



Fieldwork inhabitants, Copenhagen (Denmark)

report 2e

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Governing Urban Diversity:

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

Report 3e

Fieldwork inhabitants, Copenhagen (Denmark)

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Contents

1. Introduction.....	5
2. The interviewees	8
2.1 Selection procedure: how did we select our interviewees?.....	8
2.2 Which groups did we miss?	9
2.3 Some general characteristics of the interviewees	9
3. Housing choice and residential mobility.....	10
3.1 Introduction.....	10
3.2 How did the residents come to live in this area?	11
3.3 Moving to the present neighbourhood: improvement or not?.....	14
3.4 Conclusions	15
4. Perceptions of diversity in the neighbourhood.....	16
4.1 Introduction.....	16
4.2 Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood	16
4.3 Perceptions of neighbours.....	18
4.4 Perceptions of the neighbourhood: positive and negative aspects	20
4.5 Conclusions	24
5. Activities in and outside the neighbourhood.....	25
5.1 Introduction.....	25
5.2 Activities: where and with whom	25
5.3 The use of public space	29
5.4 The importance of associations.....	30
5.5 Conclusion.....	31
6. Social cohesion.....	32
6.1 Introduction.....	32
6.2 Composition of interviewees' egocentric networks.....	33
6.3 Living together with neighbours: bonds, forms of mutual support, etc.	35
6.4 Conclusions	37
7. Social mobility.....	37
7.1 Introduction.....	37
7.2 Neighbourhood diversity as fostering or hindering social mobility	38
7.3 Conclusions	40
8. Perceptions of public policies and initiatives	40
8.1 Introduction.....	40

8.2 Perception and evaluation of existing policies and initiatives: what do residents know?...	41
8.3 Policy priorities proposed by interviewees: what do residents want?.....	42
8.4 Conclusions	44
9. Conclusion.....	45
References	48
Appendices	51
<i>List of the interviewees.....</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Additional illustrations.....</i>	<i>54</i>

1. Introduction

When writing about European cities, it is fast becoming customary to describe them as centres of ‘super-diversity’ (Vertovec, 2007). This refers specifically to their increasing ethnic diversity and to the demographic diversity between and within ethnic groups. However, cities are becoming increasingly diverse, not only in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. To describe this enormous diversity, we propose to use the term hyper-diversity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014).

Within cities, groups can live segregated or rather mixed. Urban neighbourhoods may be fairly homogeneous residential areas in terms of housing and population, but they may also be heavily mixed with respect to types of housing (tenure, type, price) and population categories (income, ethnicity, household composition, age). In addition, individuals who belong to the same ‘official’ demographic category may possess quite different lifestyles and attitudes and involve themselves in a wide range of activities. Some may for example have a very neighbourhood-oriented life, with all their friends and activities in a very small area, while others may have their social activities stretched over the whole city or even beyond. Residents of mixed urban neighbourhoods may live happily together, live parallel lives, or be in open conflict with each other (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014).

This report forms part of the EU-FP7 DIVERCITIES project. In this project, we aim to find out how urban hyper-diversity affects the social cohesion and social mobility of residents of deprived and dynamic urban areas as well as the economic performance of entrepreneurs with their enterprise in such areas. In this report, we focus on the findings from our interviews with residents in which we explored their experiences of living with hyper-diversity and how it affected their lives.

This general aim can be broken down into more detailed and concrete research questions. They are central in the chapters of this report:

1. Why did people move to the diverse area they live in now? To what extent has the diversity of the area been a pull-factor? Or were other aspects (such as the availability of inexpensive dwellings) a much stronger motive to settle in the present area? (Chapter 3)
2. How do residents think about the area they live in? Do residents see their neighbourhood’s diversity as an asset or a liability? (Chapter 4)
3. How do residents make use of the diversified areas they live in? Do they actively engage in diversified relations and activities in their neighbourhood? To what extent is the area they live in more important than other areas in terms of activities? (Chapter 5)
4. To what extent is the diversity of the residential area important for social cohesion? Which elements foster social cohesion, which elements hinder the development of social cohesion in the area? (Chapter 6)
5. To what extent is the diversity of the neighbourhood important for social mobility? Which elements foster social mobility and which elements hinder social mobility? (Chapter 7)
6. How are diversity-related policies perceived by the inhabitants of the area? (Chapter 8)

The research in this report focuses on the city of Copenhagen. This city currently has 560,000 inhabitants. It is a highly diverse city in terms of population income levels, education and occupation, household structures, ethnicities, cultures, lifestyles, living conditions, etc. Furthermore, the different areas of the city are very diverse, not only in terms of resident composition, but also regarding activities, facilities and the built environment.

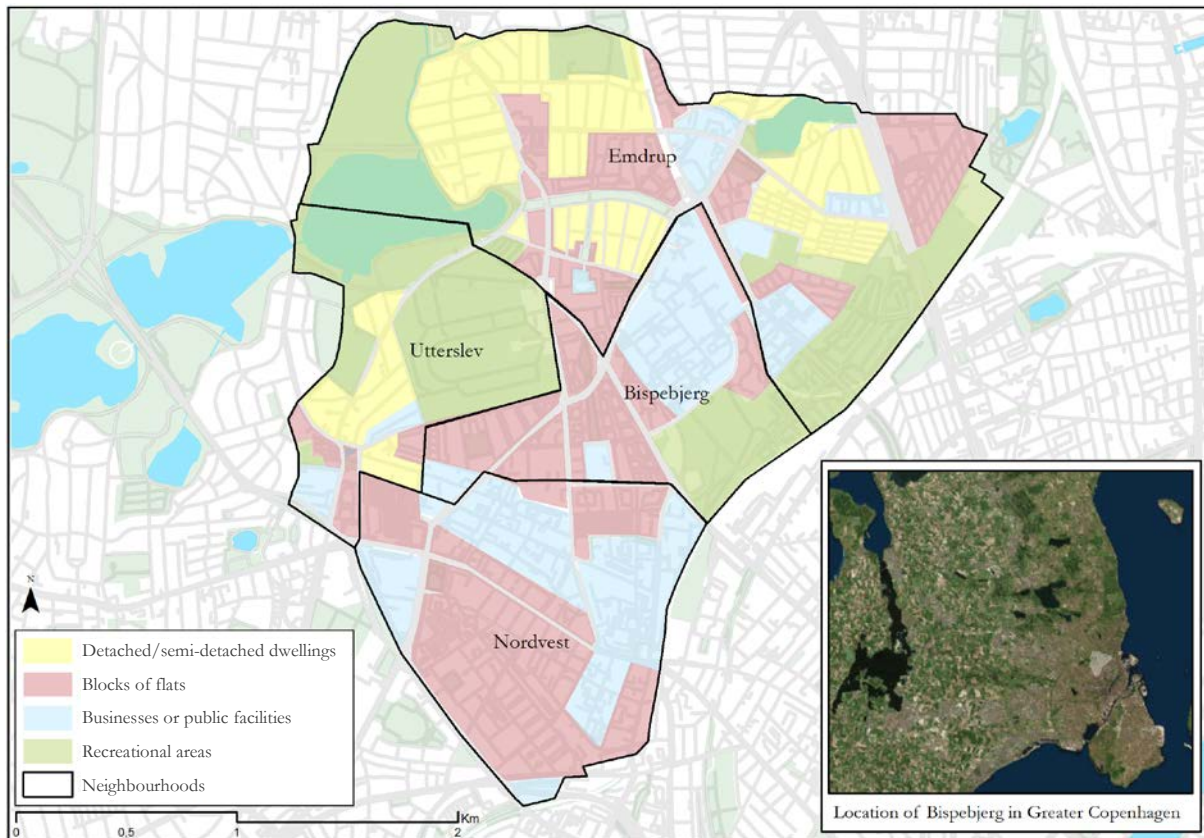


Figure 1. The area of Bispebjerg roughly divided into neighbourhoods and functionalities

Within Copenhagen, the research project focuses on the area of Bispebjerg (Figure 1), located north of the centre of Copenhagen. ‘Bispebjerg’ is the municipality’s official and administrative name for the area covering the neighbourhoods Nordvest, Utterslev and Emdrup as well as a neighbourhood colloquially known merely as Bispebjerg. This means that even though Bispebjerg is the official name of the entire district, many people understand the term as covering only the neighbourhood on the hillside. Thus, for many interviewees, there is little identification with the name Bispebjerg, especially if they live in Nordvest, Utterslev or Emdrup. To add to the confusion, the name Nordvest (‘Northwest’) is sometimes used about a larger area covering most of Bispebjerg, because the postal code here refers to the north-western part of Copenhagen. All the same, the borders between Bispebjerg’s different neighbourhoods are in no way fixed, and people’s perceptions of which neighbourhood a given site belongs to vary greatly.

The different neighbourhoods of Bispebjerg have developed in and are shaped by different historical periods (Figure 2). Nordvest is the neighbourhood located closest to the Copenhagen city centre (about four kilometres away). Nordvest was originally a late 19th century industrial district at the city limit, where small factories and workshops lay side by side with low-rise blocks of flats. Today, the neighbourhood is a mix of small businesses located in the old industrial buildings, alongside blocks of flats from around 1900. The flats are a mix of private rental, cooperative, social and owner-occupied housing. Most are relatively small and fairly cheap in a Copenhagen context. Further out, Bispebjerg climbs up the hill and turns into a less hectic and less dense area simply known as the Bispebjerg neighbourhood. Large main roads cut through this area primarily consisting of high-rise building blocks from the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. The majority are social housing, and these flats were meant for local workers. A public hospital is situated next to the housing areas. The parts furthest away from the Copenhagen city centre, Utterslev and Emdrup, are dominated by detached houses built for lower-middle-class families at



Figure 2. Images of the different parts of Bispebjerg. Top left: Late 19th century blocks of flats in Nordvest. Top right: Shopping street in Nordvest. Centre left and right: Mid-20th century social housing estates. Bottom: Owner-occupied houses from the 1910s in Utterslev.

the beginning of the 20th century. Some social housing blocks can, however, be found here as well. The two neighbourhoods are divided by a large recreational area consisting of the scenic Bispebjerg Churchyard and the park-like Utterslev Mose. The municipal boundary runs north of Bispebjerg, and from here, it is approximately seven kilometres to the Copenhagen city centre.

Altogether, Bispebjerg has 52,000 inhabitants and can be considered one of the most diversified areas of Copenhagen: Due to its highly mixed housing stock, Bispebjerg is home to everything from low-income groups to economically affluent households¹, and the resident composition consists of students, singles, families and the elderly. Bispebjerg houses the city's highest share of non-Western immigrants and descendants (24.1%) originating in numerous countries, which makes Bispebjerg an ethnically and culturally diverse area. Furthermore, the area is dynamic; residential mobility rates are high, and Bispebjerg is home to a wide variety of economic activities and industries, cultural organisations and activities, as well as a range of governance arrangements and political initiatives (see Andersen et al., 2014a; 2014b).

¹ While 28% of Bispebjerg's population of working age (16-66) is either unemployed or on transfer payments (excluding students and retirees), 16% is employees on high-level wages (Københavns Kommune, 2014).

Between October, 2014 and April, 2015, 50 interviews were conducted with residents of Bispebjerg. In the next chapter, the adopted methodology is presented. This is followed by six analytical chapters in which the above research questions are addressed. In the conclusions, the main results are summarised, our research questions addressed, and broader guidance for policy-making is given.

2. The interviewees

2.1 Selection procedure: how did we select our interviewees?

Over the years, Bispebjerg's resident composition has changed profoundly. Though the residents of Utterslev and Emdrup's detached houses are still primarily middle class, rising house prices in Copenhagen are gradually replacing middle-class households moving out with more well-off households moving in. In Bispebjerg's social housing estates, however, changes in the residential composition have been even more pronounced: In the second half of the 20th century, these estates became unattractive for the working-class families who could now afford to buy houses of their own in the suburbs of Copenhagen. Subsequently, the municipality began using the estates for housing allocation for disadvantaged citizens, as well as for refugees and immigrants coming to Denmark from various countries. In this context, disadvantaged citizens refer to people struggling with a number of personal and social problems alongside financial or occupational problems, etc. It does not refer to well-functioning but unemployed citizens or citizens with limited means. Such changes to Bispebjerg's social housing estates significantly altered the socio-demographic characteristics of their resident composition. Lastly, as Copenhagen has become an increasingly popular city in recent years, the pressure on its housing market has increased. Housing prices have risen and the competition for flats has grown, making substantial financial resources or large networks necessary for obtaining a home in Copenhagen's most popular districts. Consequently, an increasing number of young people (many of them students) have moved to Bispebjerg where housing is more easily accessed and more affordable. This development has added to Bispebjerg's changing residential composition. To sum up, today Bispebjerg houses younger as well as older people, singles as well as families, socio-economically deprived as well as more affluent households, and ethnic Danes as well as various ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the various residential groups have brought with them a variety of activities and businesses, such as Middle-Eastern food stands, innovative creative workshops, etc., changing the street scene of Bispebjerg's neighbourhoods. Especially the Nordvest neighbourhood has a very mixed street scene, partly due to new groups of residents, and partly due to the functional conversion of its former industrial facilities.

