocity are integral components of social cohesion. The dimension of safety is a feature that is very important according to Dempsey (2008a, 107). Saelens and Handy (2008, S551) mention how the character of a place influences the degree to which neighbourhoods are considered as safe, comfortable, and attractive for walking. According to Dempsey (2008a, 107), the feature safety has to be positive; it is a fundamental requirement of social cohesion that all people feel safe in their living surroundings.

Dempsey's paper (2008a) provides an examination of the quality of the built environment and tests the claims that it contributes positively to the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. The features of built environment she uses in her research are the accessibility, density, attractiveness, connectedness, legibility, inclusiveness, maintenance, extent of natural surveillance and character of a neighbourhood. The findings of Dempsey's research (2008a) show that almost all features of built environment consistently influence

different aspects of social cohesion, though in different extents. The density of a neighbourhood however was found to be negatively or weakly associated with social cohesion. The connectedness of a neighbourhood was found to be not significant for social cohesion. However, not one feature of built environment strongly affects social cohesion as a whole. Rather a combination of features have significant influence on the social cohesion in a neighbourhood (Dempsey 2008a, 111).

According to Holston the age of a place has an impact on the social relations of people using the place. By creating something completely new and decontextualized, the shock of defamiliarization with what one is used to is supposed to make them identify with the ideal of the new city and so create egalitarianism and social inclusion (Holston 1998, 42). However, in practice these decontextualized places create a no-man's land that encourages people to stay inside. This interiorization encourages a privatization of social relations. Privatization of social relations encourages the stratification of urban space. So the paradox is that modernism strives egalitarianism and wants to encourage the urban social but because of this their planning is argued to create more stratification and segregation (Holston 1998, 45).

1.3 Socio-spatial segregation   **Els & Judith**

Socio-spatial segregation is the projection of a social structure onto space (Häussermann & Siebel 2001 *in* Cassiers & Kesteloot 2012, 1912). Socio-spatial segregation is connected to general societal exclusion mechanisms since it causes spatial separateness between different kind of groups. These cleavages between groups of people have to do with for example socioeconomic position, education, housing and political representation (Smets & Salman 2008, 10).

Spatial segregation is the result of processes in society. But living in a certain geographical place reinforces spatial inequality even more; it is a dialectic relation. *"Space should rather be conceived as socio-spatial reproduction processes in which the spatiality of exclusion mechanisms in itself act as a motor that drives social inequality''* (Cassiers & Kesteloot 2012, 1913). A space can comprehend upward social mobility when the inhabitants of this space are being surrounded by the same concentration of people with a low social profile. People then simply do not have access to the kind of networks for climbing up the social ladder (van Kempen 1994 *in* Cassiers & Kesteloot 2012, 1913). There is also the socio-spatial structure of the city and its intrinsic logics. Think of processes like gentrification, selective migration and housing market mechanisms that match the social groups and their residential environment (Cassiers & Kesteloot 2012, 1913-1914).

Thus, because of socio-spatial segregation certain residential environments are linked to certain social groups. This results in more advantaged and more disadvantaged neighbourhoods. It is commonly believed that social cohesion is more present in advantaged neighbourhoods than in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. For example madanipour et al. (1998 *in* Morrison 2003, 119) describes how there is a common belief that there is less social cohesion within disadvantaged areas. Moreover, within these already deprived areas, the local social dynamics can serve to further intensify the disadvantage already experienced by the residents (Morrison 2003, 120). Baum and Palmer (2002) also found that in neighbourhoods with low-income and high-unemployment, the destinations were perceived as unsafe and impersonal. These factors are believed to be detrimental to community's social cohesion in these disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In addition, Dempsey (2008a, 106) argues that policy

focus on the liveability of neighbourhoods is centered around the idea that: *'the neglected environments send the message that no-one cares and can breed vandalism and antisocial behavior'.* Successful and advantaged neighbourhoods are in this discourse believed to have a positive influence on people their social activities and behaviors because they have a character its' residents take pride in which creates a shared sense of place (Dempsey 2008a, 106). According to these research articles, we can conclude that there is a body of literature that argues that disadvantaged or neglected neighbourhoods have low levels of social cohesion and advantaged or successful neighbourhoods have high levels of social cohesion.

However, there are also arguments that social cohesion is in fact lacking in the more advantaged neighbourhoods, and not so in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Forrest and Kearns (2001, 2130) for example state that in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, it may be the quality of neighbouring which is an important element in people's ability to cope with a decaying and unattractive physical environment. With neighbouring, Forrest en Kearns (2001) mean the contact between neighbours. In more affluent areas, the neighbourhood itself may be more important than the actual neighbouring. So, in advantaged neighbourhoods, people may 'buy into' neighbourhoods rather than necessarily anticipate or practice a great degree of local social interaction (Forrest & Kearns 2001, 2130). Think of the gated communities of many inner cities. In these neighbourhoods, you are in fact buying yourself into a neighbourhood, which fabricates a guaranteed neighbourhood context (Forrest & Kearns 2001, 2136). The common ingredients for social cohesion on the local neighbourhood level are, according to Forrest and Kearns (2001, 2134), discrimination and exclusion and about a majority imposing its will or value system on a minority. It is a well-known fact that disadvantaged neighbourhoods of a city are exactly those areas where discrimination, exclusion and a majority imposing its will on a minority are most frequent. Moreover, it seems that these ingredients for social cohesion may be lacking in precisely those parts of the cities which are apparently successful and problem-free. So, according to these research articles, we can conclude that it would be exactly the other way around. In our research, we look at what level of social cohesion occurs in what kind of neighbourhood and in what way. Furthermore, we want to explain the reasons behind the occurrence of this local social cohesion. We will zoom in on two Swedish neighbourhoods to research this relationship.

Chapter 2 - Context

2.1 Sweden   Els & Judith

There are certain national and urban dynamics that are of importance for this research as these dynamics have shaped the neighbourhoods in Stockholm and the people that inhabit them. Stockholm is not only the capital of Sweden, it shelters the most inhabitants of all cities in Nordic countries. The neighbourhoods these inhabitants live in are divided over the fourteen islands the city consists of. These islands together form the political and economic centre of the country, which entails that most of the country's big corporations, organisations and state offices are stationed in this city. These institutions bring many elites to Stockholm and create a big employed population (Brännström 2004, 2521). These jobs have not only led to Swedish nationals moving to the city, but also motivated a big number of immigrants to come to this city. The country is taking in immigrants and refugees since the 1930s. This flow of newcomers has drastically grown since the 1980s which is why in the present day, Sweden is known to have a heterogeneous and multicultural society. This is mostly visible in Swedish largest cities Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö.

Sweden furthermore turned their economy around over the past twenty years. The country implemented market-oriented economic reforms during the nineties and a second wave of legislation from 2006 to 2010 (Fölster, 'Twenty five years of Swedish reforms'). Such turnovers are detrimental to the compromises between private economic interest and collective social responsibilities that were first at the core of European urban society (Kaelble 2000; Häussermann & Haila 2005 *in* Cassiers & Kesteloot 2012, 1909-1910). It is now more focussed on private economic interest, which causes spatial unevenness and inequality that consequently hinders the development of social cohesion on the societal level.

Additionally, Daun (1996) identified certain personality traits that are considered to be strongly represented in Sweden. These traits include communication apprehension, conflict avoidance, social independence, little open display of strong emotions, and an orientation towards rationality, practicality and Puritanism. There is also a tendency to

egalitarianism (Daun 1996). Sweden is therefore considered to have a higher than average level of individualism among its citizens.

2.2 The neighbourhoods

Midsommarkransen   ***Els***

Midsommarkransen is a residential neighbourhood south of Stockholm city centre. The history of Midsommarkransen starts in the beginning of the nineteenth century when brick-factory AB Tellus moved its production to the neighbourhood and built a residential area around it. In the thirties of the last century the neighbourhood expanded because of two major developments. First of all, new housing standards for poor families resulted in the built of apartment buildings with subsidized rent in Midsommarkransen called *myrdalshus*. The second development in the thirties was the relocation of phone-company LM-ericssons' offices and factory to Midsommarkransen. The company built an area close to the factory with identical three storey high apartment buildings, intended for their employees. Both projects were carried out with the principal of *hus i park,* which resulted in open natural and green areas between the houses (Wehlin-Fürst, 'Midsommarkransen'). In the next decennia the neighbourhood has been complemented with grocery shops, restaurants and two metro stations which allow the residents to be in the city centre within ten minutes. There is not one center where all the facilities are located. Instead, most facilities are scattered around the neighbourhood with concentrations around the metro stations and Svandamsparken (Wehlin-Fürst, 'Midsommarkransen').

In the early periods the neighbourhood was inhabited by a working class population with low income-levels. Today, both the brick- and LM-Ericsson factories have moved away from the neighbourhood. In combination with an increase in housing prices due to gentrification the working-class population is replaced by a middle-class population. Most apartments are co-owned by the residents. This system is called *bostadsrätt*. These houses are generally more expensive than houses rented out through the *hyresrätt* system because the owners are free to ask any price they prefer and people are willing to pay a lot because of the housing shortage. While the *bostädsratt* always entails the buying of a house, the *hyresrätt* system rents out apartments by public as well as private companies.

In 2017 the population of Midsommarkransen existed of 11.490 residents. 2.634 of these residents were foreign born or have parents that are foreign born. Most of these

residents have a (Nordic) European, or Asian background. Residents between 20 and 64 make up, with 74 percent, the biggest population of Midsommarkransen. There is are many families with small children in the neighbourhood. 17 percent of the population are children from 0 to 15 years old. Older children in the age range 16 to 19 only make up for 1,9 percent of the population. Residents form 65 years old make up 7,1 percent of the population (Stockholms stad, 'Detaljerad Statistik').

Husby   *Judith*

Husby is a residential neighbourhood in the northwest of Stockholm. As reaction on the major housing shortage in the entire country the Swedish government implemented the 'Million Homes Programme' in the sixties and the seventies, as explained in Kustermans' (2016) article. During this period, the Swedish government built one million homes across Sweden which has led to uniform large-scale housing estates in multiple cities. These neighbourhoods were built in the outer and peripheral suburbs (Brännström 2004, 2521). As part of this programme, the Stockholm City Council developed the city district Rinkeby-Kista. Husby is part of the city district Rinkeby-Kista and was ready for occupation in 1974. The metro-line straight to the city centre was opened in 1977, allowing the inhabitants to be in the city centre in about twenty minutes (Svenska Bostäder, 'Husby-Akalla').