The changing residential composition in Bispebjerg illustrates how major diversification processes in terms of ethnicity, culture and age are taking place in Bispebjerg, but it also illustrates how a significant socio-economic diversification is evolving and materialising in a geographical segregation of the area. Finally, a diversification of lifestyles, activities, businesses, etc. is taking place too. In choosing the interviewees for the empirical research, the goal was to reflect this historical development of Bispebjerg and thus the different population groups present in the area. Accordingly, a collection of prototypical groups mirroring the diversification processes were set up and used as a steering tool for constructing the interview sample. Section 2.3 (below) outlines the groups. Taking a qualitative approach, the goal of the sampling method was to include interviewees from all these groups without aiming at constructing a sample

representative of the population of Bispebjerg. Interviewees were approached through gatekeepers representing a mix of private and professional contacts and local associations, projects and institutions. For instance, a senior residents' club at a local housing estate was contacted. Furthermore, a snowballing approach was employed, using the interviewees as gatekeepers facilitating the access to other interviewees. However, the effectiveness of the snowballing approach in recruiting interviewees in this context was limited. The majority of the interviews were conducted at the homes of the interviewees, with the exception of a few interviews taking place at a local café or community centre in accordance with the interviewees' requests. All interviews were taped, transcribed and subsequently analysed using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.

2.2 Which groups did we miss?

This being a qualitative analysis, it was never a goal to create a representative sample of interviewees. Consequently, the prototypical groups of interviewees (see Section 2.3 below) are not to be perceived as fixed categories, but merely as an illustration of the attempt to broaden the sample and reflect the processes of development taking place in Bispebjerg. However, it must be recognised that some groups of residents in the sample of analysis are very small. Ethnic minority residents, especially male and especially middle-aged and older persons, have proved difficult to reach. This applies to the socially and economically disadvantaged groups of residents as well (social security recipients, disability pensioners etc.). There are several reasons for this. First, many of these residents have very few personal and social resources. This might leave them with limited self-confidence and unable to cope with participating in an interview. Second, socially isolated people are, by definition, difficult to reach through gatekeepers and social networks. Third, for some ethnic minority residents, interview participation can be an unfamiliar situation with which they feel insecure. And lastly, language barriers can pose a challenge. All of these circumstances are taken into account in the analytical work by carefully paying attention to all voices, no matter how quiet and tacit they might be. In other words, measures have been taken to avoid underrepresentation of any views. Altogether, any biases in the sample will not compromise the quality of the empirical material nor the analysis as such.

2.3 Some general characteristics of the interviewees

Reflecting the processes that have been and are taking place in Bispebjerg, the residents selected as interviewees for the analysis include:

- ethnic Danish manual labourers, typically over the age of 60, living in social housing and having lived in Bispebjerg for a large part of their life,
- ethnic Danish middle-class families, typically over the age of 50, having lived in single-family houses in Bispebjerg for many years,
- early waves of ethnic minority in-migrants (1970s and 1980s), e.g. Pakistanis, typically work migrants,
- recent waves of ethnic minority in-migrants, e.g. refugees from Somalia or Iraq, typically living in social housing estates,
- recent waves of in-migrants, e.g. Asian work migrants, having come to Denmark only a few years ago,
- socially and economically deprived ethnic Danish citizens (typically unemployed or permanently on transfer payments) living in social housing estates,
- young people, typically students and typically ethnic Danes, living in cooperative housing or private rental flats,
- young, economically affluent families with children, living in owner-occupied flats or detached houses, typically new to the area.

As mentioned above, these are not to be considered fixed categories, but rather guidelines for broadening the sample.

The sample has a fairly even share of female and male interviewees. Their age ranges from 20 to 86 years. About one third of the interviewees are of a different ethnic background than Danish. The majority of the interviewees have children living at home, while about one third of the interviewees have grown children. Most of these interviewees are of Danish ethnicity. Most of the interviewees have a relatively low income compared with citizens in Copenhagen in general². These interviewees include ethnic minority citizens, young people (e.g. students) as well as the socially and economically deprived groups. By far, the majority of the lower-income interviewees live in social housing (corresponding to about 1/3 of the total sample). About a fifth of the interviewees have relatively high incomes. These interviewees all live in owner-occupied housing or SocialHousing+ (see Section 3.2). Only a few live in private rental flats; these are primarily students. One fifth of the interviewees live in cooperative housing. They generally have average incomes; whereas in terms of socio-demography and ethnicity, this group is very mixed.

3. Housing choice and residential mobility

3.1 Introduction

Housing choice and residential mobility are complex issues. Literature on the field shows how an intricate interplay between preferences, constraints, resources and opportunities shapes the housing choices of individuals and families (Özüekren & van Kempen, 2002; Bolt & van Kempen, 2002; Gordon & Vickerman, 1982): Household situation, life-course stage, social ties, financial, cognitive and social resources, along with external constraints such as economy, demography, politics and social structures of the surrounding society are all important factors in shaping housing choices. In combination with these, the supply of and access to available housing shapes opportunities. The concept of housing careers illustrates how housing situations are linked over time with previous housing situations influencing opportunities in the future. Housing careers are shaped by life-course stages and household situation. For instance, divorce often leads to a move to a smaller and cheaper dwelling which is generally considered as a step down the housing ladder (Bolt & van Kempen, 2002). Altogether, the impact of preferences, constraints, resources and opportunities along with the complex interplay between these factors make the housing choices of families and individuals a comprehensive set of compromises and weighting of priorities.

In recent years, Copenhagen has become a popular place to live, and population figures are increasing at high rates. This puts pressure on the housing market: Prices on owner-occupied houses and flats are rising, and access to private rental, social housing and cooperative housing can be difficult. Even though Bispebjerg is considered one of the less attractive areas in Copenhagen, this development can be identified there as well. The most attractive dwelling types, such as detached houses or newly constructed blocks of flats, are primarily owner-occupied, and while prices are slightly lower in Bispebjerg than in other parts of Copenhagen, buying a home still requires substantial financial resources. Consequently, large groups of less affluent citizens are excluded from these dwellings. Generally, the social and economic differences between

² Based on interviewees' own information of their income levels.

owners and renters in Denmark are significant (Vestergaard, 2010). Social housing offers relatively cheap dwellings, and housing subsidies are available for low-income households. However, social housing in Bispebjerg consists primarily of somewhat deprived estates struggling with a poor reputation and housing large groups of disadvantaged residents. In some cases, the same applies to cooperative housing in Bispebjerg, although this sector also contains some highly attractive and costly dwellings. Additionally, while rent levels and quality of housing in private rental flats vary substantially, access to private rental flats in Bispebjerg is limited due to the high pressure on the housing market. Altogether, there are substantial constraints and limited opportunities in the local housing market, making the differences between households of different financial means pronounced. However, the general quality of housing in Denmark, and in Bispebjerg, compared with other countries must be taken into consideration: Housing standards are generally relatively high, even in the more deprived social housing estates such as those in Bispebjerg. This underlines the importance of considering societal and context-specific factors when analysing housing choices.

Chapter 3 analyses how the interviewees came to live in Bispebjerg, and to what extent diversity, in comparison with other factors like affordability or location, functioned as a motive for settling in Bispebjerg.

3.2 How did the residents come to live in this area?

Diversity as an explicit motivation factor for moving to Bispebjerg is rarely found in the interview material. However, some examples are present in the sample. A 76-year-old retired artist and actress (R21) has lived in everything from a countryside school turned into a collective, a house on a small island and an abandoned brickyard to a ghetto in New York. She has established a cohousing community for seniors in a social housing estate in Bispebjerg. Living in a diverse and mixed area was one of the central ideas behind the community, which they called *“the multicultural village”*. This interviewee sees some similarities between Bispebjerg and multicultural areas in international cities, like New York. So does a 30-year-old woman (R38) who recently moved back to Denmark after nine years in London. She deliberately chose to settle in the Bispebjerg neighbourhood Nordvest because of its mixed character:

“I was worried about moving back to Denmark and worried that Copenhagen would be way too hip, which is just not me at all, and all shiny and polished and just way too Danish, really. [...] And then Nordvest is just, you know, a severely criticised area, and nobody wants to live here, and I just can’t understand that, because I really like it, and I like that there are so many different people, it reminds me a lot of being in London. So it was a sort of natural shift from London to Nordvest [...]” R38, female, 30, illustrator, ethnic Danish background, takes various unskilled jobs to make a living, lives in a one-room private-rental flat.

Amongst the affluent families in Bispebjerg, seeking urban diversity seems to be an element in a well-researched choice of neighbourhood for some of the younger families. The decision process behind this particular choice is something of which they can give an elaborate account: A young mother (R26) describes how her family narrowed their search for a house down to two specific areas, one of them located in Bispebjerg:

“Well, there are a lot of reasons. Firstly, it’s close to the city centre. Then, we like that it has that peace and quiet, that suburban quality that comes with a single-family house, but without being too suburban. We really like that the area is, you know, motley and mixed and... We see this as an asset to the area actually. And then of course we are very, very happy to have Utterslev Mose so close to our home” R26, female, 36, management consultant, ethnic Danish background, married, two small children, moved into an owner-occupied house two years ago.

However, diversity also functions as an explicit pull factor in a highly different way: For example, R24 is a Nepalese immigrant who left another district in Copenhagen, because he found its share of residents originating in Muslim countries too high. In his new neighbourhood in Bispebjerg, this share is lower. Yet, he still considers his new neighbourhood as more diverse than the former, because he perceived the former neighbourhood as dominated by Muslims. This is an example of a group of interviewees for whom diversity in the neighbourhood means that its share of ethnic minority residents is low. Therefore, diversity can be considered a pull factor for interviewees like this Nepalese immigrant.

Finally, the diverse character of Bispebjerg in terms of dwelling types and resident composition has an *indirect* pull-factor function for the interviewees to settle in Bispebjerg. Bispebjerg's troubled reputation makes access to its dwellings easier and keeps the prices on owner-occupied as well as private-rental housing down. This functions as a pull factor for several types of residents. Firstly, it attracts people looking for the big-city life, but without the resources for a dwelling in more central and attractive districts, for instance students and young people. Second, it attracts relatively affluent, yet not wealthy, people looking for a house near Copenhagen. Houses in Bispebjerg are less expensive than in similar neighbourhoods in more upscale districts, such as the northern suburbs of Copenhagen. However, house prices in Copenhagen in general are rising; over the last twenty years, they have increased by more than 200 per cent³ (Realkreditforeningen, 2015). Consequently, buying a house in Copenhagen is becoming increasingly difficult for middle-income families, even in Bispebjerg. Third, it attracts people with very few social, cultural and financial resources, such as immigrants and refugees. R41 is a 42-year-old Chinese immigrant who moved to Denmark two years ago. Since then, he and his family have sublet several flats on temporary contracts. In Bispebjerg, they finally managed to find a permanent private rental flat. A different example is a young mother of Iraqi background, R44. When homeless and expecting a child, it was a matter of signing up on the 'urgent waiting list' with a social housing association in Copenhagen and accepting the first offer she was given. The likelihood of people being allocated a dwelling in Bispebjerg through the urgent waiting list is sizeable, because Bispebjerg is home to a high share of the city's social housing estates, and furthermore, waiting lists are in many cases short because some estates have a bad reputation. This example illustrates how the interplay between resources, constraints and opportunities limits the set of choices of the interviewee regarding her place of residence. Furthermore, it illustrates how the distribution of the social housing sector in Copenhagen is of great importance to the socio-geographical structure of the city.

Despite the above examples, diversity does not play a key role for the choice of neighbourhood. Three other factors are more important: Firstly, for many interviewees, especially those living in the more affluent areas Utterslev and Emdrup, Bispebjerg is considered the perfect mix of a big city and a village. Here, it is possible to live in a quiet, residential area close to recreational areas (e.g. Utterslev Mose), but still within a few kilometres from the city centre. This is especially appealing to families with children. In many cases, the interviewees had quite limited knowledge of the area prior to moving there, and accordingly no specific preference for one particular neighbourhood in Copenhagen. Often, it was the combination of Bispebjerg's central, yet quiet, location and a certain dwelling that attracted the interviewees. This points to the second important pull factor: the dwelling.

³ House prices indexed by the national consumer price index to 2014 values (Danmarks Statistik, 2015); in nominal prices, house prices have increased by 362 per cent (Realkreditforeningen, 2015).

An example of the second important factor, the dwelling in itself, can be found in the case of SocialHousing+ (see Figure 7 in Appendices showing photograph). This is a new social housing concept, focusing on families who want to engage both socially and practically in their housing estate. The idea is to lower the rent levels by using pre-fabricated building elements for construction and by making the maintenance of dwellings and common facilities the responsibility of the residents, in contrast with maintenance organisation in ordinary social housing. Residents are encouraged to restructure their dwellings (e.g. adding internal walls, extra white goods, etc.). The concept was initiated in 2007 as a cooperation between public authorities and social housing associations which are independent non-profit organisations. Public authorities supervise the associations, but the estates are owned and managed by the social housing associations themselves. This goes for the SocialHousing+ estates too. So far, eight of these have been built, one of them in Bispebjerg. Applicants for the dwellings are required to be in employment or under education, and this makes the resident composition different from other social housing estates in Denmark. But even though the Danish social housing sector predominantly houses socially and economically disadvantaged groups (Scanlon & Whitehead, 2007: 26), this is not the original intention of the sector. In Denmark, the target group of social housing is in principle the general public and not only those with special needs. Over the years, however, middle-class households have abandoned the social housing sector in favour of owner-occupied housing, and additionally, the sector has been given the responsibility for housing the disadvantaged by the authorities. As a consequence, the actual resident composition in social housing differs from the in-principle target group of the sector. So, in contrast to ordinary social housing, the new SocialHousing+ concept reaches out to the in-principle target group through its original concept. The estate in Bispebjerg illustrates this: For the two interviewees living in the SocialHousing+ estate (R27 and R43), it was this particular housing type that appealed to them and not the social housing sector as such. Neither was it the neighbourhood; in fact they previously considered Bispebjerg a bleak and gloomy environment. In other words, the special resident composition, i.e. a relatively homogenous group of young families, along with highly attractive, yet affordable, dwellings functioned as pull factors for these interviewees.

In many cases, it was a combination of both these factors that pulled interviewees towards Bispebjerg. A retired secretary living with her husband (R22) presents an example of how the combination of Bispebjerg's central, yet quiet, location and the availability of a particular dwelling, was what made her move to Bispebjerg: She and her family moved into a terraced house in a social housing estate years ago. They used to live in a flat in a deprived social housing estate, and they were attracted by the opportunity to move into a house of their own with a small garden belonging to it; in itself a rare opportunity within the Danish social housing sector. Furthermore, this house was located very close to the city centre, and the combination of an attractive location and an attractive dwelling decided the matter.

Finally, the third important pull factor is the social and emotional attachment to Bispebjerg. This only applies to the relatively small group of interviewees who have lived in Bispebjerg for a very long time, or maybe they have even grown up there. Such place attachment is found among all types of interviewees, regardless of their socio-demographic characteristics, housing situation and the like. A 71-year-old man (R14) living in a single-family house in Emdrup, which he bought with his wife forty years ago, has lived in the area since he was two years old. His grandparents lived there, and his 90-year-old mother still lives there. As a child, he had been hanging out in the same neighbourhood he now has a house in:

"I bet that when I went to Emdrup School, because we would often go down this little path back here, I bet I've been apple scrumping in this garden [his own]" R14, male, 71, retired schoolteacher, ethnic Danish background, grew up in Bispebjerg, lives with his wife in an owner-occupied house.

A young mother of two (R9), expresses the same kind of close attachment to the area. She lives in the very same social housing estate in which she grew up. All her family (parents, siblings, an aunt, her grandparents) still live there as well. Her boyfriend wants them to move out of the estate, because he thinks the environment is unsuitable for their children to grow up in, and even though the interviewee agrees with him on that, the idea of leaving the estate is very difficult for her. This shows how strong her attachment to the area is. Place attachment can also come from other things than having lived in an area: A 62-year-old lawyer (R30) tells the story of how as a young student he would always walk around Utterslev Mose to clear his head before important exams, and on his way he always passed a specific house. When that house came on the market some years later, he and his wife did not hesitate to buy it.

3.3 Moving to the present neighbourhood: improvement or not?

For most interviewees, moving to Bispebjerg is either considered as primarily positive or as having both positive and negative aspects to it. In fact, the empirical material only presents one case of moving to Bispebjerg as being a completely negative experience without any positive aspects to it. This is the case of a Pakistani woman (R46) who moved there against her own will: She and her family were happy with their previous flat in another Copenhagen district, but due to the renovation of that building, they were rehoused. Their new home is a smaller, but rather expensive flat located in Bispebjerg, an area to which they had no relation. In other words, a forced relocation to an unfamiliar area along with a poorer quality of housing has made the move to Bispebjerg a downwards one in the eyes of this interviewee. Looking beyond the social housing sector is not considered an option by this family; a finding that underscores the large divides between sectors on the Danish housing market and the importance of the housing career concept.

At the opposite end of the scale, a large group of interviewees consider it a clearly upwards move to settle in Bispebjerg. These can be divided into three groups: Firstly, those attracted by a nice home, often a detached house in a quiet neighbourhood of Utterslev or Emdrup. Usually, these interviewees moved when they were in the process of starting a family, and the residential neighbourhoods in Bispebjerg fit perfectly with such a change in the life course. Secondly, moving to Bispebjerg is considered an upwards move by interviewees returning to their 'home field' after having lived somewhere else. For instance, R1 is a young woman who grew up in Nordvest and still has all her friends there. After living in a different part of Copenhagen for a few years, she recently moved back. To her, it feels like coming home. Thirdly, moving to Bispebjerg is considered an upwards move for the interviewees who left behind a neighbourhood where they felt unsafe or uncomfortable with the social environment. Additionally, for some ethnic minority interviewees, moving to an ethnically more mixed environment is considered a step of integration and thus, in their eyes, an upwards move:

"In the neighbourhood I lived in before, there were primarily foreigners, and even though I'm a foreigner myself, I think it should be mixed, both Danes and foreigners and students and elderly and families. If it's mixed, it's good, I think" R6, female, 39, on long-term sick leave, Afghan background, single mother of three, lives in social housing in Emdrup.

However, for a 41-year-old woman (R8), who also moved to escape an unsafe environment, the change brought about some unexpected difficulties. While her teenage daughter felt unsafe in their previous neighbourhood, the interviewee on the other hand liked the area. Consequently, she found herself missing the feeling of belonging to the place she had lived in for many years. Her story is thus an exception to the tendency that leaving an unsafe environment makes the interviewees consider their move to Bispebjerg an upwards move. However, it still underlines the importance of *what was left behind*, because while the interviewee R8 did leave behind an

environment that was unsafe for her daughter, the place had a different meaning to her. She liked her old neighbourhood, and now she misses it. Furthermore, the example of R8 illustrates how moving to Bispebjerg is often considered both an upwards and a downwards move. Often, some elements of the interviewees' former housing situation were good, while others were bad. Some had to move because their leases expired, others because their dwellings were too small or too expensive, and yet others because of their health, for instance older people who had become incapable of climbing the stairs to their previous flats. Often, these interviewees left behind either a dwelling they liked or a neighbourhood they liked. In return, they achieved improvements in other respects. For instance, R43 is a 34-year-old female project manager who used to live in a tiny two-room flat with her partner and their three children. They moved into a brand new 130-square-meter flat with two large balconies in the very child-friendly SocialHousing+ estate. However, to achieve this, the interviewee had to leave a neighbourhood she was very fond of. Instead she moved to Bispebjerg, an area she considered "*a dreadful place*" before moving there. In terms of neighbourhood, she made a downwards move, but in terms of housing conditions, she made an upwards move. A variation of such ambivalence is found amongst the interviewees seeking 'life in the big city' (e.g. youngsters): They would have preferred some of the trendier or more central districts, like Nørrebro. However, accessing a decent and fairly cheap flat was possible in Bispebjerg, not in the trendier districts, and this was why Bispebjerg was chosen. In other words, moving there is considered primarily, but not solely, a downwards move.

3.4 Conclusions

The chapter underlines how not only preferences, but also resources, constraints and opportunities for housing vary immensely between the interviewees. In a context like Copenhagen, where the housing market is tight, these differences become especially pronounced. While prices on owner-occupied housing in Bispebjerg are slightly lower than in other Copenhagen areas, buying a home is only possible for those of substantial financial means. At the same time, while rented housing is slightly easier to get access to in Bispebjerg compared with other areas, this primarily applies to dwellings in unattractive estates. Consequently, interviewees with few financial or social resources are left with a very limited choice set. Furthermore, while Bispebjerg's (semi-)detached houses, primarily owner-occupied, are generally considered to be a permanent dwelling by their occupant, e.g. families with children, the relatively easily accessible and affordable rented flats in Bispebjerg are generally considered more temporary or in-between dwellings. These flats generally attract youngsters, singles or people with acute housing needs, thus adding to the diversity of the population. In other words, Bispebjerg has dwellings fitting various steps in the housing career, though various factors limit their accessibility. This chapter has illustrated how residential mobility and housing choices are a matter of weighing priorities against each other, for instance proximity to central Copenhagen versus housing price and dwelling quality. Often, the qualities of the dwelling in itself are given priority when weighing options against each other. Being a set of compromises means that residential mobility often entails positive as well as negative aspects, but to most interviewees their housing choice is considered primarily an improvement.

Altogether, the highly mixed housing stock in Bispebjerg along with a distinctive local context can be considered drivers for creating diversity in the population. However, while Bispebjerg forms a diverse area in terms of socio-economy, culture, demography, lifestyles, etc. on a large scale, it forms a range of primarily socio-economically segregated neighbourhoods on a smaller scale.

4. Perceptions of diversity in the neighbourhood

4.1 Introduction

Studies on urban segregation have questioned whether living in a diverse neighbourhood impacts the residents' attitudes towards diversity. Research indicates that interaction cutting across groups rarely reaches beyond brief public-space encounters (Wissink & Hazelzet, 2012; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010) and questions whether tolerance and openness in these micro-scale encounters can in fact be translated into more general tolerance and understanding across differences (Valentine, 2013). Along these lines, Blokland & van Eijk (2010) argue that seeking and consuming diversity as an urban quality does not automatically translate into practising diversity. In other words, to rather affluent urbanites diversity is appreciated, yet confined to arm's-length encounters. Such stances highlight the inherent connection between urban diversity and social inequality (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Rather than diversity as such, Gijsberts et al. (2011) attribute the challenges facing diverse urban neighbourhoods to the socio-economic composition of residents. Furthermore, it is argued that narratives of the erosion of economic security and cultural recognisability as caused by increasing ethnic diversity foster prejudices amongst certain ethnic majority groups (Valentine, 2013). Yet, the significance of culture, lifestyle, etc. in addition to ethnicity and socio-economy illustrates the importance of taking the interplay between a wide variety of diversities into account. In this context, hyper-diversity is a key concept (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Through analysing the interviewees' perceptions of their neighbours, of positive and negative aspects of their neighbourhood, and their perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood, this chapter examines the following questions: How do residents think about the area they live in? And do residents see their neighbourhood's diversity as an asset or a liability?

In the interviews, interviewees are asked to delimit their perceived neighbourhood. The Danish word used for neighbourhood is '*lokalområde*', which translates directly into 'local area'. However, the Danish language does not have a clear definition of the word '*lokalområde*'; nor are the borders between Bispebjerg's different neighbourhoods fixed (see Chapter 1). Consequently, it was left to the interviewees to define their '*lokalområde*'. Still, it can be said that '*lokalområde*' refers to something larger than a single building or estate, yet smaller than an entire district or area in a city, which could be translated into '*kvarter*' or '*bydel*'. Such areas or districts often have a more or less official name, such as Bispebjerg (see Chapter 1).

4.2 Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood

The perceived boundaries of the interviewees' neighbourhoods vary immensely. Sizes range from a single estate of 550 dwellings to a larger area of approximately 40,000 people, including most of Bispebjerg. Yet, one initial point should be highlighted regarding the geographical layout of the interviewees' neighbourhoods: The material shows that a perceived neighbourhood is not necessarily defined as a delimited geographical entity. Rather, some interviewees distinguish between the core of their neighbourhood and, firstly, more distant zones and, secondly, satellites, that is, places which are geographically separate from the rest of the neighbourhood, but which the interviewees include in their delimitation. Whereas the core is usually made up of a few streets around the place of residence, the outer zones consist of places used for shopping, activities, sports, socialising etc. Some interviewees distinguish between areas they merely pass through and areas they use. To a retired university professor living in Emdrup (R2), the Grundtvigs Church is an important part of his neighbourhood, because he attends concerts there. Yet, he has no relation to the social housing estate located between the church and his own house. The church is a satellite element in his perceived neighbourhood, which has different levels. The interviewee

R40 is another example. He is a young man living in the housing estate in which he grew up. He is strongly attached to this area. However, key parts of his social network are located in a different neighbourhood a couple of kilometres away, and in fact, he used to live in this area himself. Accordingly, he includes it in the definition of his neighbourhood as a satellite element. In other words, interviewees experience different degrees of belonging to different geographical areas, all of which can be included in their perceived neighbourhood.

Interviewees predominantly base their perceived neighbourhoods on three factors: 1) their patterns of movement, 2) their feelings of attachment to an area and 3) whether they identify with and, to some extent, like an area. The first factor, patterns of movement, is shaped by the interviewees' activities. Activities include shopping, sports, work, school, childcare centres, cultural activities, recreation, etc., as well as social activities like visiting friends, family and acquaintances. Consequently, the interviewees' patterns of movement are strongly affected by the geographical structure of their social relations. This factor is underlined by a group of interviewees who make very little use of their local area, but instead frequent Copenhagen city centre; namely those interviewees living in Bispebjerg solely because of its proximity to Copenhagen. Accordingly, they define their neighbourhood in the direction of the city centre, often resulting in their own homes being located at one end of their perceived neighbourhood. For instance, R31 is a woman who wanted to move to Copenhagen from the suburbs, but ended up in a rather deprived social housing estate in Bispebjerg's hillside neighbourhood because of its easily accessible flats. She draws the boundaries of her perceived neighbourhood in this way:

"R31: The area down to Nørrebro Centret [shopping centre at inner Nordvest] is part of it.