The city district Rinkeby-Kista contains three other neighbourhoods which borders Husby; Rinkeby, Akalla and Kista (Stockholms stad, 'Husby'). The district is built on the Järva field, an area previously used by the army for military exercises. Husby neighbourhood only consists out of apartment blocks, through which the Million Homes Programme created many homes. Most of these apartments are rented out by Svenska Bostäder, which is a social housing company within the *hyresrätt* system and in service of Stockholms stad. Additionally, there is one other rather big housing company renting out apartments in Husby as which is private. This one is called D. Carnegie & Co. Furthermore, there are a few blocks of apartments which are bought by some inhabitants, though this is just a considerably small part of Husby.

In addition, Husby is built like a two-leveled neighbourhood; there are streets for cars at the ground level and smaller streets for pedestrians on the first level.. The small centre of Husby, consisting out of two squares, can also be found on the first level. In 2011, Husby

already had 11.944 people; 6118 men and 5826 women (Stockholms stad, 'Statistical Year-book of Stockholm 2015'). A big part of this population of Husby share a minority background. The district Rinkeby-Kista holds the largest group of people with a migrant background (Stockholms stad, 'Foreign-born persons and persons born in Sweden with both parents born abroad 31/12/2011 by county'). Statistics then also show that in 2014, about 80 percent of Husby's population shared a minority background, mostly from the middle-east and Africa (Stockholms stad, 'Detaljerad statistik'). Husby furthermore has the lowest income per capita of any district of Stockholm (Stockholms stad, 'Statistical Year-book of Stockholm 2015').

Image 1: Husby as a two-leveled neighbourhood. Photo by Judith de Heer.

Chapter 3 - Midsommarkransen Els

3.1 Social cohesion on the neighbourhood level

Social capital

"I've heard that they are building a theatre here. Or like an improvising theatre. [...] I also wanted to try it. But I don't know, maybe it's too close, you do it with your neighbours. I like to say 'hi' to them. But I don't have a personal contact with them. So maybe it would be weird in this new situation, try to act and then you know, and then you have to go home together."

<div style="text-align:right">- Emma[3], 2/4/2018</div>

The anecdote above illustrates the common level of involvement between the residents of Midsommarkransen. What is often referred to as 'Scandinavian' or even 'typically Stockholm' are unwritten rules that guard social boundaries between people. According to Daun (1996) social independence is a personality trait that is strongly represented in Sweden. It would for example be alright to ring a neighbour's door in case of emergency but it is generally unwanted to ring a neighbour's door to have a spontaneous cup of coffee. These are examples of what social cohesion is all about; how people relate to each other on a mundane level of everyday life (Forrest & Kearns 2001, 2127). Because of these unwritten rules residents of Midsommarkransen can choose to minimize involvement with people they encounter. While some residents of Midsommarkransen prefer this low level of involvement with their neighbours, others wish to be more involved than they are now. But even though it is said to be normal for residents of Stockholm to have low levels of social involvement, there are multiple types of networks within Midsommarkransen in which people are more involved with each other.   These types of residential-based networks are the building blocks of social cohesion on the neighbourhood level (Castells 1997 *in* Morrison 2003, 116). The various social networks of residents of Midsommarkransen vary in strength and origin. The origin of residents their networks and social ties influences the tenor of these

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[3] Unstructured interview with Emma on 03/04/2018 (student).

relations. The strongest relations with fellow residents are often those relations that originate outside the neighbourhood. These relations are with friends known before moving to the neighbourhood or family members who live in the neighbourhood. Among my informants new networks are often made within housing communities or in activity centres like Midsommargården or Tellus Bio.

The level of involvement between neighbours within a housing community is believed to be influenced by the matter of ownership. Residents who own an apartment according to the *bostadsrätt* system seem relatively involved with fellow residents who are part of the same *bostadsrättförening* (housing-association). In comparison, people who rent their apartment according to the *hyresrätt* system are seem relatively less with their neighbours. Members of *bostadsrätt* associations are connected by a shared responsibility of their buildings. Small associations are more likely to be characterized by a higher level of interpersonal trust and social interaction and activity. Both high levels of trust as civic engagement indicate investment in social capital (Putman 1993 *in* Morrison 2003, 118). This investment is generally lower with members of big associations. These residents have stated that it is easier to remain anonymous in an association with over a hundredth residents than it is in one of not more than ten. Contact between members of *bostadsrätt* associations can vary from none, to saying 'hi', to conversation at association meetings, to planned dinner parties or BBQ's. Contact between renters of *hyresrätt* is often limited to saying 'hi' or a chit-chat in the hallway.

Networks outside of the residential building can consist of small conversation with people residents regularly encounter in places like the bakery, supermarket, shops like Mimmi Staaf or the dog park. These people feel that they know each other even though they do not necessarily know each other by name. There are also places in which the contact between people is more in-depth. The best example and most famous example of such a place in Midsommarkransen is Tellus Bio. Tellus is a small cinema that also organizes activities including live music, game nights and drawing workshops. Tellus has been visited by most of the residents of Midsommarkransen for at least ones. There is a group of around seventy volunteers running the place who are connected with each other by actively working together. Due to the size of the group, not everybody knows each other that well. However, people do feel that Tellus is a place that makes them feel connected to fellow residents of Midsommarkransen. The example of Tellus proves that active participation in the local

community contributes to positive relationships and networks between residents which indicate the presence of social capital in Midsommarkransen (Putnam 1993 *in* Morrison 2003, 118).

Social mobility

According to Wilson and Taub (2006 *in* Dempsey *et al.* 2009) people who experience high social mobility experience lower levels of social cohesion on the neighbourhood level and people who experience low social mobility experience high levels of social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. Midsommarkransen is predominantly populated by people with relatively high social mobility because of a good educational background, nice jobs with high incomes and the availability important life chances. However, his high mobility hasn't always been, and still is not a reality for all residents of Midsommarkransen. Midsommarkransen used to be a working-class neighbourhood. First for the employees of the brick-factory, and later for employees of the LM Ericsson factory. These factories have long moved from the neighbourhood and since then this working-class generation has been making way for a younger middle-class population. So today these different groups still live together. However, due to an increase in housing prices in Midsommarkransen households with low incomes can no longer afford a residence in the neighbourhood. Tina[4] is concerned that: "*in the end it will change the city. And it will be, not be possible for people with low incomes or no incomes to live here*".

So now there are therefore two generations visible in Midsommarkransen. A growing young middle class population and a declining old working class population. This new middle class population is generally highly educated and have well-paying jobs. However, the claim that people who gain high social mobility are less attached to the neighbourhood and fellow residents than residents with low social mobility does not completely apply to Midsommarkransen. Some residents with well respected jobs in the city centre have stated that they choose to live in Midsommarkransen because of its' close proximity to the city centre. These residents can be minimally invested in their own neighbourhood because their work and social life is organised outside of Midsommarkransen. This is however not the case for all residents with connections outside the neighbourhood due to high social mobility. There are plenty of residents of Midsommarkransen who work in the city centre but who are

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[4] Unstructured interview with Tina on 23/03/2018.

also invested in the neighbourhood by spending time in public spaces, meeting with friends in the neighbourhood and attending and organising local events and activities. Wilson and Taub (2006 *in* Dempsey *et al.* 2009) thus argue that low levels of mobility relate to increased attachment to the neighbourhood and fellow residents. However, the findings of this research suggest that high social mobility thereby not necessarily lead to low levels of attachment to the neighbourhood.

Social inclusion

"Now the gentrification was really about to, you could see it happen, and people were really talking about it. And this was […] it's been a really disadvantaged area before. And in the 90ties you could still notice that. […] And then when I moved here I could feel, well this is about to become a trendy part of Stockholm. […] Now the apartments are so expensive and the people that I see around me they all look the same. And yeah it's a problem I think that we don't see people with a different color of their skin. People do a lot of similar things here. A lot of people work with media, and culture and, I work as an psychologist. And yeah a lot of people do stuff like that here. And of course it is nice to feel 'oh we have the same language'. But it's also a burden that you don't, it's not enough mixed I think."

- Anna[5], 29/03/2018

Most of the informants of this research were middle-class Swedes in the age-range late-twenties till late-forties that are part of this group who '*have the same language*'. Experiences of residents and my observations of public spaces like cafés and cross-roads have proven that this research-population reflects the demographic make-up of Midsommarkransen well. Many informants have indicated that they regret the lack of diversity within the neighbourhood at the moment.

As described in the previous paragraph, Midsommarkransen consist of a growing young middle class population and a declining old working class population. In Tellus these two generations come together and socialize. However in general people tend to socialize more with people from their own age-group. This does not mean that the two groups are isolated from each other. One informant for example helps her elderly neighbour out by doing his laundry in the common laundry room because he does not understand how the

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[5] Unstructured interview with Anna on 29/03/2018. Anna is a volunteer at Biocafe Tellus.

machine works. In addition, another informant says she tries to keep their curb free from snow so that her elderly upstairs neighbours won't slip and fall. These gestures show that residents are happy to help each other out when needed. This feeling of reciprocity is often stated to be an integral feature of social cohesion (Dempsey 2008a, 107; Putnam 1993 *in* Morrison 2003, 115) and connects residents across generations. So there is a sense of reciprocity but the contact between different age groups remains more trivial. Thus, on the neighbourhood level residents feel that they are part of a middle class 'creative' group. The middle class 'creative' group is said to consist of people with predominantly leftish political ideas. In line with Relphs (1976 *in* Dempsey *et al.* 2009) claim that inclusion is about belonging together due to a shared a place in society or a shared belief or background, there is therefore a sense of inclusion with people who feel they belong to this middle class 'creative' group.

Because of gentrification the housing-prices have risen to such an extent that the neighbourhood, especially the bostadsrätt apartments, are mainly accessible for people with an above average pay-grade. A hairdresser that has worked in Midsommarkransen for over ten years indicated that he loves the neighbourhood but that he could never live here because of the market-prices. This example reflects the fact that processes of inclusion are linked to exclusion of those who do not share characteristic features like wealth (Relph 1976 *in* Dempsey *et al.* 2009). One of my informants strongly believes that buildings managed through the system of *hyresrätt* ensure the last bit of social diversity in the neighbourhood. The people I talked to who live in *hyresrätt* apartments are aware of the lack of diversity in Midsommarkransen. However they do not notice it on a daily basis because they feel that they do come into contact with people from different social and ethnic backgrounds. That is because the building they live in is more mixed then is the norm in the neighbourhood.

Besides wealth and age there is the matter of ethnic diversity in relation to social inclusion. As my informant above stated that she does not encounter people with 'a different color of their skin', many informants have indicated that the neighbourhood lacks this kind of diversity. The neighbourhood however has an *etableringboende* located near the Midsommarkransen metro station. This is an establishment where unaccompanied youth migrants live and work on their integration process into Swedish society. In community centre Midsommargården a few activities a week are organized to connect these new residents with fellow residents as part of their integration in the Swedish society. However

this process of inclusion in the neighbourhood is obstructed by the limited amount of people from Midsommarkransen that visit them. This lack of interaction makes it difficult to overcome the differences and create a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood as a territory of inclusion (Dempsey 2008a, 107).

3.2 Connectedness to the neighbourhood

All residents of a neighbourhood have places within their neighbourhood that are of significance to them. The meaning of a place can differ between residents or groups. This meaning is created by users and inhabitants in the process of using and living in it (Ryden 1993, 38). Because residents have different usage patterns the connection they feel with Midsommarkransen or specific places within the neighbourhood vary. In addition these connections are never univocal. It mostly consists of multiple dimensions, a combination of multiple ways of feeling connected. Some residents moved to the neighbourhood because they already felt a connection to the area. Others moved to Midsommarkransen because they found a place by chance while they had no particular opinion about the neighbourhood yet. However, whether people have moved to Midsommarkransen with intention or were indifferent about it in the beginning, I believe everybody I spoke with is satisfied about the fact that they now live in Midsommarkransen and feel some sort of connection with the neighbourhood. While some residents can clearly articulate their connection with the neighbourhood, for others the connection seems less significant. The most evident connections with Midsommarkransen will be explained below.

Historical connectedness

During the first walking interview of this research I asked my informant Mark[6] if he could provide me with an introduction of the neighbourhood and show me the most important places. One of the first things he explained was that the road we were walking down, 'Tegelbruksvägen', which means 'brickworkroad', is a reminder of the time when there was a brick factory located in Midsommarkransen. With the help of Wikipedia he spoke to me about the history of Midsommarkransen. So even though I did not specifically ask about the history of the neighbourhood and it was not part of his basic knowledge, he did find it important to show me the history of the neighbourhood. Like Mark, many residents have elaborated on the history of the neighbourhood. Midsommarkransen was built in the beginning of the 20th century to house the workers of the brick factory AB Tellus (Stockholm:

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[6] Walking interview with Mark on 13/02/2018.

the Capital of Scandinavia, 'Guide to Midsommarkransen'). There are multiple places that still refer to the existence of the old brick factory by using its' name. These are for example Tellus Biocafé, Tellus Pizza, and Tellusborgvägen. In the 1940's the factory and offices of phone-company LM-Ericsson moved to Midsommarkransen. They also built homes around their factory for their workers. This part of Midsommarkransen is called LM-staden. In addition to homes, the factory also provided facilities for their employees. One of these facilities was an activity and public education called Midsommargården. The building of Midsommargården still exists today and is now functioning as a school for children with special needs in the daytime and as a community centre in the afternoons and weekends. The manager of the place stated that the history of the place is evident in the building.

"Like history is in the wall. [...] And I think you can feel it. Most, for example we have old people coming: "o when I was a kid I was here dancing". So they have like a good experience from the beginning. And some say: "my mother was here when she was a kid, and now I'm here". And you can, and even if you haven't been here, you can feel that this is a house were a lot of things is happening all the time and has been happening all the time for 70 years."

As Holston would argue, a building like Midsommargården tells the story of social time because it registers this time '*both as wear and as narrative*' (Holston 1998, 37). The narrative of this place is embedded in the history of the neighbourhood and linked to the history of other places in the neighbourhood. Because of the gentrification of the neighbourhood some of these old buildings with historical value have to make way for new building projects. For some years a group of concerned residents made efforts to preserve these buildings that are of value to them. According to Adam, the preservation of history of the neighbourhood is important for people to stay connected to the place on multiple dimensions. He thus recognizes the importance of past experiences in shaping people's connection to a place, in line with Tuan's claim that meaning is constructed through experience (Tuan 1975, 152).

Social connectedness

Because the built environment of the neighbourhood is encountered by residents on a daily basis (Dempsey 2008a, 1005; Secor 2004, 352), it is a place and consists of places where people meet and interact. The neighbourhood and specific places within the neighbourhood can thus have a social meaning to residents. Residents can feel connected to a place because it has a social significance. As Tuan argues, this meaning is constructed by experience (Tuan 1975, 152). In order for a social connection to a place to exist, social events need to take place there. Very often, the more social events, and with that experiences, have taken place there, the stronger the social connection people feel to that place. My informant Nils[7] stated about connection to social places in relation to time:

"It's these kind of buildings in these kind of local self organized activities that really make the neighbourhood special. But the city planners, and the politicians [...] they don't see that these self organized movements take. you know it takes a long time to get those to take shape. And when you destroy the building where the people meet, you kind of destroy the movement too. And that's what's happening. And people, they lose that sort of physical and emotional connection to that place. It's really sad."

He emphasises the importance of place in people their social experiences. Places where social activities take place make people feel more connected to that specific place and the neighbourhood in general. Social activity does not have to be organized activities as is the case at for example Tellus or Midsommargården. There are many places in Midsommarkransen where residents meet and interact like bakeries, restaurants, the parks and gardens. The importance of these places for residents to fulfil their social needs indicates an extent of place dependence (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234). In contrast to places like Midsommargården and Tellus that encourage residents to meet new people, most places are used for people to meet friends and family from an existing network. The proximity of friends and family is often mentioned as a reason to move to the neighbourhood. It is also a form of a social connection feel with the neighbourhood.

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[7] Open interview with Nils on 05/03/2018

Natural connectedness

The natural connection people have with Midsommarkransen directs at the value residents attach to the green areas in and around the neighbourhood. These green areas called '*gröna kilar*' are iconic to urban planning in Sweden. *'Gröna kilar'* are green areas, often shaped like triangles, that ensure natural space within the neighbourhood or between neighbourhoods. A rim of forest for example separates the neighbourhoods Aspudden and Midsommarkransen. Because of the higher location of Midsommarkransen the natural area can be crossed by walking approximately 100 flights of stairs. In addition to these relatively big green ares, the spaces in between houses that are built after 1938 are mostly open green spaces according to the principle of 'hus i park' (1998, Midsommarkransen), which means 'house within park'. These spaces are often equipped with bbq's, benches and picnic tables by residents to spent time there both with other residents or separately.

Image 2: Green space between apartment buildings according to the principle of 'hus i park'.

A sufficiency of green areas contributes to the natural quality of the neighbourhood which connects people to this area. There are however factors applicable to Midsommarkransen that negatively affect residents their natural connection to the neighbourhood. For example the proximity of highway E20 that parallels the eastern border. According to some, the highway disturbs the natural quality of the neighbourhood with noise disturbance and air pollution. This disruption emphasises the importance of the natural quality for residents' connectedness to the neighbourhood because it turns out to be a reason for some to consider a 'cleaner' environment for their next residence.

Another natural aspect that residents of Midsommarkransen all seem to value a lot is it's close proximity to Vinterviken, a bay in Malären lake. Almost all informants mentioned Vinterviken as on of their favorite spots of the area. In summertime people go there to swim, or have picnics and barbeques. But also in wintertime people enjoy spending their time hiking, walking the dog or have a coffee at the café there. Vinterviken is a place that residents depend on for their outdoor activity and entertainment. This dependence is responsible for the huge value residents attach to it (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234). The importance of Vinterviken is one of many examples that shows that the connection people feel with Midsommarkransen sometimes extents to a wider area commonly referred to as Hägersten. Emma[8] said about this area that: *"Hägerstan is really cool I think. If you're from here it's hard to move to another part of Stockholm I guess."* This underlines the extent of emotional place attachment (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234) that is at play in Midsommarkransen and the Hägersten area.

Aesthetical connectedness
Astrid[9] told me she felt like she had found the perfect place the first time she visited Midsommarkransen. At the first glance of her new apartment building she knew that she was going to feel at home there. She could not have wished for a more beautiful apartment with its' high windows and a view over the red rooftops of the neighbourhood. According to Astrid, her opinion about the aesthetics of the neighbourhood contributes to the fact that she feels more connected to Midsommarkransen than she ever has to any other neighbourhood

[8] Unstructured interview with Emma on 02/04/2018
[9] Unstructured interview with Astrid on 30/03/2018

she has lived in before. This aesthetical opinion evaluation of the neighbourhood attributes to how people experience places, how they feel within the neighbourhood.

Elias[10] has a very detailed opinion about the relationship between the aesthetics of architecture and the way people feel in the neighbourhood. According to Elias, older buildings are designed with the use of the golden ratio. Those buildings are therefore built with such proportions that it is pleasant for the eye. These buildings contain more round-like shapes instead of being a symmetrical square like many modern buildings. According to Elias, people are more likely to feel connected to these kind of aesthetically pleasing buildings. The characteristic red and yellow apartment buildings, from the brick factory period, contain all different kinds of shapes and angles in its' design. Many residents have proudly talked about the beautiful buildings of 'gamla Midsommarkransen', the buildings that are always used to represent the neighbourhood in articles and on the internet. This pride that residents take in being a part of Midsommarkransen because of the built environment creates a sense of neighbourhood. The importance of the built environment in this connectedness creates the opportunity to buy yourself into the neighbourhood as Forrest & Kearns would argue (2001, 2036). This environment fabricates a guaranteed neighbourhood context for new residents.

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[10] Walking interview with Elias on 29/04/2018.

Image 3: The appearance of 'gamla' Midsommarkransen. Photo by Aafke Bergman.

3.3 'Small town' experiences of Midsommarkransen

Image 4: Map of Midsommarkransen by Kransenkartan[11].

Kransenkartan, which means map of Kransen, a commonly used abbreviation of Midsommarkransen, is made by a group of shop owners of Midsommarkransen who wanted to make a clear picture of places you can visit in Midsommarkransen. The neighbourhood is known to have: *'a vintage boutique, niche design shop or great café at almost every corner in the neighborhood'* (Stockholm: the Capital of Scandinavia, 'Guide to Midsommarkransen'). The map, the webpage and an instagram account are used to promote places, products and events in Midsommarkransen with pictures and articles. The facilities that are depicted on the map are clearly dispersed around the entire area. Along with the facilities that are not depicted on the map, there is not one central place where everything and everybody comes together. Midsommarkransen can be divided into three areas called Midsommarkransen, LM-staden and Telefonplan. Most facilities are concentrated around the metro stations Midsommarkransen and Telefonplan and around Svandammsparken, which lies in between these two metro stations. The neighbourhood is often referred to as a little village or as Ingrid[12] put it: *"I really like that it is a small town feeling"*. Also, Linnea[13] said: *"It feels like a small town in the big city"*, because it has all the facilities residents need. This small town feeling clearly indicates a sense of place dependence (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234) as residents feel that if they don't want to, they don't have to leave Midsommarkransen because it can provide them in all their needs. There are multiple supermarkets, hairdressers, bakeries, schools, a pharmacy, a library, restaurants, cafés and multiple other original shops scattered around the neighbourhood. There is a legend of a man who has not set foot out of Midsommarkransen for decades because all he needs is right there in Midsommarkransen. Of all the places in the neighbourhood, the places that the informants of this research deemed most important to their experience of Midsommarkransen are their homes, the park 'Svandammsparken' and the cinema Biocafé Tellus.