Researcher: And what about in the other direction?

R31: No, it stops right down here on the corner [of her estate]" R31, female, 50, sales consultant, ethnic Danish background.

The oldest interviewees stand out in terms of patterns of movements: Often, their health is relatively poor, significantly limiting their patterns of movement. Consequently, these interviewees find it difficult to define a neighbourhood to which they belong.

The second factor shaping the interviewees' delimitation of their neighbourhood is attachment. Attachment is understood as areas to which the interviewees have an emotional connection; the place they consider their 'home field', so to speak. Attachment is created in more than one way: First, through time. Having had a connection of some kind with an area for a long period of time establishes an emotional bond to the area. Second, the interviewees often become attached to areas they use frequently, simply because these places become familiar to them. In this perspective then, attachment is linked to patterns of movement. Third, the interviewees feel attachment to areas in which they have a social network, that is, where they know people. This can be an area they used to live in or where all their friends live and it is thus not necessarily in the immediate proximity of their own home. In fact, the empirical material presents examples of interviewees who still perceive their previous residential area as their neighbourhood, because their social networks in and personal attachment to it is so strong:

"If you ask me where I feel at home, then it's in Lyngby [a town seven kilometres away]. When I'm in Lyngby, I know Lyngby. That's right up my street... [Asked about current place of residence:] It's all right... Of course I have come to know more people, but I don't have any childhood friends from here. I don't have any memories back in time from here at all. Nothing. So in this sense, I don't have any relation to it" R39, male, 35, manager of service business, Algerian descendant, lives with wife and two children in cooperative housing.

The third factor affecting where interviewees draw the boundaries of their perceived neighbourhoods is whether they can identify with certain areas, and, in some cases, whether they

like them. Areas that the interviewees dissociate themselves from are often excluded from their perceived neighbourhood. Often, borders between different dwelling types and the associated differences in resident composition can function as demarcations. In some neighbourhoods, attractive owner-occupied houses lie just across the road from areas of social housing. The interviewees living in the owner-occupied houses often have very limited social relations across such roads, and accordingly, they delimit their neighbourhoods along them:

“Once again, I find myself referring to this area right here and not so much to the other side of [road] where it’s a different scene. I know there’s a completely different [resident] composition. I’ll just have to recognise that we [his family] simply just orient ourselves towards this area right here. These are the people we hang out with; it’s in this area that all the children play with each other and play football in the same club and so on” R7, male, 43, consultant, ethnic Danish, lives in an owner-occupied house in Utterslev.

In some cases, interviewees have an actual aversion against certain neighbourhoods. This primarily concerns those perceiving certain neighbourhoods in Bispebjerg, primarily Nordvest, as being too dominated by ethnic minority citizens in terms of street life, shops, activities and facilities (see Section 4.4). Consequently, the interviewees orient themselves in other directions: They avoid using certain areas for shopping, leisure time activities, etc. Instead, they turn towards alternative facilities located in other areas and define their perceived neighbourhood accordingly:

“My neighbourhood is from our home and then out to Søborg, and then from Trianglen to Hellerup [posh areas]. My wife doesn’t want to come here [in Nordvest where the interview takes place]. [...] I call this area a ghetto, because you can see that they’re all Muslims, 80 per cent are Muslim, and I don’t want to live here. I don’t have anything against them, but I don’t want to live with them. [...] I can see how the streets look here, it’s completely different, and their behaviour is...” R3, male, 69, retired machine operator, French background, married to a Dane, lives in an owner-occupied row house in Emdrup.

Altogether, the interviewees’ patterns of movement, their feelings of attachment to certain places and their sense of identification with, or dissociation from, some areas shape how they draw the boundaries of their perceived neighbourhood.

4.3 Perceptions of neighbours

Interviewees living in detached or semi-detached housing describe a relatively homogenous resident composition amongst their direct and indirect neighbours: Residents are primarily ethnic Danish families with children or middle-aged people with grown children, and they belong to socially and financially affluent groups, often with a background in higher-education and in stable employment. Amongst interviewees living in blocks of flats, on the other hand, a much more mixed resident composition with regards to age, household composition, social background, ethnicity, etc. is described. To varying degrees, this is found in all tenure types. Yet at the same time, neighbouring disadvantaged or marginalised people are mentioned relatively often by interviewees living in blocks of flats. While this applies to flats of all tenures, it is especially mentioned by interviewees living in social housing. This is illustrated by the interviewee R20 living in social housing, when asked whether he perceives himself as compatible with his neighbours:

“Yes, sadly. I wish I didn’t... Because, well, I’m a textbook example of the type of people living out here... meaning that I’ve been living on transfer payments for a quarter of a century now, and there aren’t really any prospects of that ever changing” R20, male, 44, unemployed, ethnic Danish background, lives in a social housing flat allocated by the municipality.



Figure 3. Left: Social housing estate in the hillside neighbourhood. Right: Detached housing area in Utterslev.

The differences between the perceptions of neighbours by interviewees living in flats, on one hand, and in detached or semi-detached housing, on the other, are emphasised by the case of Kantorparken, a social housing estate in Emdrup: It consists of two adjacent parts, a number of blocks of flats and a row of terraced houses. The interviewees living in the flats in Kantorparken describe their neighbours as very mixed in terms of ethnicity as well as employment: While some have jobs, others are unemployed or on long-term sick leave because of physical or mental health issues. Interviewees in the terraced houses, on the other hand, describe their neighbours as being primarily retirees, ethnic Danes and with several years of employment as skilled or unskilled workers behind them. In other words, interviewees living in the terraced houses perceive their neighbours as a much more homogenous group than the interviewees living in the flats do. The example of Kantorparken thus confirms the outlined differences between dwelling types. Yet, a special case of living in social housing flats should be mentioned, namely, the shared living community for seniors located in an estate in Bispebjerg's hillside neighbourhood. The interviewee R21 lives here, and her perceptions of her community neighbours resemble those of interviewees living in (semi-)detached houses: They are well-educated, have had stable employment trajectories, have many personal resources and large social networks etc. The interviewee identifies strongly with her fellow community members, but she is highly aware of their deviation from the surrounding housing estate. In other words, the seniors' living community can be understood as a homogenous enclave to some extent resembling a detached-housing area, but located instead within a large housing estate with a much more mixed resident composition.

Additionally, a strong link between dwelling types and the degree of interaction between neighbours can be identified. Whereas interviewees living in (semi-)detached houses give elaborate accounts of their neighbours and often socialise with them, the interviewees living in flats give very brief accounts, lacking in detail, of their neighbours, illustrating their limited interaction with them (see Section 6.3 on neighbour relations):

“Researcher: Do you feel that you are compatible with your neighbours?”

R41: It seems so.

Researcher: How come you feel that way?

R41: Because when we meet in the neighbourhood, or when I go up or down the stairs, they look friendly” R41, male, 42, PhD, works as a gardener, Chinese background, immigrated to Denmark two years ago.

To sum up, interviewees living in (semi-)detached housing perceive their neighbours as a predominantly homogenous group to which they themselves belong. Interviewees living in

blocks of flats, on the other hand, perceive their neighbours as a far more mixed group, and they generally identify to a very limited extent with them. The parallels between perceived diversity of neighbours and a lack of social interaction suggest that identification with one's neighbours is of great importance to the establishment of social relations. In this perspective, diversity poses a challenge to creating local social cohesion in housing estates. However, as Chapter 6 will show, diversity alone cannot account for the limited social interaction between neighbours in blocks of flats as compared with neighbours in detached or semi-detached housing; other factors must be considered as well.

4.4 Perceptions of the neighbourhood: positive and negative aspects

Even though most interviewees regard diversity as a positive feature of the urban environment, only limited importance is attached to it when discussing the qualities of their neighbourhood. Rather, assets like Bispebjerg's central, yet quiet, location is emphasised. Bispebjerg is located right at the border between the city and the suburbs, surrounded by large green, recreational areas, yet close to city life and the opportunities this provides. This feature is repeatedly mentioned by a broad group of interviewees across socio-demographic characteristics, place of residence, lifestyle and so on. The exceptions stressing the dominance of this view are the interviewees looking for the city life of Copenhagen, but settling in Bispebjerg because of the tight housing market in more central areas of the city. Yet, to a limited group of interviewees, diversity is considered the key asset of Bispebjerg. Especially the neighbourhood of Nordvest is regarded as a highly diverse area, and interviewees describe it with words like circus-like and metropolitan. An interviewee illustrates such appreciation of diversity in the following way:

"I love Rentemestervej [a street running through Nordvest and Utterslev]; I think it's so incredibly amazing, because it has everything in a way. It begins down in the most urban Copenhagen environment you can find. And the street has car repair shops, theatres, Quran schools, a library and so on. This and that, and funny little businesses, and then it ends at a village pond, just like in the countryside. I think it's fantastic that this area is so diverse and varied" R7, male, 43, consultant, ethnic Danish background, lives in an owner-occupied house in Utterslev.

This view is primarily found amongst the more affluent interviewees, often highly educated or university students. Living in a diverse area is seen as enriching for the community as well as the residents: A diverse neighbourhood provides a variety of resources, such as a more varied supply of shops and facilities, bi-lingual staff at public service centres etc.; and for individuals, living with diversity is considered an opportunity to learn from others and to develop a sense of empathy and social responsibility. Furthermore, Bispebjerg's mixed character is considered as a safeguard against the area becoming too posh and stiff. Interviewees indicate that status symbols like money, the right car or the right clothing seem less pressing in Bispebjerg as compared to other, more upscale or trendy, areas in Copenhagen. However, there is a recognition amongst some of these, rather articulate and socially-aware, interviewees of an almost cliché-like side to this applauding of diversity. For instance, when asked what the best thing about living in Nordvest is, a young university student answers:

"I know it sounds like a cliché, but it's the diversity, really" R23, female, 30, university student, Danish-Israeli background, moved into a private-rental flat in Nordvest 18 months ago.

This cliché side of applauding diversity is related to the socio-economic situation of this group of interviewees: Being a rather affluent group, some of these interviewees live in Bispebjerg's more homogenous areas of owner-occupied houses, and while others are younger and live in blocks of flats in more mixed areas, they primarily live in estates where the presence of both ethnic-

minority and socially disadvantaged residents is limited. These estates are generally cooperative, owner-occupied or private rental. In other words, even though the interviewees applauding diversity do live in more or less mixed neighbourhoods, they primarily encounter diversity in public spaces, when they step out into the street or leave their small residential road. A woman living in an owner-occupied house puts it this way:

"We have to go, like, out there and down to [the next street] and see those dealing marihuana down there to realise that 'oh right! we're in Nordvest!'" R26, female, 35, management consultant, ethnic Danish background, lives in single-family house in Utterslev.

Living in a diverse neighbourhood also entails living with social inequality. Generally, the interviewees are very aware of Bispebjerg's socio-economic challenges. Even though Bispebjerg is perceived as highly segregated, and these challenges are accordingly concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, the social inequality still affects the general street scene in Bispebjerg. Interviewee accounts of homeless people in the street, mentally ill people, alcoholics, drug users, drug dealers and street gangs are not rare. To some extent, the interviewees highlighting diversity as Bispebjerg's key asset are very aware of such problems, but distinguish between the socio-economic inequalities in Bispebjerg, on one hand, and diversity as an enriching urban space feature, on the other. In other words, while being very aware of the necessity of solving problems of social inequality in society, the interviewees separate such issues from the enriching experiences of encountering diversity in public or semi-public spaces. Such double experiences echo throughout the interview material: Though not all interviewees are equally aware of the inherent paradox, most express both an appreciation of diversity in the neighbourhood and recognition of the problems of social inequality. The Youth House in Bispebjerg forms a good example of this two-sided story: When a community house used by squatter and punk youths in another area of Copenhagen was torn down, it fostered massive protests, both peaceful and riotous, from its users. Consequently, it was much debated in public whether these youths should be given a new site for their community house. All would-be new neighbours strongly resisted its location in their neighbourhood due to the fear of disturbances, riots, vandalism and wild parties. After much dispute, a location in the middle of Bispebjerg was decided upon by the municipality. On one hand, this can be considered an example of the tolerant and open attitudes of the residents in Bispebjerg; on the other hand, it can be argued that the residents in Bispebjerg simply did not have the resources to protest. Some interviewees suspect that the local authorities took advantage of the weak position of the residents when locating the controversial new Youth House in Bispebjerg.