The most important aspect of these places is the way they make people feel. People their apartment, Svandammssparken and Biocafé Tellus are places in which many residents feel most welcome and enjoy spending their time. A couple of my informants described that the important aspect of these places is that they have 'a nice atmosphere'. They have stated that they believe the atmosphere of a place is very important for the way they feel inside that

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[12] Unstructured interview with Ingrid on 20/02/2018
[13] Unstructured interview with Linnea on 06/03/2018

place but also around it. In the words of my informant Anna[14]: *"this atmosphere is leaking out in the society around us."* When you look at it in that way, you can argue that the atmospheres of all the separate spaces together shape the atmosphere of the neighbourhood. Thus, Midsommarkransen does not have one place that can be defined as the centre of the neighbourhood, rather multiple places spread across the area shape the atmosphere and people their perception of the neighbourhood. Both specific places as well as the general character of the neighbourhood influence residents' everyday perceptions on issues like safety and whether the neighbourhood is considered as comfortable, and attractive for walking (Saelens and Handy 2008, S551).

According to Dempsey (2008a, 107), the feature safety has to be positive; it is a fundamental requirement of social cohesion that all people feel safe in their living surroundings. All informants have indicated that they think Midsommarkransen is a relatively safe neighbourhood. As Ingrid put it: *"Yeah I feel safe. [...] Personally I don't feel threatened. Not more than I would do anywhere else."*. In addition she stated *"I wouldn't want to live in the ground floor. There has been a lot of burglaries in some areas nearby on the groundfloors."* Malin her storage on the ground floor has been burgled recently. However, this event has not affected her feeling of being safe in Midsommarkransen. There are nevertheless other aspects of the built environment that contribute or harm residents their feeling of safety.

Demarcation of place and feelings of territoriality are characteristics of a place that appear to be closely related to residents' perceptions of safety and trust. Martin is for example comfortable to leave his kids play in the garden because it is closed of with a coded gate. The garden is only accessible for people who he therefore knows to be his neighbours. Such a place where people can 'buy themselves into' gives residents a bound off discrete area within which they can feel safe and secure (Suttles 1972 *in* Forrest and Kearn 2001, 2135). Such a demarcated territory is less anonymous in comparison to open spaces that can be traversed by anyone. For Martin, his garden is therefore a safe place where he and his family can hang out with their neighbours. On the opposite, open spaces like green areas between apartment buildings are accessible for everybody. These open spaces are therefore more anonymous. For some residents this anonymity of open spaces has a negative influence on perceptions of safety because there is a lack of social control when you remain anonymous. Others however

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[14] Unstructured interview with Anna on 29/03/2018

feel more safe when they can remain anonymous because social control can feel as being exposed and vulnerable.

Safety issues are as well closely related to the infrastructure of the neighbourhood. Because of a limited amount of special parking facilities residents park their cars at the side of the road in front of their homes. Because of this overall presence of cars, many parents deem it unsafe for their children to play outside without supervision. Wendy lives across the road from Svandammsparken, a perfect location for children to play ball and run around. However, she does not dare to let her daughter play there without any adult supervision because she deems crossing the road unsafe due to the overall traffic. The design of the roads contributes to the consistent speeding of cars within the neighbourhood. An organic design has resulted in round-shaped street corners which are easy to ride at high speed. So even though the neighbourhood is populated by many families with small children, the infrastructure is not considered appropriate for the safety of this age-group.

The character of the neighbourhood and specific places within the neighbourhood relate in addition to feelings of safety also to the division of residents over the neighbourhood. Midsommarkransen is a neighbourhood that has been under constant development for over decades. This development has resulted in new innovative places in addition to places that have history that is deeply embedded in Midsommarkransen. These new places have a tendency to attract a different public than older places. Ellen[15] explained the differences she notices: *"[...] if you see the new stores, the new restaurants popping up, you can see they attract a younger public. And maybe a more hipster kind of lifestyle. But also you have like Tellus, the cinema. And I guess it's you know, hipster people go there, but it's not made for them"*. The differences in public is thus mostly generational. As explained previously, Midsommarkransen is populated by a young 'creative middle class' generation and an older 'working class' generation. Tellus is visited by people from all walks of life but is generally classified as a place for long-time residents. A charming warm place where people that are being pushed out by processes of gentrification still feel at home and welcome. For some, Tellus is a place they visit occasionally, while for others it is a regular basis to see a film, attend an activity, or simply have fika, the traditional coffee with swedish pastry.

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[15] Unstructured interview with Ellen on 02/04/2018

As previously stated, the atmosphere of one specific place has an influence on the perceived atmosphere of the entire neighbourhood. The participation in social activity at one specific place provides residents with social connections across the neighbourhood. These social connections become tangible by everyday encounters, like a spontaneous *"hey how are you doing?"* when running into someone at the supermarket. Like Anna explained about the role of her activity at Tellus: *"I can talk to them when I meet them out on the street. And I yeah it's a lot of people, maybe I don't know them very well, but I kind of know them by being here together, we work together. And then I can speak to them a little bit on the street yeah. It's like a connection, even though it's not that we are close friends or so."* Also shop owner Linnea thinks that her shop has provided her with social connections within the neighbourhood. When asked whether she has friendships that originate from customer contact in the store she answered: *"Yes, absolutely. People who live here, especially when you get children you talk even more to people. So definitely. I know very much people that I didn't know before. When you go to like Consum and here on the streets you say 'hey' to everyone. And you don't know if it's your neighbour or like a shop customers"*. According to Forrest & Kearns (2001, 2130), in more affluent areas, like Midsommarkransen, the neighbourhood itself may be more important than the actual neighbouring. However, in the case of Midsommarkransen this research has shown that the quality of the neighbourhood, which means the abundance of good and well-enjoyed places as part of the built environment contribute to the degree of neighbouring.

Chapter 4 - Husby

4.1 Social cohesion on the neighbourhood level

Social capital

"...But its still the… the back-up and the friendliness and the way you want to help each other in just the neighbourhood where we know each other, that is strong. […] I love that people help people from… different kind of people. And of course you have that everywhere, but not in the same way."

- Mary[16], 03/03/2018

Like the quote above, the friendliness and the helpful character of Husby's community is often described as one of the best things by the residents of the neighbourhood. *'When I lost my brother, the whole community was supportive…'*, Jay[17] mentioned in relation to the helpful character. Therefore, it can be stated that the feature reciprocity is positive; there is a strong feeling of helping each other out in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the common friendliness is the most prevailing perception of the community of Husby. In order to define Husby's social capital, the remaining features mentioned by Durkheim (1893), the OECD (OECD, 'Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World') and the Health Development Agency (The Health Development Agency, 'social action research project') will now be discussed in relation to Husby's social life.

The features trust, reciprocity and safety as part of social capital are perhaps the most fundamental requirements to a socially cohesive community (Dempsey 2008a, 107). Namely, without trust, reciprocity or especially safety feelings, meaningful social ties won't exist, which are after all the glue of society (Durkheim, 1893). So, these features must be positive. In case of Husby, many informants stated that they experience positive feelings of safety. The negative media image of Husby caused by deviant acts like robberies have deduced this

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[16] Open interview with Mary on 03/03/2018. Mary, 51-years old, has a Swedish background and is living in Husby since 2005.

[17] Group interview with Jay and his friends on 03/04/2018. They, all in their twenties, share a non-Swedish background and for their entire lives they have lived in Husby.

safety feeling for some, but not one informant claimed that they genuinely feel unsafe in the neighbourhood. On the contrary, the friendliness and helpful character of the community causes feelings of safety as well as trustworthy relations between the inhabitants.

Civic engagement is another important feature of social capital and is, in the case of Husby, often related to politics. This form of civic engagement can be viewed as a form of citizen power, which includes joining local services, committees or NGO's. In the past, there have been protests against Stockholms stad and Svenska Bostäder as the main property owner in the area. The inhabitants of Husby started to feel neglected by Stockholms stad over the years. The buildings were not well maintained, which led to a certain degradation of the apartment blocks. Many inhabitants shared the feeling that there was no dialogue between Stockholms stad and them. When Stockholms stad introduced a radical building plan for Husby and surrounding neighbourhoods called 'Järvalyftet' (Stockholms stad, 'Järvalyftet'), many inhabitants started to protest. *'We had checkpoints on the bridges. We gave people coffee and we wanted them to sign lists…'*, Xander[18] stated about his own civic engagement at that time. In 2008, 'Järvadialogen' (Stockholms stad, 'Järvalyftet') was formed, in which the renovations of Husby and surrounding area were for the first time discussed with the inhabitants. Furthermore, the Stockholm Riots in 2013 was a form of protest in which multiple inhabitants of Husby were united in numerous grassroot organisations to express their feelings of mistreatment by mostly the police, therefore increasing the citizen power in the neighbourhood.

Nowadays, there are political meetings in Husby Träff, the main community centre in Husby. At these meetings, the inhabitants of Husby are offered a chance to say what they want or bring up own ideas through which a dialogue is created. However, while attending these meetings myself, it did not go unnoticed that only a certain group shows up to speak up their minds. This group includes many pensioned Swedes who have lived here since or shortly after the construction of Husby had been finalized. Furthermore, there were men and women from other nationalities, but they were all at least over 40 years of age. The attending public clearly showed a misrepresentation of the actual population in Husby. The conversations and interviews with the youth of Husby clarifies that there is a general mistrust in the government, police and Stockholms stad, explaining the fact why they were never at

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[18] Open interview with Xander on 06/03/2018. Xander, 74 years old, has a Swedish background and is living in Husby since 1982.

these meetings. As Dempsey (2008, 106) puts it, *"neglected environments send the message that no one cares and can breed vandalism and antisocial behavior"*, in this case connecting the somewhat higher levels of criminality in the neighbourhood to the feelings of neglection experienced by the youth. However, this topic will be continued in the paragraph on social mobility.

The feature social networks as part of social capital is considered as very positive by all informants; the networks seem to be widespread and it is rather impossible to walk through the centre of Husby without being recognized. Nikita[19] told me how her social network is often a reason why she misses her bus in the morning. On her way to the bus stop, she most of the times crosses paths with many people of her social network. This leads to some small talk, often resulting in her being too late for her bus. Inhabitants mentioned how the small but very dense area is the reason that people know or at least recognise one another, leading to a common friendliness and familiarity.

Another important dimension in constructing the feature social networks is ethnicity; Beumer (2010) states that multicultural communities have lower levels of interpersonal trust and formal and informal networks. Husby is very multicultural, and many of these ethnic groups have their own association that generates certain social networks. Alex[20] for example mentioned how he is part of an Iraqi association. Furthermore, in Husby Träff there are daily meetings of the Eritrean association. However, the fact that there certainly is a division due to multiple ethnic associations as well as religions, it does not mean that this leads to social exclusion and negative behaviours towards other ethnicities and religions. Amanda[21], a young woman educated especially in the field of social capital, explained her point of view on this. She indeed experiences the 'bonding of social capital', which refers to within-group connection that are often dense networks. Think of family ties or religious networks. However, she noticed that there also is a lot of 'bridging social capital', which refers to between-group connections that implies crosscutting networks (Lancee 2010, 202-203). Putnam (2002 *in* Lancee 2010, 203) further clarifies this with the statement that *'whereas bonding social capital is to 'get by', bridging social capital is to get ahead'*. Bridging social

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[19] Unstructured facetime interview with Nikita on 30/03/2018. Nikita, 17 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby for whole of her life.
[20] Informal interview with Alex on 22/02/2018. Alex, exact age unknown, has a non-Swedish background and works in Husby but has not lived here.
[21] Informal interview with Amanda on 21/03/2018. Amanda, exact age unknown, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby for a few years within the last decade.

capital is done through for example sport clubs and collective meetings in Husby Träff, where people from different ethnicities and religions meet up. Because Husby is very diverse, bridging social capital is almost inevitable. Amanda mentioned how she had find it easy to integrate due to the diversity. This indicates that bridging social capital is well present in the neighbourhood itself, which causes certain attitudes and values that contribute to the exchange of resources between the inhabitants (Lancee 2010, 208).

Social mobility

"… I mean my family and my friends that don't live in Husby, they always… since I moved here, they always ask: are you still liking it here? When you are going to… you know… what is your plan?"

- Mary[22], 03/03/2018

Living in Husby is not without any prejudices. The citation above shows how Mary's family and friends frequently ask her if she really is comfortable living in a neighbourhood like Husby. As described in the context, there is certain image of the Husby inhabitants shaped by the media after the Stockholm Riots in 2013. *'… it is only bad attention. They only show the bad images, but they don't show the palm trees'*, Sascha[23] said. He clarified that the media never shows the positive things about Husby, referring to that as the 'palm trees'.

Thus, the media portrayals have led to certain prejudices within society against the inhabitants of Husby. Husby inhabitants are often pictured as 'criminals' and this image can best be explained by an example given by a friend of Jay[24]. He recalled a memory in which he had just started working somewhere in Stockholm. His colleagues asked him if he was from Husby, and immediately 'joked' how everyone in the workplace should protect their car from fires. *"They look at everyone the same, you understand me? Everyone is a thief.''*, Jay continued. The fact that he is from Husby is not beneficial in the job-market, so it is to say that the local neighbourhood is a crucial element when defining the meaning and structuring of someone's life-chances (Forrest & Kearns 2001, 2137).

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[22] Open interview with Mary on 03/03/2018. Mary, 51-years old, has a Swedish background and is living in Husby since 2005.
[23] Walking Interview with Sascha and 2 colleagues on 28/03/2018. Sascha, exact age unknown, is a man who grew up in Husby and works with the youth of Husby via Lugna Gatan.
[24] Group interview with Jay and his friends on 03/04/2018. They, all in their twenties, share a non-Swedish background and for their entire lives they have lived in Husby.

Since most of the Husby inhabitants share a minority background, prejudices based on racial factors are not uncommon as well. Nikita[25] experiences prejudices when going to school in central Stockholm. She feels like the only 'black girl' there, apart from her sister, and she experiences certain prejudices based on the fact that she is from Husby. Moreover, one of Jay's friends is unemployed, but actively searching for a job. However, due to the prejudices against him based on his ethnic background and the fact that he is from Husby, his chances on the job market are less than a *'white Swedish male from a middle class Swedish family'*, as the social worker Adam[26] recalled it.

Due to the bad reputation of schools in Husby, Nikita's mother made her and her sister go to a school in the centre of Stockholm. During my participant observation, I attended a meeting organised by Stockholms stad which provided information on the schools in Husby and the other neighbourhoods of the district Rinkeby-Kista. As it turns out, the schools established in this area share a bad reputation and profoundly worse school results than schools from other parts of Stockholm. As Jay and his friends[27] had also put it, going to school in Husby is 'total chaos'. Receiving no good education will have its implications among the youth of Husby. This will negatively affect their chance on encountering important life-chances, which according to Forrest and Kearns (2001, 2137) results in a more socially immobile lifestyle. As Smets & Salman (2008, 9) put it, Husby as a space comprehends upward social mobility as the inhabitants are surrounded by people with the same low social profile; a minority background with a low educational level.

Furthermore, Husby has the lowest income per capita of any district of Stockholm (Stockholms stad, 'Statistical Year-book of Stockholm 2015'). which is due to multiple reasons. First, most inhabitants of Husby share a minority background, and this has certain implications for their job opportunities and income. Nikita for example told me the story of how her Eritrean mother came to Stockholm to work, as well as numerous others. Most of them didn't receive any education as they were purely focussed on work. Since education is frequently a requisite when applying for a job, multiple families nowadays deal with unemployment. Nevertheless, some immigrants did receive education and entered Sweden

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[25] Unstructured facetime interview with Nikita on 30/03/2018. Nikita, 17 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby for whole of her life.

[26] Open interview with Adam and his colleague Fernandez on 05/04/2018. They, exact age unknown, share a non-Swedish background and work as social workers in Husby.

[27] Group interview with Jay and his friends on 03/04/2018. They, all in their twenties, share a non-Swedish background and for their entire lives they have lived in Husby.

with a degree. Jacob[28] and Sam[29] are two informants of mine with degrees obtained in a foreign, non-European country. According to the Swedish immigration office, both degrees were not accepted and they could not practice their profession in Sweden. Reasons for this was the lack of Swedish language and the fact that they were educated by 'different standards' than those applicable in Sweden. Jacob is now studying for a test to be able to be a dentist again, but Sam is working two jobs at the same time in order to take care of his two children. Studying for a Swedish exam is therefore out of the question: *'the bills have to be paid…'*. So even for immigrants with degrees, their opportunities on the job market is not as high as normal Swedes. Husby as space therefore again comprehends someone's upward social mobility, but now through exclusion processes from outside the neighbourhood on the societal level. These exclusion processes will however be further discussed in the paragraph on social inclusion.

The fact that there are certain prejudices against Husby inhabitants, bad school results and (consequently) less job opportunities contributes to a certain social immobility on the societal level. However, As Wilson and Taub (2006 *in* Dempsey *et al.* 2009) clarify, low residential mobility is linked to increased feelings of attachment to neighbourhoods and an increase in local social networks and interaction. In addition, being highly educated most likely assures you of connections to other people from outside your own neighbourhood. Therefore, the social immobility that many inhabitants of Husby experience strengthen the ties between themselves as they feel united in their social immobility. This also explains the widespread social networks in Husby with their common friendliness and familiarity.

Social inclusion

There are certain challenges in Husby that have resulted in feelings of social inclusion on the neighbourhood level. However, these formed relations between people have sometimes led to more social exclusion on the societal level. In this research, social inclusion was measured by looking at aspects that causes social exclusion, like poverty, inequality and socio-spatial segregation (OECD, 'Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World.'). There is a certain poverty quite equally distributed over the

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[28] Open interview with Jakob on 26/03/2018. Jakob, 35 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby for the past 4 to 5 years.
[29] Informal interview with Sam on 04/04/2018. Sam, 38 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby since 2013.

neighbourhood; Husby namely has the lowest income per capita of all Stockholm districts (Stockholms stad, 'Statistical Year-book of Stockholm 2015'). This kind of poverty is, as multiple informants have explained it, a kind of poverty in relation to the Swedish standards. Husby's inhabitants are provided in their daily needs, but money for a vacation for example is often out of the question. Sam[30] for example rents one room of about twenty square meters in someone's apartment. Every other weekend, Sam's two children stay with him in this room. He described how his two children sleep in the bed while he sleeps on a mattress on the floor. However, when I asked him about poverty, his answer was that he didn't experience any. But when comparing it to Swedish standards, there certainly is a difference. Though Sam represents many inhabitants of Husby; the inhabitants seem satisfied with what they have, which is a life that provides them in their basic needs.

Another deviation from normal Swedish standards is the fact that many apartments are overcrowded, not only by large families but also through the black market. Many rooms in Husby are rented out through (illegal) second-hand contracts; *'more than 10.000 I have seen…'*, Jakob[31] told me to ascertain the popularity of the black market. This all is possible due to the desperate housing need in Stockholm. Sam rents his room also via the black market. Although he believes he is overpaying, it is still cheaper to live in Husby then in another part of Stockholm. Due to their socioeconomic position, the inhabitants of Husby often cannot afford to live somewhere else, increasing the influence of the black-market in Husby even more. According to Cassiers and Kesteloot (2012, 1913-1914), a housing market mechanism like this one can exclude the inhabitants of Husby even more from society. A mechanism like this namely matches the social groups with the lowest socioeconomic status. Furthermore, Svenska Bostäder as part of the *hyresrätt* is a social housing company in service of Stockholms stad. The fact that it is social housing implies that the company is obliged to house people with a low social profile as well, again matching the social groups with one another in Husby.

So, it becomes clear that the inhabitants of Husby are being socially excluded from society which furthermore generates socio-spatial segregation (Smets & Salman 2008, 10) However, this exclusion does enhance the local social cohesion as it benefits local processes

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[30] Informal interview with Sam on 04/04/2018. Sam, 38 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby since 2013.

[31] Open interview with Jakob on 26/03/2018. Jakob, 35 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby for the past 4 to 5 years.

of inclusion, as discussed in the paragraph on social capital as well. Relph (1976 *in* Dempsey *et al.* 2009) states exactly what is important in processes of inclusion; that people feel as if they belong together because they share something, like a particular order or a special ensemble. The general negative opinion on the police, Stockholms stad and the government causes similarities between the inhabitants, which is mostly felt by the youth. The elderly share a common feeling of pride connected to the Million Homes Programme, which will further be discussed in the chapter on connectedness.