To the interviewees living in Bispebjerg's deprived housing estates, most of them social housing, living with socio-economic diversity has both positive and negative sides to it: These interviewees often share the view of urban diversity as enriching and inspiring. However, the large proportion of socially disadvantaged residents in their housing estates makes the downsides of diversity substantially more tangible to these interviewees than to those encountering diversity in public spaces alone. This affects their perceptions of socio-economic diversity in three ways: Firstly, according to an interviewee living in social housing, a large part of the residents have neither the personal resources nor the energy to communicate with each other in a constructive way, thus escalating otherwise minor conflicts:

"It becomes too sensitive when there are too many people with social problems. [...] It's the concentration of social [problems], you know, not being able to communicate, like 'what are you doing?!!' [in a threatening voice]. Some people just can't say things in a proper way. There is this confrontational attitude and that fosters confrontation" R29, female, 40, trade union consultant, ethnic Danish background, has lived in Nordvest all her life.

Secondly, to varying degrees interviewees living in deprived housing estates give accounts of vandalism, theft, misuse of estates, noise, conflicts, etc., and in some cases, more serious problems like threats and violence. Especially to the mothers of small children living there, such problems cause concern. For instance, a young single mother (R48) is concerned about groups of young boys doing petty-crime and hanging out in local playgrounds and parking lots. She is worried about letting her children grow up in the estate and wishes to move elsewhere with a lower proportion of disadvantaged residents. Thirdly, neighbours in blocks of flats are much closer to each other's private spheres than neighbours in detached or semi-detached houses. This means that friction between neighbours in these estates concern far more intimate and private spheres of the residents' lives. Being drawn into the private lives of their neighbours is thus very transgressive, and to the interviewees living in more or less deprived housing estates, diversity in the neighbourhood has positive as well as negative impacts on their daily lives.

Besides the issues of social inequality, another aspect of diversity is important to the perceptions of diversity as expressed by the interviewees, namely the ethnic mix. Ethnic mix is associated with both advantages and disadvantages. Ethnic diversity is considered an advantage to Bispebjerg in two ways: First, through enriching and varying the facilities, activities and lifestyles found in the area, for instance with Middle Eastern grocer's shops, public-space celebration of the Muslim Eid holiday, and cross-cultural encounters in streets, shops, schools and so on. Such views are expressed by most interviewees, in other words across socio-demographic characteristics, lifestyles, etc. Second, the ethnic mix in Bispebjerg provides ethnic-minority interviewees with feelings of comfort and safety, because they do not stand out as the only persons who are not ethnic Danish, and they consider the atmosphere in Bispebjerg to be more tolerant and open towards ethnic minorities and cultural variety because of the ethnic diversity.

However, the ethnic mix is considered a problem by other interviewees: Even though these generally regard diversity as a positive feature of urban space, they perceive certain areas in Bispebjerg as *lacking* in diversity, because the proportion of non-ethnic-Danish activities, facilities and people has become too high, in their opinion. The neighbourhood Nordvest presents a useful example in this regard: Here, the presence of ethnic minority residents, businesses and activities seems more pronounced than in most other places across Copenhagen. There are several reasons for this: Firstly, there is a higher proportion of ethnic minority residents living in Nordvest. Second, there is a larger presence of non-Western shops in the streets, e.g. Turkish food stands, along with social and cultural facilities catering to especially Muslim communities, e.g. mosques and Muslim private schools. Third, these facilities attract ethnic minority groups living in other parts of the Copenhagen region. Fourth, instead of being considered as several smaller groups, especially compared with the ethnic Danish majority in the area, the ethnic minorities are sometimes considered as one, consequently very large group; the 'foreigners'. Finally, many ethnic minority people present in Nordvest are visually noticeable because of a distinctly different physical appearance than ethnic Danes, e.g. wearing niqabs or turbans, having darker skin, etc. Altogether, these factors create a particular street scene in the Nordvest neighbourhood, and while the percentage of residents of non-Western backgrounds in Bispebjerg as a whole is less than 25%, the listed factors can, in some areas, make it come across as being much higher. Consequently, the deviance of the Nordvest street scene from other neighbourhoods in Copenhagen along with the high public visibility of non-ethnic-Danish activities is considered 'too much' by some interviewees. In their perspective, the ethno-cultural mix here is *not* in balance, meaning that they do not consider Nordvest a diverse neighbourhood:

"I think there's opened too many foreign shops, and the others seem to be disappearing, and I think the area is becoming too dominated by this. I think a mix would have been better than dominance"

R22, female, 64, on early retirement, former secretary, ethnic Danish background, lives with husband in social housing in Emdrup.

This view is found predominantly amongst two groups of interviewees: First, immigrants from Asian countries. They dissociate themselves clearly from other ethnic minority groups, especially Muslims. In their perception, citizens of Middle Eastern and North African origin, considered as one coherent Muslim group, dominate neighbourhoods such as Nordvest. Second, ethnic Danes of older age groups, primarily retired skilled or unskilled workers describe areas like Nordvest as dominated by ‘foreigners’. Additionally, these interviewees associate ethnic minority citizens with certain norms, cultures and ways of life that are highly different from their own. Especially Muslims are perceived as having an old-fashioned lifestyle, not compatible with a modern society. The perceptions of ethnic minorities of this group of older, primarily working-class interviewees of ethnic Danish background are often based on for instance media stories or observations in public spaces. They have rarely any personal experiences of ethnic minority individuals, and if they do, such experiences are insignificant to their overall impression of ethnic minority presence in society. To them, the very noticeable changes in their neighbourhood over time foster a sizeable feeling of unease. A 77-year-old woman (R28) phrases this intangible feeling of unease towards ethnic minorities as such in the following way:

“It’s just that when you meet them in groups... I don’t have anything to pin it on. It’s just that I think they have ruined our neighbourhood. That’s what irritates me. It’s not the individuals, you know” R28, female, 77, retired secretary, ethnic Danish background, has lived in Emdrup for several decades.



Figure 4. Street scene, Nordvest neighbourhood.

As this section indicates, diversity in terms of ethnicity and socio-economy dominate interviewees’ perceptions and narratives, despite the presence of several other aspects of diversity in Bispebjerg. When discussing diversity in terms of, for instance, age or household composition, accounts are brief and straightforward. Living with these forms of diversity in public and semi-public spaces seems natural and a given to the interviewees. Rather, ethnicity and socio-economy dominate discussions, especially with regards to problems and challenges. Yet, a closer look reveals that neither ethnicity nor socio-economy *as such* pose a challenge to the interviewees; rather, it is the differences in activities, attitudes, lifestyle and culture *associated with* certain socio-economic and ethnic characteristics. Furthermore, in some cases socio-economy and ethnicity overlap, because a high share of ethnic minority residents in Copenhagen are in fact socio-economically disadvantaged. For instance, the two aspects coincide when discussing the street

gangs of youngsters hanging out in public spaces and committing petty crime (although more serious gang-based crime is present in Bispebjerg too): The gangs are generally made up of young men or boys of ethnic minority backgrounds, and the boys primarily come from socially disadvantaged families. Hence, interaction between diversities must be taken into account, not only between socio-economy and ethnicity, but between gender, age, lifestyle, attitudes and activities as well. In other words, despite the prevalence of socio-economic and ethnic diversity in the accounts of the interviewees, the interlinking of various diversities must also be taken into account.

4.5 Conclusions

This chapter has examined urban diversity in Bispebjerg as perceived by the interviewees. Generally, diversity is considered a clearly positive term adding liveliness and variety to daily life in the neighbourhood. Especially to the more affluent interviewees with higher education, the ethnic diversity in the Nordvest neighbourhood is appreciated as providing enriching experiences of cross-cultural encounters. Yet, only to a few interviewees diversity is considered the key asset of Bispebjerg. Other factors, such as the central, yet quiet location of Bispebjerg in Greater Copenhagen along with the fairly easy access to relatively affordable housing in a very tight housing market, are perceived as important assets of Bispebjerg. However, the population diversity and the diversity of the built environment are key aspects in providing such opportunities. In other words, these are indirect effects of neighbourhood diversity.

However, living in a diverse neighbourhood also entails living with social inequality. The interviewees recognise the seriousness of such downsides to diversity, but rarely express awareness of the inherent paradox in the relationship between urban diversity and social inequality. Yet the close link between the two highlights discussions regarding the impact of diversity on urban environments in comparison to that of social inequality. Especially to interviewees living in Bispebjerg's deprived housing estates, the consequences of socio-economic diversity come much closer to their private spheres than to interviewees primarily encountering socio-economic diversity in public spaces. Along with socio-economic differences, the interview accounts revolve around ethnic differences in Bispebjerg in terms of positive as well as negative aspects. To some of the older interviewees of ethnic Danish and primarily working-class background, the Nordvest neighbourhood is perceived as too dominated by the 'foreign', i.e. non-Danish activities, facilities and people, all of which are lumped together as one. However, the material shows how challenges related to ethnic diversity is really about the cultures, lifestyles, activities and attitudes associated with certain ethnic groups. To some extent, the same goes for challenges regarding socio-economic diversity. These findings underscore the relevance of the hyper-diversity concept: A wide variety of diversities along with the complex interplay between them must be taken into account.

Though the resident composition in Bispebjerg is highly diverse, and also the area is highly diverse in terms of the physical environment, functions, facilities, etc., the interviewees generally perceive Bispebjerg as consisting of small entities more or less divided from each other. Such micro-segregation entails that some of these small-scale areas, especially (semi-)detached housing areas, form 'enclaves' of quite homogenous resident compositions. In others, especially social housing blocks, the resident composition is much more mixed in terms of ethnicity, culture, lifestyle, attitudes and socio-economy, but at the same time, the share of socio-economically disadvantaged residents is generally high. Conversely, the share of financially affluent households is relatively low, thus illustrating a distinction between areas of (semi-)detached housing and areas of blocks of flats. Geographically, the distribution of such areas across Bispebjerg is uneven (see Figure 1, Chapter 1), but given their functional differences, for instance monofunctional

residential areas, mixed-function areas or recreational areas, many interviewees move about Bispebjerg quite a lot and consequently pass through diverse areas. Still, the identification with or dissociation from certain places affect the interviewees' perceived boundaries of their neighbourhood, for instance amongst interviewees looking to participate in urban life and consequently perceiving the inner parts of Nordvest as part of their neighbourhood as opposed to the quiet residential areas further away from the Copenhagen city centre.

5. Activities in and outside the neighbourhood

5.1 Introduction

The impact of living in a diverse area depends to a large extent on the importance of the neighbourhood in the activities of the local residents. Furthermore, it depends on encounters with diversity in relation to these activities. Several studies point to the importance of encountering diversity in the neighbourhood. Public-space encounters, like seeing people in the streets or saying hello in the local shops, can positively affect the attitudes of the residents and hereby contribute to diminishing prejudices based on diversity (Peters & de Haan, 2011; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010). Additionally, local public facilities such as childcare centres, libraries, parks, etc. are found to provide crucial arenas for such cross-cutting observations and encounters (Curley, 2010). However, other studies question the translation of superficial public-space encounters into a general tolerance and openness towards diversity (Valentine, 2013).

Additionally, social networks and daily activities are in no way confined to the neighbourhood, and in analysing the importance of the local area, identifying its role in the daily lives of the local residents is the key. According to van Kempen & Wissink (2014), the neighbourhood must be re-imagined as a collection of nodes connecting multiple flows that reach beyond the neighbourhood. Consequently, the importance of the neighbourhood has not disappeared; rather it has become part of a network of links within and reaching beyond it. This chapter examines how the interviewees make use of the diversified area they live in, whether they actively engage in diversified relations and activities, and to what extent the area they live in is more important than others in relation to their activities. Activities include public-space activities such as shopping and running errands, jogging in the park, taking a stroll or visiting public and cultural facilities; they include activities in private spaces, i.e. the homes of others or that of the interviewees themselves; and they include work-related activities and engagement in associations and institutions like childcare centres, schools, sports clubs and cultural associations.

5.2 Activities: where and with whom

The character and extensiveness of activities engaged in by the interviewees vary according to several aspects of their lives, but five are of particular importance.

First, life course stage and household composition impact on the character and extensiveness of activities: Being a family with children living at home exerts great influence on the patterns of activities in as well as outside the neighbourhood. In Denmark, the majority of children attend childcare institutions for five full days a week from the age of 1. Consequently, nurseries, kindergartens and subsequently schools play important roles in the daily lives of children, and in most families in the interviews, children attend schools and institutions located in the neighbourhood. In diverse neighbourhoods, schools and institutions can function as key arenas

for encounters across differences if they reflect this population diversity in the pupil composition. In Denmark, the distribution of children into the various public schools is determined by place of residence. Copenhagen is divided into 58 municipally defined school districts, and six public schools cover the area of Bispebjerg (see Figure 8, Appendices for map of public school districts). However, certain schools are troubled by a poor reputation regarding social and educational issues leading to socio-economically stronger families choosing private schools instead. The social and educational problems are primarily attributed to the large proportion of socio-economically disadvantaged pupils and ethnic minority pupils. Generally, there is a large degree of overlap between socio-economy and ethnicity in Copenhagen and in Denmark as a whole, in that a large proportion of ethnic minority citizens are in socio-economically disadvantaged positions. In Bispebjerg, the percentage of immigrant and descendant citizens, who are unemployed or receiving transfer payments, is 41%, while the equivalent amongst the ethnic Danish citizens is only 21%⁴ (Københavns Kommune, 2014). Furthermore, learning is a key discussion point regarding schooling in Denmark, and consequently bilingualism is considered an educational issue for schools with high numbers of ethnic minority pupils. Altogether, discussions on the quality of public schools in Denmark emphasise the proportion of ethnic minority pupils, often to a greater extent than socio-economic aspects. This applies to political discussions as well as media stories and public debates. To Copenhagen Municipality, school segregation along socio-economic and ethnic lines is considered an increasing problem. As opposed to Denmark as a whole, where 84% of children attend public schools, this only applies to 73% of the children in Copenhagen (Cevea, 2014). To keep the trend of school segregation from escalating, Copenhagen Municipality has altered the public school districts more than once in recent years in attempts to change the pupil compositions. The former reports of the DIVERCITIES project analyse such policies as well as bottom-up initiatives for prioritisation of the public schools (Andersen et al., 2014a; 2014b). In addition to changing the school districts, physical improvements and management changes have been employed by the municipality to poor-reputation schools.