In addition, there are certain factors that indicate social inclusion on the neighbourhood level. Think of the common friendliness and the will to help others in need, regardless of someone's ethnic background. *'We have to connect with everyone'*, said a friend of Jay[32], referring to the fact that they help each other out because in their eyes, the government, Stockholms stad and the police do not do this correctly. The inhabitants of Husby unite themselves to protest against this exclusion from society. Moreover, these societal exclusion processes enhance the local social inclusion as people unite to act out against these institutions.

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[32] Group interview with Jay and his friends on 03/04/2018. They, all in their twenties, share a non-Swedish background and for their entire lives they have lived in Husby.

4.2 Connectedness to the neighbourhood

Historical connectedness

Sense of place is about the relationship between human beings and spatial settings. This concept can be used when defining the connection that the inhabitants have to Husby (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 233). Ryden (1993, 38) describes how space has a certain meaning created by users and inhabitants in the process of using and living in it. There is a certain historical connectedness present in Husby which connects a particular group of the community to the neighbourhood itself. As discussed in the context of this thesis, the neighbourhood Husby is constructed during the 1970's as part of the Million Homes Programme. After the built of Husby, the neighbourhood was considered a progressive neighbourhood: *"The Million Programme apartments, they were very modern compared to what people had lived in before"*, Lisa[33] mentioned. The first inhabitants of Husby, almost all of them Swedes, experienced feelings of pride to live in such a progressive neighbourhood. However, over the last two to three decades, the neighbourhood's image changed to a 'slum' where migrants who had just entered Sweden were able to get housing. About 20 percent of the original population still lives here, and Anna[34] is one of them.

The first encounter with Anna was at a gathering of the pensioners association at Husby Träff. All these pensioners, mostly Swedes, have lived in Husby since its construction was finalized or only a few years after that. Anna mentioned the *'active cooperation life'* that marked Husby during its early years, and this still comes forward when observing these elderly people. Namely, at these pensioners gatherings, Anna and the rest of the pensioners read and discuss the latest news on developments and problems in Husby and surrounding area. Furthermore, many of them are still active in interaction with Stockholms stad to better the neighbourhood. What connects Anna with these other pensioners is that they were all there during Husby's first years as a neighbourhood. The concept sense of place consists out of place dependence, place attachment and also place identity (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234). The fact that these inhabitants can be considered as the first inhabitants of Husby,

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[33] Open interview with Lisa on 25/02/2018. Lisa, 57 years old, has a Swedish background and has lived in Husby since 2014.

[34] Open interview with Anna on 05/03/2018. Anna, 87 years old, has a Swedish background and has lived in Husby since its construction was finalized.

provides them with a certain identity in relation to their physical environment which is connected to Husby's historical background. Furthermore, it increases the place attachment to the neighbourhood as they, as the first inhabitants, experience a personal bond to their environment.

Social connectedness

In Husby, there are certain social connections binding people to the neighbourhood itself. There are for example social connections between people who share a common ethnic background. It can be stated that people feel comfortable living around people with the same origin; they share the same needs, perspectives and opportunities (Scheurer & Haase 2017). The population of Husby is very diverse and about eighty percent of the population of Husby share a different ethnic background (Stockholms stad, 'Detaljerad statistik'). The remaining ethnic minorities in Stockholm therefore often choose to live in a neighbourhood like Husby because they already have family and friends with the same ethnic background living there. Jacob[35], an Iranian man, mentioned how he was 'lucky' to have two Iranian neighbours; it made him feel more at home in Husby.

Furthermore, there is a certain religious connectedness in the Husby community. There is a large muslim community in the area which connects people to one another. They gather at the mosque of Husby which is based in the centre of the neighbourhood. About a hundredth meters further, there is Husby kyrkan, the church of Husby. A big part of the Iranian community are Christians who visit the church of Husby. It does not seem as if there are any feelings of rivalry between the two religions. On the contrary; Sam[36], who was a Muslim first but converted to Christianity, told me how he experiences no problems with the Muslims in Husby. The prevailing friendliness and helpful character of the Husby community shows how everyone is accepted in the neighbourhood. As Jay[37] said, they have to connect with one another due to their social-spatial segregation which leads to a certain exclusion from society.

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[35] Open interview with Jakob on 26/03/2018. Jakob, 35 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby for the past 4 to 5 years.

[36] Informal interview with Sam on 04/04/2018. Sam, 38 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby since 2013.

[37] Group interview with Jay and his friends on 03/04/2018. They, all in their twenties, share a non-Swedish background and for their entire lives they have lived in Husby.

Mary[38] also mentions other reasons which are determinants to stay in a neighbourhood like Husby. Factors like the liveliness and the overall positive feeling seems to connect people to the neighbourhood in a positive way. The fact that it is lively has to do with the density and the size of the neighbourhood. What is more, living in Husby is cheaper compared to other parts of Stockholm, which results in the fact that people with a low socioeconomic status are surrounded by the same kind of people. This does not really result in people endowing places with value (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234), but it is a reason why the inhabitants want to stay or even must stay in Husby.

What binds most of the youth in Husby with one another is their general feeling of being ignored by the government, Stockholms stad and the police. This matter of societal exclusion leads to local social inclusion. It causes certain feelings of negativity towards these institutions which unites most of the youth of Husby and facilitates coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam 1993 *in* Morrison 2003, 118). Talking to Jay and his friends about the project Järvalyftet, one can sense a certain pride due to the fact that the inhabitants of Husby actually won and created Järvadialogue. They are proud to live here among people who 'fight' the same fights they do. This common feeling unites the youth from various kinds of cultures and ethnicities and creates new social networks. Take for example Jay and his friends; every one of them has a different ethnic background.

Natural connectedness

A natural connectedness to the neighbourhood would imply a connection with Husby's natural environment. One can take the frequently departing metro to reach Stockholm city centre in about twenty minutes. However, Husby itself is surrounded by nature. Take Järvafältet for example, a large field just outside of Husby. Järvafältet is a spot often mentioned by numerous informants of mine as a place where one can hang out and relax during the summer. People hike here as well while they pass by and lunch at the old art farm called Husby gård. Several informants recalled how glad they were with the combination of nature and city that Husby offers. Husby as a space therefore increases the place dependence as part of the concept sense of place. The quiet though central location namely serves the needs of the inhabitants (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234).

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[38] Open interview with Mary on 03/03/2018. Mary, 51-years old, has a Swedish background and is living in Husby since 2005.

Furthermore, the Husby is a two-leveled neighbourhood, which is often mentioned by many informants as a reason to stay. Not particularly because they find it beautiful, but because they find it more attractive for walking and safer for their children. This is in line with what Saelens and Handy (2008, S551) state about the influence of the character of a place and its social implications. They mention how the character of a place can influence the degree to which neighbourhoods are considered as safe, comfortable and attractive for walking. The bridges then contribute to the liveliness since the children have the freedom to run around as the parents experience no fear for cars. The value for the design of Husby neighbourhood is constructed by experience since the inhabitants experienced how safe a two-leveled neighbourhood actually is (Tuan 1975, 152).

Aesthetical connectedness

Furthermore, there are factors related to the neighbourhood's aesthetics. However, there are no real aesthetic aspects connecting people with the neighbourhood. Most informants do not find Husby's appearances very attractive. The built environment of Husby only exists of apartment blocks. Although lots of these apartment blocks have been renovated or are going to be renovated within the coming years, the fact that there are no normal houses is often considered as disappointing. *'Yeah I don't particularly like it'*, Marc[39] said, *'they just have these long stretches, where it is just like a very straight line… I don't know, its just… there is not a lot of things beautiful I guess'*. In addition, Mary told me that moving out of the neighbourhood is often seen as 'the next step' that some people would want to take when starting a family. Namely, house offers more space to a family than a small apartment block, but for that one must leave Husby. However, as Forrest and Kearns (2001) also put it, an unattractive physical environment can actually enhance the quality of neighbouring as this can be people's ability to cope with their unattractive environment. This then might be another explanation for the large social networks in Husby which again increases the social connectedness to the neighbourhood.

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[39] Open interview with Marc on 13/03/2018. Marc, 35-years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby since 2016.

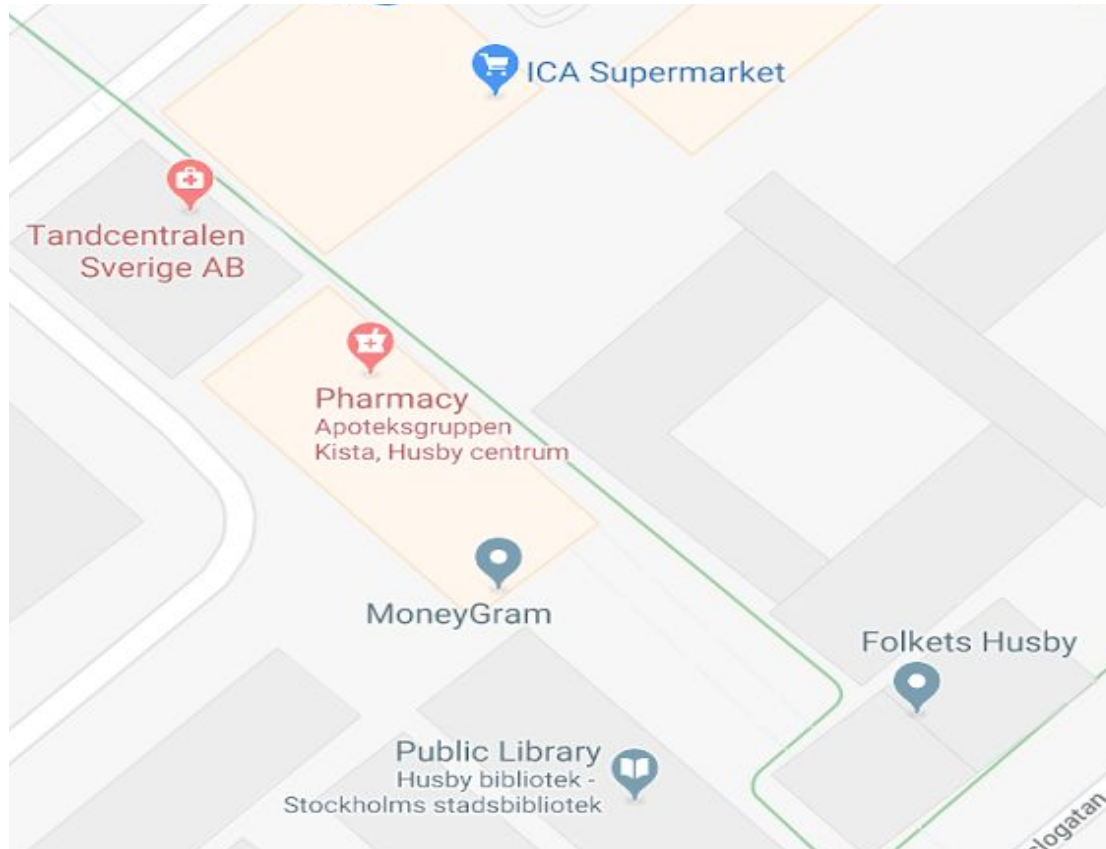## 4.3 The everyday life of Husby inhabitants

Image 5: Map of Husby centre. By Google Maps.