In Bispebjerg, the percentage of ethnic minority pupils vary immensely between the six public schools, ranging from 28% at Holberg School in Emdrup and 33% at Utterslev School, to 76% at Tagensbo School in the hillside neighbourhood (BT, 2014)⁵. In practice, proportion of socio-economically disadvantaged pupils approximate the shares of ethnic minority pupils to some degree. While the percentage of ethnic minority pupils at Tagensbo School diverges significantly from the 24.1% of residents with a non-Western-background in Bispebjerg as a whole, it is fairly equivalent to the resident composition in the school district of Tagensbo School (see Figure 9, Appendices). Amongst the parent interviewees, the choice of school reflects the general tendencies in Copenhagen: Interviewees living in the school districts of Holberg and Utterslev schools feel at ease sending their children to the local school, whereas this is not the case for interviewees living in the district of Tagensbo School. Though improvements to the social and educational environment at Tagensbo School are acknowledged by the interviewees, accounts of a very fragile social order and a relatively harsh environment at the school are found amongst all parent interviewees living in the district, whether their children attend Tagensbo School or not. While the initiatives of Copenhagen Municipality have improved the conditions at Tagensbo

⁴ The category 'immigrants and descendants' does not refer solely to ethnic minorities, but includes e.g. immigrants and descendants originating in Western countries as well. Figures regard Bispebjerg citizens of working age (16-66), and the category 'unemployed or receiving transfer payments' does not include students and retirees (Københavns Kommune, 2014).

⁵ Shares of ethnic minority pupils at Bispebjerg's remaining schools are 42% at Lundehus School and 57% at Grøndalsvængets School; Rødkilde School of 27% only peripherally covers Bispebjerg. Figures refer to the year 2012 (BT, 2014).

School, its poor reputation has not been altered completely. Several interviewees have either chosen private schools instead, moved to another neighbourhood or plan to move. While the large majority of parents living in Copenhagen still choose the local public schools, tendencies of school segregation cause concern amongst the interviewees with children attending local public schools. They generally point to the schools as important spaces of encounter and as crucial for the establishment of local social relations:

“The thing is, if all the children are taken out of the neighbourhood [school], it will have a very negative effect on the way we are together, as we will not know each other so well. So it’s actually quite important” R37, female, 38, health sector consultant, ethnic Danish background, lives with husband and two young children in an owner-occupied terraced house.

Though parent interviewees describe observing a certain grouping amongst the children along socio-economic, and to some extent ethnic, lines, friendships across differences are formed according to the interviewees. Such accounts are mirrored in the descriptions of their childhood given by the young adults having grown up in Bispebjerg. In other words, the local schools in Bispebjerg provide arenas for the children to engage in diversified activities. Additionally, the social relations of the children find their way out of the schools when children meet each other at local playgrounds, libraries, parks or through membership of associations in the area. Leisure time activities amongst families are for a large part centred on the children, for instance when visiting playgrounds and libraries or participating in children’s leisure-time associations. This means that the social relations between children rub off on the parents, thus engaging them in diversified activities. This is of particular importance for two reasons: First, the workplaces of the parents are often located outside Bispebjerg, thus limiting their activities within the neighbourhood. Second, the leisure time of the families is for a large part spent with family members, friends and acquaintances from work, education, associations etc., often living outside Bispebjerg, and such social networks are relatively homogenous in socio-economic terms, age, attitudes, lifestyle and ethnicity. Consequently, though the extent and durability of such local parent-to-parent encounters across differences can be questioned (see Blokland & van Eijk, 2010; and Peters & de Haan, 2011), the social networks of their children are often the primary grounds for the parents to engage in diversified activities.

The second aspect according to which the character and extensiveness of the interviewees’ activities vary significantly is socio-economy. Most parent interviewees are in full-time employment, though not all: For instance, some are unemployed, and some are on long-term sick leave. The interviews highlight the large differences in the patterns of activities between working and non-working parents. These illustrate the influence of socio-economy on the activities of the interviewees, and additionally the interaction between socio-economy and household composition: Even though working parents have less free time, they generally engage more in cultural activities and associations than parents not working. The same applies to their children. The large socio-economic differences between these families and the fact that such findings are mirrored by interviewees without children at home indicate the importance of personal, social and financial resources for engaging in activities. Additionally, in terms of social activities, like meeting with friends and family, differences between socio-economically disadvantaged interviewees with and without children can be identified: Those with children generally engage to a higher degree in social activities than those without. This underlines the importance of the interaction of life course stage and household composition with socio-economic factors.

Third, ethnicity plays a role for the activities of the interviewees. Whereas the social relations to family members, friends and acquaintances show little variation between ethnicities, participation in formally organised associations and clubs along with cultural activities, e.g. visiting cinemas or cafés, is less pronounced amongst interviewees of ethnic minority backgrounds than amongst

interviewees of ethnic Danish background. In terms of religiously related activities like attending services or participating in religious reading clubs, on the other hand, the picture is reversed. Additionally, amongst interviewees of ethnic minority backgrounds, gender influences the patterns of activities: Activities often consist of one-gender groups meeting up regularly; for instance, the male interviewees are often engaged in sports activities like meeting in a park to play football. Such sporting activities often present an exception to the homogenous social groups engaged in by the interviewees in general: A man of Indian background has been involved in various football groups over the years made up of colleagues, fellow students at university, etc. As the ethnic, cultural and religious compositions of the groups have always been mixed, the football fields have provided arenas for cutting across differences which might otherwise form barriers:

"We only played football, and we could just about remember each other's names. Culturally we had something together, but in terms of religion we were different. Most of them were Muslims, and we are Sikhs, so when we went out, or went out to dinner, it had to be halal food and so on, while we, on the other hand, were vegetarians. But we eat most things, so it could work fine" R42, male, 48, engineer, Indian background, lives in owner-occupied house.

Fourth, and linked to life-course stage and household composition, age is an aspect of diversity affecting the patterns of activities of the interviewees. Even though the oldest interviewees are retired and consequently have more time on their hands, the extent and character of activities in which they are engaged is highly dependent on health: Some interviewees are limited by health issues and engage in very few activities, often organised within senior housing or a seniors' activities centre providing transportation and assistance. Those in good health, on the other hand, often have busy schedules including club activities, e.g. retirees' clubs or cultural associations, volunteer work or social activities. The importance of the neighbourhood for the elderly depends to a large extent on their personal attachment to the area. Interviewees having lived in Bispebjerg for decades and having built up comprehensive social networks often base their activities in the neighbourhood, while to newcomers, who have often moved there upon the allocation of a dwelling for seniors, the neighbourhood is of little importance to their activities. Overall, the activities of the elderly are primarily connected with quite homogenous clubs or social networks, in terms of not only age, but also ethnicity, socio-economic aspects, lifestyle, attitudes, etc. To the youngest interviewees, on the other hand, the neighbourhood is generally unimportant, except for those having grown up in Bispebjerg. To newcomers, Bispebjerg might be used for daily shopping or walking the dog, but in terms of cultural, social and leisure-time activities, other parts of Copenhagen are more important. These youngsters are primarily in their twenties, have not yet had children, many of them are single, and the majority are either studying or working in other areas of Copenhagen. Bispebjerg is considered a temporary place of residence, rather than a permanent home. The patterns of activities of the youngsters depend partly on which areas they prefer for cultural activities, e.g. going shopping or going to bars and cafés, and partly on the geographical structure of their social networks, i.e. friends, family and in some cases clubs:

"We meet at cafés in the city centre and have a cup of coffee or visit a museum or... With those of my friends that live nearby [in Bispebjerg], we often meet at each other's homes, but some of my friends live, for instance, in Østerbro [different district], and then it's often easier to just meet somewhere in the city centre, or meet half way and eat at a café or [...] At the library over here [Bispebjerg's new library and community centre], there is this small café, I've never visited it, but it's on my list, but other than that, there's not that much out here" R50, female, 26, in vocational training, ethnic Danish background, lives in private rental flat.

The fifth aspect of diversity influencing the interviewees' activities in and outside the neighbourhood is lifestyle. Lifestyle primarily affects cultural activities such as attending concerts or visiting museums, cafés, bars, restaurants, cinemas, libraries, etc. Interviewees with extensive

cultural activities generally have higher educational backgrounds, are in stable employment or studying and have rather large social networks which, despite these interviewees' great appreciation for urban diversity, are quite homogenous. This illustrates the point made by Blokland & van Eijk (2010) of how positive attitudes towards diversity do not necessarily translate into practising diversity. Especially to the youngest of these interviewees, below approximately 40 years of age, living in a big city and enjoying urban life are key elements in their rather creative and cultural lifestyles. They like the vibrant urban environment in particular the Nordvest neighbourhood and make use of its cultural activities like bars and galleries, but other parts of Copenhagen are highly important to them as well. Amongst the older interviewees, cultural consumption is more traditional, e.g. attending classical concerts or visiting museums. While they appreciate the diversity of their neighbourhood, their cultural activities generally take place in the Copenhagen city centre. Bispebjerg, on the other hand, is used for daily shopping, visiting the new library (see Figure 9, Appendices for photograph, sporting or taking a stroll at Utterslev Mose.



Figure 5. Left: The recreational area Utterslev Mose. Right: Former paint factory in Nordvest now housing studios for media firms.

5.3 The use of public space

Living in an area like Bispebjerg, interviewees encounter diversity in public spaces on a regular basis, although urban diversity generally has little effect on their use of them. Still, the distinct street scene in Nordvest has the effect of attracting some groups of interviewees while repelling others. To particularly the young interviewees expressing great appreciation of the vibrant and chaotic atmosphere of Nordvest, its diversity of facilities, activities and businesses attracts them. They consider these to be key elements in an urban lifestyle. These interviewees' use of local greengrocer's shops known as 'ethnic bazaars', as these are owned by Middle-Eastern or North-African residents, illustrates this. The shops are perceived as somewhat chaotic, yet their exotic selection of goods and their significant atmosphere are highly different from ordinary supermarkets in Denmark and they are perceived as providing an enriching experience. With respect to such consumption of diversity, the attraction is the diversity in facilities and activities; however, such diversity is driven by a corresponding population diversity, namely the ethnically and culturally mixed resident composition in Nordvest. To other interviewees, however, the ethnic and cultural mix makes them avoid using public spaces in Nordvest. As touched upon in Section 4.4, some of the older, primarily working-class interviewees of ethnic Danish background disapprove of the extent of ethnic minority activities, facilities and people in the Nordvest neighbourhood. Instead, these interviewees use other, more homogenous areas for their daily shopping, errands, etc.:

“I’ve started going in the other direction for my daily shopping, and several of my old neighbours, well they feel the same way. They don’t like going down to Nørrebro [meaning inner Nordvest] to do their shopping, they go out to Hellerup or Søborg [suburbs north of Copenhagen]. And that’s because the area has turned into what it is today” R28, female, 77, retired secretary, ethnic Danish background, lives in cooperative housing flat in Emdrup.

Still, regarding the everyday public-space activities and errands of the interviewees, geographical proximity is the primary determining factor, and urban diversity as a repellent of the use of public spaces is but an exception in the interviews. For instance, interviewees generally do their daily shopping in the closest supermarkets, walk their dogs in the closest parks or visit the closest playgrounds with their children. Living in a diverse neighbourhood then, this creates diversified public-space encounters. For instance, a woman describes how even an upscale supermarket in the neighbourhood has rather shabby-looking customers, thus illustrating the socio-economic diversity of the area and the role of the supermarket as a public-space arena for encounters:

“At Irma [her local supermarket], that’s where you meet everyone [from the neighbourhood], it’s quite interesting that it’s like this local thing. [...] For instance, when you’re at Irma, you can see a family with mum, dad and two children, and the mum and the children go into the supermarket, while dad just makes a stop outside to buy some marihuana. And there’s no point in being offended by that, really” R26, female, 36, management consultant, ethnic Danish background, lives in owner-occupied house in Utterslev.

The diversified public-space activities of the interviewees rarely evolve beyond seeing other people in the streets, in the parks or perhaps saying hello to other customers at the supermarket. Generally in Denmark, starting a conversation with a stranger in the supermarket, on the bus, etc. is unusual, and accordingly, public-space encounters rarely develop into more extensive social interaction, let alone the establishment of new social relationships. However, according to the interviewees, such rather superficial public-space encounters with diversity are perceived as breaking down their prejudices and fostering more positive and tolerant attitudes towards differences, for instance, when saying hello to the father buying marihuana in front of the local supermarket. In this regard, an additional finding should be mentioned, namely how the neighbourhood playgrounds in Bispebjerg seem to provide the grounds for fairly more extended interaction than other public spaces. Once again, the importance of children as providing an opportunity for parents to interact is underlined. For instance, a young mother regularly engages in chats with other parents at the playground on her housing estate, hereby interacting with families of diverse backgrounds:

“I meet all different kinds of people [at the playground]. There was a girl from the United States who had met someone and moved to Denmark, and then I met someone from Sweden, so it varies a lot” R48, female, 24, finishing lower secondary education, Somali background, single mother of two young children, lives in a social housing estate.

5.4 The importance of associations

With more than 100,000 clubs and associations in Denmark and a tradition for club life reaching back centuries, clubs and associations play a key role in Danish civil society. This is the case in Bispebjerg as well. While clubs and associations are organised around specific subjects, e.g. sports, arts, music, etc., the social aspect of being engaged in a club is highlighted by the interviewees as a key element. For instance, an interviewee describes how he joined the swimming club at his new neighbourhood to build up a social network in the local area:

“One of the first things I did was to contact the swimming club and volunteer as a swim coach, because that’s simply one of the easiest ways to build up some kind of social network, and as I

badn't lived in Copenhagen before, it was a nice place to start" R17, male, 29, schoolteacher, ethnic Danish background, lives in owner-occupied flat in Nordvest.

In that sense, clubs play an important role for social activities and networks based in the local area, and the interviews show how this particularly applies to children and the elderly. To them, the social aspects of club life are of great value to their daily lives. However, the material shows that certain groups of interviewees have little contact with club life: First, interviews of ethnic minority backgrounds, and second, socio-economically disadvantaged groups. Reaching out to children of socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds and, additionally, ethnic minority backgrounds is the goal of a local initiative, Club Guides, examined in a previous report of the DIVERCITIES project (Andersen et al., 2014b). According to its project manager, the lack of social and personal resources and energy of the parents in such families is an obstacle for the children of such families to engage in clubs. With regards to ethnic minority children, the home countries of their parents do not necessarily have strong traditions for clubs and associations, and consequently, the parents are unfamiliar with the purpose and organisation of them.

However, two exceptions to the lack of diversified relations and activities in clubs can be identified: First, the residents' committees of Bispebjerg's social housing estates. In the Danish social housing sector, each estate has its own residents' committee which cooperates with the housing association and the local caretaker regarding administration, keeping the estate tidy, deciding on house rules, etc. While the compositions of such committees is generally quite homogenous according to the interviewees, as committees primarily consist of middle-aged or elderly ethnic Danes, the resident composition of Bispebjerg's social housing estates is highly diverse (as shown in Section 4.3). This means that the members of the residents' committee have to represent such diversity and take the interests, opinions and concerns of the residents into account. In this way, diversity finds its way into the rather homogenous residents' committees. Second, in the project Neighbourhood Mothers (see Section 7.2), local women volunteer to advise and support disadvantaged women of the local area with regard to childcare, health, etc. The nationalities, ethnicities and social backgrounds of these women are highly diverse:

"We're a team, and we're actually really diverse, so for instance, if a Danish neighbourhood mother meets a woman who speaks very little Danish or has a very personal problem which she can't express in Danish, then she'll just call me and say 'this woman needs some advice'" R44, female, 24, student at upper secondary education, Iraqi background, lives in social housing flat.

Altogether, while the clubs and associations are of great importance for social activities and relations based in the local area, certain groups are not engaged in club life. Consequently, the potential of such clubs to establish diversified activities and relations is not brought into play.

5.5 Conclusion

Even though a large share of the activities and social networks of the interviewees are independent of the neighbourhood, the area still matters to the interviewees: It provides the reference point of their daily lives, as outlined by van Kempen & Wissink (2014). For instance, while the workplaces of the parent interviewees are often located outside Bispebjerg, the schools or institutions of their children are often located within the neighbourhood. Consequently, the neighbourhood matters in the daily lives of these interviewees. To the youngest interviewees, however, the neighbourhood is primarily a stepping stone for their lives reaching far beyond the neighbourhood. The extent, character and geographical structure of the interviewees' activities vary according to several aspects, namely household composition and life course stage, socio-economy, age, ethnicity, lifestyles and, in specific cases, gender. Furthermore, the interaction between the various aspects exerts great influence on the patterns of activities of the interviewees. For instance, interviewees with a rather urban and cultural lifestyle use most of

Copenhagen for a wide range of activities; however the character and geographical location of these activities vary according to age.

The neighbourhood diversity in Bispebjerg holds much potential for the interviewees to engage in diversified activities. Firstly, through public-space encounters, e.g. in the local supermarkets. While these encounters rarely develop beyond observing other people or perhaps nodding briefly, the interviewees perceive such encounters as exerting a positive influence on their attitudes towards urban diversity, for instance in terms of tolerance and openness. Nonetheless, the social networks of the interviewees generally remain homogenous, in correspondence with the arguments of Blokland & van Eijk (2010), Peters & de Haan (2011) and Curley (2010). Secondly, the interviews show how children in the neighbourhood can to some degree be socialised into diversity, for instance through local schools and institutions if these reflect the mixed population composition of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, children provide the opportunity for their parents to interact across differences. In this regard, local public facilities like schools, playgrounds and clubs and associations are the key to fostering such encounters with diversity. However, such potential is not always fully activated: The interviews show, firstly, that local parents do not choose some schools in Bispebjerg due to concerns about social and educational issues, and secondly, that certain groups of interviewees are rarely involved in formally organised clubs and associations.

Altogether, while the role of the neighbourhood varies between the interviewees, its importance in creating spaces of encounters with diversity must not be disregarded. The challenge is to activate the potential of neighbourhood activities, in public spaces as well as in local institutions and associations.

6. Social cohesion

6.1 Introduction

As the glue holding a society together, social cohesion is a crucial element in urban societies such as those of today's cities. However, the impact of diversity on the social cohesion of the neighbourhood has been the matter of much dispute (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Research has shown how the importance of the neighbourhood for developing social relations differs between groups. To low-income groups, families with children and to the elderly, the neighbourhood seems to play a key role (Wissink & Hazelzet, 2012). As opposed to the increasing extent of urban policies for creating mixed neighbourhoods (Bolt & van Kempen, 2013), Putnam (2007) has argued that population homogeneity is a crucial element in fostering social cohesion in urban environments, in that the mutual cultural and social norms and references foster familiarity and identification leading to social contact and trust. In mixed neighbourhoods, on the other hand, differences and unfamiliarity will make residents isolate themselves from their surroundings. Consequently, social cohesion in the neighbourhood is hindered by diversity. However, such neighbourhood relations rarely cut across different groups: Generally, findings indicate that social networks are fairly homogenous, even for residents of diverse neighbourhoods (Wissink & Hazelzet, 2012; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010). Furthermore, Gijsberts et al. (2011) find that residents in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods generally have less social contact with each other, and that mutual trust and informal help is limited. However, the key argument in this regard is that such obstacles to social cohesion cannot be attributed to diversity as such; rather, the characteristics of the residents in the neighbourhood, for instance low incomes, play a role. In

other words, rather than the differences between people in the urban neighbourhood, social cohesion is found to be challenged by socio-economic problems and inequality.

Chapter 6 examines which neighbourhood elements foster or hinder social cohesion and discusses the importance of neighbourhood diversity for local social cohesion. In this context, social cohesion is understood as the existence of mutual trust, mutual support and social bonds between residents and groups in a given social context, in this case the urban neighbourhood of Bispebjerg in Copenhagen.

6.2 Composition of interviewees' egocentric networks

With a few exceptions, most of the interviewees have a social network in their neighbourhood; however, the extent and importance of such local networks is often fairly limited. Rather, social networks are based on friends and acquaintances from other contexts, e.g. education, associations or work, along with relatives of the interviewees. Furthermore, for some in-migrant groups, informal nationality- or continent-based clubs and associations are key elements in their social relations, such as a network for Chinese people living in Copenhagen. The limited importance and extent of local social networks is especially pronounced amongst interviewees who had no social relations to Bispebjerg before moving there and who moved there out of need: either they were homeless, needed a rather cheap flat, or could not stay in their previous home due to health issues. In other words, they had limited ability to choose their dwelling, and to several of these interviewees, their current dwelling in Bispebjerg is considered a temporary stop rather than a permanent home. Interviewees with such limited local networks primarily live in blocks of flats which are private rental, social housing or cooperative housing. In contrast, the interviewees living in detached or semi-detached houses, primarily owner-occupied, generally have much more extensive networks in the close environment. Such networks include neighbours as well as acquaintances from local clubs, schools, etc. Yet for the most part, these social networks are generally rather homogenous in terms of socio-economy, ethnicity, age and so on. In a similar way, the interviewees who grew up in Bispebjerg or lived there for several years have generally developed fairly strong and extensive social networks in their local area. These include childhood friends or family members living close by. And even though some of the long-term residents of Bispebjerg live in less homogenous areas than (semi-)detached housing areas, the interviews show that the local social networks of these interviewees are often rather homogenous too. Altogether, the empirical findings show that even though interviewees live in diverse neighbourhoods on a smaller or a larger geographical scale, diversity in socio-economic terms, ethnicity, age, lifestyle, etc. is rarely present in their social networks.

Three exceptions to the homogeneity of the local social networks of the interviewees can be identified. First, that of residents with social and personal resources actively and on their own initiative engaging with the disadvantaged residents living in the neighbourhood. The interviews only present a few examples of this, the most pronounced being that of the interviewee R21 living in a cohousing community for seniors: While her neighbours from the cohousing community are a very homogenous group in terms of education, attitudes, lifestyle, social background, age and ethnicity, the other residents on her stairway are highly different: The cohousing community is located within a rather deprived social housing estate in Bispebjerg's hillside neighbourhood. Several of the other residents in the estate are socially disadvantaged, or even marginalised, and several of them have different ethnic and cultural backgrounds from the interviewee, who is of ethnic Danish background. Despite their differences, the interviewee has developed relationships with many of the other residents, and from time to time she helps them with, for instance, job applications, meetings with social authorities, seeing the doctor, or she brings them food if they are ill. Furthermore, she organises a retirees' club and an urban

gardening project for residents of the housing estate. This interviewee uses her personal and social resources to offer support to those with fewer resources and to work for the social cohesion in a deprived housing estate. Hence, the case of the interviewee R21 illustrates how social cohesion in disadvantaged areas can be enhanced through the resources of new, and different, types of residents. However, it also underlines how social mix alone does not do the trick: Rather, it takes the continuous will, initiative and effort on behalf of the stronger residents to enhance the social cohesion of their estates.

The second exception to the homogeneity of the interviewees' local social networks is that of the children attending local schools in Bispebjerg. Examining the social networks of small children of the interviewees as well as the networks of interviewees having grown up in Bispebjerg, these are often highly diverse in terms of ethnicity and nationality. As discussed in Chapter 5, local schools and childcare institutions provide arenas for the children to bond across differences to the extent to which the pupil composition of schools and institutions reflects the diversity of the neighbourhood. If so, diversity becomes a part of the socialisation of the children. Even when experiencing others criticising e.g. the behaviour of certain groups, interviewees having grown up in Bispebjerg present a certain insistence on tolerance towards differences. To a 25-year-old woman having grown up in Nordvest, the diversity of her group of friends from school has fostered a certain tolerance between them:

"My schooldays were a good experience, because we were such a mix in my class. Me and one of the boys were the only Ghanaians, and there were Turks, Pakistanis, Danes, everything, so we were very mixed. And we got on so well socially, and my classmates are still my closest friends today. We were all so different that we simply just had to accept each other, and we're still like that today" R1, female, 25, in vocational training, Ghanaian background, lives with boyfriend in cooperative housing in Nordvest.

Finally the third exception to the homogeneity of the interviewees' local social networks, and closely linked to the first, is the parents of children attending public schools in Bispebjerg. As outlined in Section 5.2, the cross-cutting networks of children rub off on the parents through encounters at playgrounds, kindergartens, etc. as well as through cooperation on practical and social matters in school-related contexts. In some cases, such coincidental or compulsory interaction leads to social relationships between the parents:

"My son has some friends [from school], and we meet with the parents. There are five or six Danish families who come here, and they like the Nepalese food" R24, male, 40, works as a cleaner while studying, Nepalese background, lives in a cooperative housing flat in Utterslev.