Husby has a small centre with two squares which includes most shops (image 5). When exiting the metro station next to the ICA supermarket, one enters the larger square of the centre. With the sun out, the benches are taken by men and women chatting and enjoying each other's company while greeting others who pass by. Crossing the square diagonally and , passing by the dentist and the pharmacy, the other square can be reached through a small alley. At this smaller square of the centre, the public library is to be found as well as a market stand with fruit and vegetables. But most importantly what is located here is Husby Träff. Husby Träff is otherwise known as Folkets Husby, which is the name of the association which owns Husby Träff. Halls for festivities can be rented here and most of the community activities also take place at this location. It is considered as the community centre of Husby and therefore mostly referred to as Folkets Husby by the inhabitants, which means 'people's Husby'. Furthermore, this square contains more benches which are intensively used when the sun is out.

Continuing past Folkets Husby and the public library through again a small alley, one reaches the mosque of Husby as well as Husby Kyrkan, the evangelical church of Husby. On the opposite side of this church, the other entrance to the metro is present, not more than a five minute walk from the first metro entrance in the centre. As a small neighbourhood, Husby contains a small area which is considered to be the centre. However, the neighbourhood itself is very dense with people. This density becomes visible when the sun is out; it fills the centre up with people creating a lively environment.

It is nearly impossible to walk through the small centre of the neighbourhood Husby without at least recognizing someone. This lively feeling is something that the inhabitants seem to be very happy with and is, together with the common friendliness and helpful character of the community, often given as reason why people do not want to move out of Husby. The built environment shapes certain human behaviors and therefore contributes in a certain way to that liveliness (Lawrence & Low 1990, 460). The fact that Husby is small but dense with a small centre containing all the shops, it 'forces' the inhabitants to come to the centre to fulfil in their basic needs. Therefore, people are forced to come together in this spot.

However, not only the size of Husby and its centre contributes to the lively character, but its design as well. Husby is characterized as a two-level neighbourhood of which the pedestrian area with small narrow streets are not meant for cars. As Dempsey (2008b, 255) would describe it, the inhabitants find this urban design supportive of their everyday life. It is a positive contribution to the general safety feelings. The feature safety must be positive; it is a fundamental requirement of social cohesion that all people feel safe in their living surroundings (Dempsey 2008,107). Through the traffic separation, the built environment of Husby contributes to this general feeling of safety by offering safe spaces for especially children. The character of the place is therefore considered as child-friendly, making the neighbourhood more safe and as a consequence more attractive to walk through (Saelens & Handy (2008, S551). This also contributes to a sense of place or the personal connection to a place through place dependence; it serves the needs of the inhabitants by creating a child-friendly environment (Jorgensen & Stedman 2001, 234). *'You are more free and you can let your young kids run…'*, Mary[40] told me. *'You can leave the children out… to go out to*

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[40] Open interview with Mary on 03/03/2018. Mary, 51-years old, has a Swedish background and is living in Husby since 2005.

the other side without crossing any roads', one friend of Jay[41] also mentioned. This again leads to a livelier feeling in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the traffic separation contributes to a feeling of liveliness as it forces people in the pedestrian area to *'mix together'* as stated by Marc[42]. As a consequence, the mixing together of inhabitants is a positive contribution to the prevailing social capital as it encourages the bridging of social capital. As stated before, bridging of social capital implies crosscutting networks which leads to larger and more extensive networks in the neighbourhood (Lancee 2010, 202-203). It explains why everyone seems to know or at least recognize one another.

There are other factors of Husby's built environment that influences someone's safety feelings. Although the inhabitants generally feel quite safe in the area, Mary as well as Marc mentioned how the narrow streets can sometimes feel quite uncomfortable. Due to the apartment blocks, some streets can feel very narrow, dark and not open at all. This is in contrast however with Nikita's view[43]. Nikita considers these narrow streets with apartment blocks as something that increases her safety feelings. She believes that, due to the apartment blocks, someone is always watching over her. It is important to mention these opposite views as Mary and Marc both moved into the neighbourhood quite recently, while Nikita grew up here and has never lived somewhere else. However, both Mary and Marc agree that the liveliness and friendliness of the neighbourhood plays the upper hand, leading to a positive safety feeling which meets the fundamental requirement to a socially cohesive community.

Additionally, the two-leveled design of Husby contributes to the local social capital as it encourages civic engagement on the neighbourhood level. The Järvalyftet project for example introduced plans to change the street design so that everything would be on the same level (Svenska Bostäder, 'Järvalyftet.'). Cars would then be able to reach the centre of Husby as well as the apartment blocks, which would lead to a 'modernised' Husby in the eyes of Stockholms stad. However, as a friend of Jay would describe it, the traffic separation is regarded by the community as 'the best thing there is' and brought the inhabitants together in their protests against Stockholms stad, therefore increasing the civic engagement.

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[41] Group interview with Jay and his friends on 03/04/2018. They, all in their twenties, share a non-Swedish background and for their entire lives they have lived in Husby.
[42] Open interview with Marc on 13/03/2018. Marc, 35-years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby since 2016.
[43] Unstructured facetime interview with Nikita on 30/03/2018. Nikita, 17 years old, has a non-Swedish background and has lived in Husby for whole of her life.

The project Järvalyftet did not only include the idea of Husby being a one-level neighbourhood, but also to renovate and replace many apartment blocks for normal houses. Many of these inhabitants would lose their apartments, and the rent would increase enormously for every apartment and house in that area. This would result in many inhabitants being forced to move out since they would not have the resources to pay for the increased rent. Järvalyftet led to the start of many grassroot organisations which brought the inhabitants of Husby together to save their built environment. *'I mean people in the city hall, they don't live here, but they decide things and put up a lot of projects which effects here, they didn't listen to the people'*, Lisa[44] explained. The fact that the inhabitants joint together increased the citizen power in the neighbourhood, therefore increasing social capital which again positively contributes to the local social cohesion (The Health Development Agency, 'social action research project'). Nowadays, the inhabitants are encouraged to come to these meetings to help in creating innovative ideas to improve the area. Many renovations are currently going on in the neighbourhood of Husby, and the inhabitants overall seem quite happy with the booked results so far.

The built environment of Husby was also used to decrease the criminality problems as a result from the general mistrust in the government, Stockholms stad and the police. The introduction of this thesis starts with a quote from Karl[45] on how people do not destroy something if they have made it together. His statement was based on the collective painting in Husby made in 2012 which covers a wall in the centre of Husby. It tells the stories of the inhabitants of Järva (2012, 'Mit Hem, Min Bild') and the inhabitants of Husby and surrounding area were invited to participate in the painting (image 6). Something like this is a perfect example of how the built environment is used to bring the people of Husby together. They created a space from place, giving meaning to a certain spot in the centre of Husby (Ryden 1993, 38).

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[44] Open interview with Lisa on 25/02/2018. Lisa, 57 years old, has a Swedish background and has lived in Husby since 2014.
[45] Unstructured interview with Karl on 11/02/2018. Karl, 64-years old, has a Swedish background and is living in Husby since 2000.

Image 6: the collective painting in Husby[46].

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[46] Source: http://saadia.se/mitt-hem-min-bild

Conclusion & Discussion

This comparative research presents the differences in social cohesion that residents of an advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhood in Stockholm experience, and consequently how this experience relates to the built environments of their neighbourhoods. By looking at social inclusion, social capital, social mobility and sense of place we take the step to analyse the role of the built environment in everyday manifestations of social cohesion.

The research was conducted in Midsommarkransen as advantaged neighbourhood and Husby as disadvantaged neighbourhood. Midsommarkransen is considered to be an advantaged neighbourhood due to the fact that the residents are on average highly educated and receive an above average income. In addition, the neighbourhood consists out of well-maintained houses and its location is in close proximity to the city centre of Stockholm. Husby is considered to be disadvantaged because its population has a low socioeconomic status with the lowest income per capita of all neighbourhoods in Stockholm. Furthermore, the built environment of the neighbourhood has not been well maintained over the last few decades, though progress is made as result of recent renovations. However, it is going to take years longer in order to restore the unmaintained and neglected built environment of the neighbourhood.

Husby and Midsommarkransen are thus two significantly different neighbourhoods, and therefore this research has not been conducted to conclude which neighbourhood experiences 'more' or 'less' social cohesion. We have not quantified social cohesion, but rather zoomed in on the three overlapping and interacting dimensions social capital, social inclusion and social mobility that together shape social cohesion (OECD, 'Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World'). These dimensions have proven to exist in different forms in the comparing neighbourhoods resulting in two distinct manifestations of social cohesion.

According to Forrest and Kearns (2001, 2130), in disadvantaged neighbourhoods it is more likely to be the quality of neighbouring that binds residents while in advantaged neighbourhoods it is the quality of the neighbourhood what holds the people together. The analyses of both neighbourhoods have showed that the residents of Husby are indeed more

binded by the quality of neighbouring and the residents of Midsommarkransen by the quality of the neighbourhood itself. However, it is too simplistic to believe that these qualities are mutually exclusive. It is important to acknowledge that some qualities of the neighbourhood in Husby also play a role in creating a cohesive neighbourhood, just like the quality of neighbouring also plays part in the cohesion of residents of Midsommarkransen. Below we will compare the main characteristics of both neighbourhoods, both physically and socially, and explain how these specific characteristics result in a cohesive neighbourhood through the quality of neighbourhood or the quality of neighbouring. Each neighbourhood has its very own set of characteristics. It is always the combination and interplay of features, that define the local social cohesion (Dempsey 2008a, 111).

In Midsommarkransen the strongest sense of cohesion tends to take shape in small groups like the building community of a *bostadsrätt* or social organisations like Tellus. This can be related to the quality of the neighbourhood; because residents often co-own the building in which they live, they are obliged to maintain their own building together with the other co-owners. As a consequence of this shared responsibility, smaller social networks are created. However, the networks that are created within these spaces are also evident on a wider neighbourhood level. In addition, there is a sense of identification among residents of Midsommarkransen as most of them belong to the same social group. In Husby cohesion is more evident on the entire neighbourhood level which is mostly related to the actual quality of neighbouring because the inhabitants feel that they are coping with the same issues or situations. These issues are often related to the neglected built environment; think of the järvalyftet plan and how this would have changed the whole neighbourhood. Not one of the informants showed sympathy towards this plan from Stockholms stad; it was a common issue bringing almost all of the inhabitants of Husby together.

The amount of residents living in Midsommarkransen and Husby are quite equal, namely 11.490 inhabitants in Midsommarkransen and 11.944 inhabitants in Husby. However, the size of each neighbourhood differs considerably. The area that comprises Husby is much smaller than Midsommarkransen, automatically making Husby a more dense neighbourhood than Midsommarkransen. Husby only contains high apartment blocks making the small size of the area possible. According to Dempsey (2008a, 111), the density of a neighbourhood is negatively or weakly associated with social cohesion. However in the case of Husby, the fact that Husby is a dense area creates a liveliness that all the inhabitants of

Husby seem to love. It contributes to a common familiarity among the inhabitants due to the fact that they practically live together on a small piece of land. As the apartment buildings in Midsommarkransen are smaller and the buildings are more spread out, the neighbourhood is at least two times the size of Husby. Within this relatively large neighbourhood all facilities are spread around which is why the neighbourhood lacks a central place where everything and everybody comes together. In Husby, a clear centre can be defined which is small but entails all the shops and facilities one needs to be provided in one's basic needs. Unlike Midsommarkransen, that has multiple supermarkets spread across the neighbourhood, Husby only has one supermarket, increasing the chance to cross paths with an acquaintance. The centre of Husby is the spot to be, a place where everyone comes together. This contributes to the common familiarity and friendliness in the neighbourhood. One can not pass through the centre without at least being recognized, which often leads to some small talk as well. Therefore, the fact that there is only one centre increases the informal social networks in the neighbourhood. Social networks are a feature of social capital which is defined in this thesis as one of the building blocks of social cohesion (OECD, 'Perspectives on Global Development 2012: Social Cohesion in a Shifting World'). Therefore, the increase of social networks due to Husby's design contributes to an increase in social cohesion.

In the introduction of this thesis is stated how communities which are very multicultural seem to have lower levels of interpersonal trust and formal and informal networks (Beumer 2010). Husby is a multiculturally diverse neighbourhood, whereas Midsommarkransen is predominantly populated by ethnic Swedes. According to Dempsey, the feature trust is one of the most integral components in creating a cohesive community, and therefore it can be stated that cultural communities actually have less chance to succeed in creating a cohesive community. However, this does not seem to be the case in Husby. There are other important factors playing a role which causes the residents to come together, regardless of their ethnic background. These factors are often related to Husby's neglected built environment which will be discussed below. In Midsommarkransen minorities are more isolated from the neighbourhood. Even though residents have stated that they regret the limited diversity, efforts to include minorities are negligible.

We believe that the extent of diversity within a neighbourhood, both ethnically as well as socially, is strongly related to the housing system. Most apartments in Midsommarkransen are co-owned by residents. To buy yourself into such a *bostadsrätt* is relatively expensive

compared to renting an apartment through the *hyresrätt* system. *Bostadsrätt* apartments are thus only accessible for relatively wealthy households. The limited amount of *hyresrätt* apartments in Midsommarkransen thus ensures the last bit of diversity in the neighbourhood. The residents of the *etableringsboende,* who are new to Sweden, are therefore not likely to find a residence in Midsommarkransen. Husby is on the contrary very diverse and houses a rather socially immobile population. This diverse population with in general a low-socio economic status is facilitated by *hyresrätt* companies like Svenska Bostader. Wilson and Taub (2006 *in* Demsey *et al.* 2009) clarify how social immobility in a neighbourhood increases feelings of attachment to this neighbourhood as well as local social networks and interaction.

As stated earlier, the social cohesion in Midsommarkransen tends to take shape in small groups like building community or social organisations, while in Husby it is more evident on the entire neighbourhood level because the inhabitants feel that they are coping with the same issues/situations. In Husby, these issues are often politically related. As a disadvantaged and socio-spatial segregated neighbourhood, they feel neglected by the government, Stockholms stad and the police. These frustrations are often related with their own build environment. It is the built environment as well that has been neglected over the past decennia; when Stockholms stad for example suddenly introduced the development plan Järvalyftet which entailed radical plans to change the neighbourhood. As a result of this project, many inhabitants would lose their homes, which is why the inhabitants joint together. Their frustrations connects them with one another, therefore increasing the civic engagement and citizen power, which as features of social capital increases the local social cohesion (The Health Development Agency, 'social action research project').

In Midsommarkransen some concerns have also been raised by building projects that aim to further develop the neighbourhood according to city objectives. This development has resulted in a densification of the neighbourhood due to new apartment buildings. These apartment buildings have been placed at sites that were of value to residents because of their previous state. Think of natural areas or historical buildings that have been torn down. A small group of concerned neighbours have united to fight these developments that have been imposed by the state. However, this form of citizen power has not gained as much support as it has in Husby. So again it created a sense of cohesion within a small group of residents but didn't reach the entire neighbourhood. In both Midsommarkransen and Husby these examples

show that the value people attach to existing places leads to them fighting for the maintenance of this positive sense of place that is considered a dimension of social cohesion because: '*it contributes to people's enjoyment of where they live*' (Dempsey 2008a, 108).

Continuing on to the neighbourhood design of each neighbourhood, there are more differences between Husby and Midsommarkransen. One aspect of the built environment of Husby that positively contributes to the local social cohesion is its two-leveled design. With roads for cars separated from the pedestrian areas, a child-friendly and safer environment is created. As Dempsey (2008a, 107) stated, the feature safety has to be positive; without positive feelings of safety in someone's living surroundings, there can be no social cohesion. The fact that people feel as if this is a safe and child-friendly environment, they allow their children to run around freely. Therefore, the design of Husby also contributes to the lively feeling in the neighbourhood.

In Midsommarkransen the pedestrian paths run parallel to the roads of the cars. Cars have excess to practically all parts of the neighbourhoods. For many residents this is the main aspect of the built environment that negatively affects their feeling of safety. Especially many parents have stated that this in an unsafe environment for their kids to play in freely. This results in relatively less hanging out on the streets and not as much a lively character as is the case in Husby. The design of Midsommarkransen therefore negatively contributes to the general safety feelings in the neighbourhood, and since safety is an integral component of social cohesion, the design basically has a negative impact on the present social cohesion.

So, Durkheim (1893) describes how social cohesion is the 'glue' of society, holding individuals together. We concluded that in Midsommarkransen, it is the quality of neighbourhood that binds people the most. In Husby, the quality of neighbouring is ought to be more important in the process of bounding with one another. However, certain conditions of this research have influenced the outcomes of this research. For example, this comparative research took place in winter. The seasons have an tremendous effect on the appearances of the neighbourhood and on the activities that residents partake in. As one of the residents of Midsommarkransen for example stated:

"And I think during the winter when it's cold, the community sort of, the area where you go, shrinks a bit. So and it's the same with the neighbours. Sometimes we maybe don't see each other for two weeks, and that is strange, but that never happens in the summer."

This quote illustrates how seasons can affect the perceptions on the neighbourhood and social cohesion. In Husby it was also apparent that once the sun came out, there was even more social life on the streets. This implies that the quality of neighbouring is more apparent in summertime than it is in winter. We would therefore recommend to carry out this research in summer as well as this may result in different data. Furthermore, we recommend that this research should be carried out over a longer period of time as we experienced our ten weeks of fieldwork to short in providing us with enough data for a sense of saturation. The fact that a research like this can provide considerably different data in summer negatively influences the reliability of this research. However, a research like this that is conducted in the same time of year will most likely come up with the same results. We did however measure what we wanted to measure and because of the fact that the research was comparative, we mapped the occuring differences between advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhoods, therefore contributing to the theoretical framework on the relation between social cohesion and the built environment. With this collected data we hope to have created an opportunity to overcome certain differences and move towards a more inclusionary society.

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Appendix

Summary

This thesis answers the research question: *how does social cohesion relate to the built environment on the neighbourhood level, when comparing disadvantaged neighbourhoods with more advantaged neighbourhoods in Stockholm?* The built environment in a neighbourhood is important in the construction of social cohesion on the neighbourhood level. In neighbourhoods where there are certain social tensions, it is of interest to mind the built environment of that neighbourhood. The built environment of a neighbourhood is after all the décor of everyday life; the daily experiences that make up most of the lives of residents are fixed around their own place of residence. This thesis is based on a comparative research on social cohesion and the relation with the build environment in an advantaged and disadvantaged neighbourhood in Stockholm. Due to occurring socio-spatial segregation, certain areas of this urban environment is can lead to social cohesion on smaller levels such as on the local, neighbourhood level instead as on the societal level. By conducting a qualitative research like this in a comparative manner, new insights are gained in the relation between the urban built environment and social cohesion by focusing on the notions and lived experiences of the residents.

The advantaged research setting is Midsommarkransen, a neighbourhood in the south of Stockholm. The disadvantaged research setting is a neighbourhood in the Northwest of Stockholm called Husby. To operationalize this research on social cohesion, data on the three dimensions social capital, social mobility and social inclusion are extensively collected and furthermore related to the characteristics of the built environment. The comparative research done within these two significantly different neighbourhoods show how no conclusions can be drawn on the question if one neighbourhood experiences 'more' or 'less' social cohesion than the other. The dimension of social cohesion have proven to exist in different forms in the comparing neighbourhoods resulting in two distinct manifestations of social cohesion. Furthermore, each neighbourhood has its very own set of

characteristics in its built environment which can be differently related to the prevailing social cohesion. This research shows how, in disadvantaged neighbourhood, the social cohesion is most likely related to the quality of neighbouring in order to deal with the decaying and neglected environment. In advantaged neighbourhoods however, it is often the quality of the actual neighbourhood itself that holds people together and therefore causes social cohesion. However, these findings are not mutually exclusive. It is important to acknowledge that some qualities of the actual neighbourhood also plays a role in the creation of a cohesive neighbourhood in Husby, just like the quality of neighbouring also plays a role in the forming of cohesion in Midsommarkransen.

The findings show how social cohesion in Midsommarkransen tends to take shape in small groups like building community or social organisations. In comparison, in Husby social cohesion is more evident on the entire neighbourhood level. Factors within the built environment that influence social cohesion are for example the housing systems. In Midsommarkransen, co-owning buildings is the most prevailing way to live. Therefore, small social networks are formed due to a shared responsibility for the maintenance of the buildings. However, a general pride of residents on the quality of the neighbourhood is also responsible for a sense of cohesion on the neighbourhood level in Midsommarkransen. In Husby however, there are general issues and problems that can be related to the built environment which affects everyone. Therefore, these issues and problems seem to connect most of the inhabitants with each other causing civic engagement to deal with it. Thus, this quality of neighbouring is the most evident manner in which cohesion is shaped in Husby.