However, according to the interviewees, the cross-cutting parent-to-parent relations function in spite of ethnic, socio-economic and cultural differences rather than being fostered by them; instead, the relations are fostered by similarities in other respects: The differences between the various families are overcome because they share the same neighbourhood and the same household situation, namely being a family with children at a particular school. However, the interviews show that when the children grow older, and the parents become less involved in the lives of the children, the diverse social networks between the parents fade away: Amongst interviewees with grown children, social networks are generally homogenous in terms of social and ethnic characteristics, lifestyles, and attitudes and so on:

"The social housing estate [across the road] houses some people that are very different from us. But I have to say that we have much less contact with them now than when we had children [living at home], 'because our children would of course play with their schoolmates, and some of them lived over there. [...] Now that I'm asked about it, it becomes clear to me that diversity was something we encountered when we were compelled to, but not otherwise..." R5, female, 56, secretary, ethnic Danish background, lives with her husband in an owner-occupied house in Emdrup.

6.3 Living together with neighbours: bonds, forms of mutual support, etc.

This section examines the social bonds, mutual support and trust between the interviewees and their neighbours. Generally, the interviewees trust their neighbours. Of course, their understanding of trust varies; from trusting the neighbours to return keys left in the front door to a more personal trust involving confiding in each other on personal matters. Overall though, the interviewees have a basic trust in their neighbours, and the interviews show how it only takes a friendly attitude or the short utterance of a ‘hello’ on the stairs to foster such a sense of basic trust. This general trust between neighbours holds an important potential for fostering local social cohesion. Additionally however, the interviews show that mutual trust between neighbours does not always go hand in hand with extensive social bonds or mutual support on personal matters. The social relationships between interviewees and their neighbours vary significantly, particularly between dwelling types: In areas of (semi-)detached houses, interviewees generally have an extensive social network in their closest environment, ranging from short chats in the street, over residents’ grill parties, to going on holidays together. In blocks of flats, on the other hand, interviewee accounts of virtually no social interaction with their neighbours are not rare:

“You know, it’s just that people [at her estate] just keep to themselves... yeah, we just don’t have anything in common, different lifestyles and all that” R45, female, 30, on sick-leave, ethnic Danish background, lives in a social housing estate.

Considering the resident compositions of (semi-)detached houses, on one hand, and flats, on the other (see Section 4.3), a strong link between uniformity and social cohesion can be identified. The homogeneity between neighbours in (semi-)detached houses seems to go hand in hand with rather extensive social relations and mutual support. By way of contrast, the perceived diversity between interviewees living in blocks of flats and their neighbours is often mirrored in a lack of social interaction and mutual support on personal matters. Three exceptions to this dwelling-type distinction can be identified in the interviews, all stressing the link between the uniformity of neighbours and local social cohesion: Firstly, the oldest interviewees living in flats often share meals with a neighbour or have coffee with them from time to time. Secondly, the interviewees living in the SocialHousing+ estate, also consisting of flats⁶, socialise quite extensively with their neighbours. And thirdly, the same applies to the interviewee R21 living in the community for seniors. In all three cases, the interviewees identify strongly with their neighbours and perceive them as similar to themselves in terms of age, lifestyle, social background, ethnicity, attitudes and so on. For instance, the residents of the SocialHousing+ estate are predominantly young families with children, well-educated, in stable employment and with many personal resources, large social networks, etc. There is a comprehensive social life within the estate between children as well as adults, and the residents provide mutual support to each other. For instance, a large group of residents made a common decision to send their children to Tagensbo School with its poor reputation. Their mutual support and social bonds thus functioned as resources for engaging in a socially and educationally troubled school. The internal homogeneity of the SocialHousing+ estate appears to be emphasised by the difference of this community from its surroundings, which include a youth club for marginalised young boys, several social housing estates with a high proportion of disadvantaged residents, the controversial Youth House⁷ and, finally, an enclave of very attractive single-family houses. A resident of the estate illustrates this:

“The best thing [about the estate] is that it’s like a village within the city. At Halloween, all the children ran around out here in a big bunch and knocked on all the doors and giggled and had a fun

⁶ The SocialHousing+ estate consists of three-storey blocks of flats all with separate access either at ground floor or first floor level; making the dwellings a hybrid between flats and terraced houses (see Figure 7, Appendices).

⁷ See Section 4.4.

evening. I would never let [her child] run around in Nordvest, really. But this felt different. We had all agreed that the children should stay within the estate. So it's like this safe little environment"
R27, female, 30-40, lives in SocialHousing+.

Such a link between identification with one's neighbours and mutual support and social bonds with them challenges the social cohesion in contexts of diversity. However, differences between housing environments cannot solely be ascribed to diversity or homogeneity in the resident composition; a broader perspective must be applied, detailing the impact of diversity and taking additional factors into consideration: First, the interviews illustrate how the physical character of (semi-)detached houses can foster social bonds between neighbours: Chatting across the backyard hedge or saying hello to the neighbour fixing his garden gate are simple, but frequent, opportunities for interaction. Over time, such frequent interaction can develop into social bonds. In contrast, such opportunities rarely present themselves in blocks of flats where the border between private and communal spaces is much sharper. Second, the norms and expectations for local social bonds and mutual support seem to differ between the two dwelling types: In the (semi-)detached houses, residents generally have a long time frame when choosing their particular dwelling and often expect to live there for many years. The financial expenditure in buying an owner-occupied house is a highly tangible sign of such commitment. Conversely, the limited social interaction between neighbours in blocks of flats is only rarely causing concern to the interviewees living there. In many cases, living in a flat is simply a matter of meeting a housing need, and often interviewees consider it a temporary home to be left at a later point in life. Accordingly, building up social bonds within the estate is often of limited importance. Third, establishing bonds to and providing support for one's neighbours demand social and personal resources. But such resources are scarce for the groups of socially disadvantaged residents in Bispebjerg's blocks of flats. A study on a deprived housing estate in Nordvest (Aagaard-Hansen et al., 2015) showed how residents had very limited social networks within their estate. Hence, this challenge is inherent in the close connection between urban diversity and social inequality. Fourth, and linked to the previous point, a higher share of disadvantaged or marginalised residents can entail a larger occurrence of social problems and conflicts in certain areas. Naturally, social conflicts and problems do not support the development of social bonds and mutual support between residents.

Finally, an additional point regarding the establishment of social bonds and mutual support across differences must be mentioned: A young woman living in a block of flats with a highly diverse resident composition has developed a bond with her neighbour across their ethnic, cultural and religious differences:

"There is a Danish woman, she is like 100 per cent Danish, but we communicated really well; now we're both so busy so we don't meet up that much, but we talked about personal problems and things like that... 'Because she's a single mum too'" R44, female, 24, student at upper secondary education, Iraqi background, lives with her son in a deprived social housing estate in Nordvest.

Being single mothers of young children managing on a limited budget in a hectic daily life connected these two women. They might be different in terms of ethnicity, culture and religion; yet when it comes to lifestyle, living conditions, age, gender and life course stage, the two women can identify with each other. In other words, several forms of diversity are important in these women's lives, each containing the potential for establishing social bonds and mutual support.

6.4 Conclusions

As Bispebjerg is becoming an increasingly diverse urban area, this chapter has examined the importance and the role of diversity for fostering social cohesion in the neighbourhood. In correspondence with previous research showing how social networks are generally fairly homogenous, the interviews show that strong local social cohesion is primarily found in Bispebjerg's more homogenous areas in terms of resident composition. These are primarily areas of detached or semi-detached houses occupied primarily by affluent households. While located in the diverse area of Bispebjerg, these neighbourhoods form small-scale enclaves of homogeneity. In this regard, scale matters. So, there are marked differences between the extent of social bonds and mutual support between residents of (semi-)detached housing and of flats. The homogeneity and the accompanying identification between residents in (semi-) detached-housing areas prove highly significant for explaining such differences. In this respect, diversity challenges the social cohesion in Bispebjerg's neighbourhoods of blocks of flats. However, while these neighbourhoods may be diverse in various ways, they also house large groups of socio-economically disadvantaged residents. This chapter has shown how scarcity of social and personal resources challenges the establishment and upholding of social bonds and mutual support. Furthermore, differing circumstances for settling in the various types of dwellings along with the differing characters of the built environment affect the norms, expectations and possibilities of building social bonds and providing mutual support in the neighbourhood. In other words, challenges to social cohesion cannot be attributed to neighbourhood diversity alone. This is further emphasised by the finding that a basic mutual trust between neighbours can be identified across various dwelling types and diversities.

Additionally, in diverse neighbourhoods the interviews show a potential for strengthening social cohesion: Firstly, local institutions such as public schools provide arenas for building social bonds and mutual support across differences to the extent that these institutions reflect the population diversity in their pupil composition. Though less extensive and durable than bonds between children, local institutions can foster social bonds between parents as well. Secondly, social bonds and mutual support across differences in terms of e.g. ethnicity, socio-economy and culture, can be fostered by similarities in other respects such as lifestyle, household composition and geographical location, i.e. sharing the same neighbourhood. Hence, taking various forms of diversity and the interplay between them into account is crucial for identifying the potential of diverse neighbourhoods for fostering social cohesion.

7. Social mobility

7.1 Introduction

Referring to the opportunities for individuals or groups to move upwards in society, for instance in terms of employment or income, social mobility is a key point of discussion with regards to urban neighbourhood diversity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Several studies on neighbourhood effects have stressed the potential of mixed neighbourhoods to foster outcomes such as social mobility; however, the different social and spatial characteristics of various urban contexts complicate the identification of cause and effect. To begin with, the social networks of residents of urban neighbourhoods are not necessarily locally based, and often the ties to family members, colleagues and close friends independent of the neighbourhood play key roles in the lives of the residents (Henning & Lieberg, 1996). Yet, the distinction between strong ties, i.e. close friends

and family members, and weak ties, that is, distant acquaintances, networks and direct or indirect neighbours, is important for identifying the potential of social contacts in fostering social mobility: In terms of finding one's way into the labour market or finding a new job, etc., weak ties prove to be more important than strong ties, because the former reaches further (Granovetter, 1973). In this respect, the potential of neighbourhood diversity lies in local weak ties cutting across social groups, for instance high- and low-income groups, ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority, etc. (Camina & Wood, 2009; Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). Furthermore, the continuity and proximity characterising social contact between neighbours promote such weak ties (Henning & Lieberg, 1996). Conversely, homogenous neighbourhoods of disadvantaged groups may hold fewer resources for social mobility of the residents. Finally, and in connection with this, the structural contexts of urban neighbourhoods must be taken into account: In some cases, such as in Denmark, the social system and the public sector are important for creating social mobility (Sørensen, 2006). Consequently, the public sector reaches far into urban neighbourhoods, especially those housing large groups of socially disadvantaged citizens. To establish the role of urban diversity in fostering social mobility for the residents in Bispebjerg, Chapter 7 examines the extent to which the diversity of the neighbourhood is important for social mobility, and which elements of diversity foster or hinder such social mobility.

7.2 Neighbourhood diversity as fostering or hindering social mobility

Overall, the importance of the neighbourhood for the social mobility of the interviewees has proved to be limited. Rather, the personal social networks of the interviewees are important, for instance friends and acquaintances made in educational contexts, former colleagues, and for newcomer immigrants, nationality-based networks on city-level. As Chapter 6 showed, the dependence of the interviewees' social networks on the neighbourhood is generally limited. Furthermore, the welfare system in Denmark is extensive in terms of education, employment, etc., making the public sector a key factor in many regards in terms of fostering social mobility as compared with civil society. For instance, long-term unemployed interviewees participate in activation or trainee programmes organised by the local employment authorities. Accordingly, a large social network is not an indispensable factor in getting a job.

Still, four aspects of living in Bispebjerg are emphasised by the interviewees as significantly affecting their opportunities in life. In all three aspects, diversity plays a role. First, Bispebjerg is struggling with a public image as a crime-ridden neighbourhood, an image which is retained by media stories of criminal street gangs in the social housing estates of the Nordvest neighbourhood. The poor reputation of the area can thus be perceived as a hindrance to the opportunities in life for the interviewees. However, the interview material only provides one example of this, as most interviewees consider the area's reputation to be of minor importance. The exception is the interviewee R39 who deliberately avoids the name Nordvest when asked about his place of residence: Being a young man of Algerian background, he perceives the combination of his ethnicity, gender, age and his residency in Bispebjerg as making people presume him to be a criminal. As discussed in Section 4.4, the linkage of these characteristics is connected with particular groups in Bispebjerg, namely the street gangs. Sharing their combination of characteristics, this interviewee feels bracketed with the street gangs.

The second aspect of living in Bispebjerg affecting the opportunities in life of the interviewees is, however, generally perceived as a more widespread hindrance: To the parent interviewees in deprived housing estates, living in an area with a high proportion of disadvantaged families worries them with regard to letting their children grow up there. Accordingly, they plan to move out of these deprived estates within the coming years, and other parent interviewees have already made such moves. While the young adults having grown up in Bispebjerg are generally fond of

their neighbourhood, they clearly acknowledge the safety issues and social problems in certain parts of the area and plan to move away when starting a family. A young woman having grown up in Nordvest says:

"I don't feel unsafe in the area, but I don't want my future children to live here. [...] I've heard so many stories from my friends about, you know, how one of my friends' younger brother was confronted one day: 'Hey, you've reached the age when you have to belong to a gang, so it's either this one or that one'. I mean, what?! So I just think that this is the kind of place where young couples with small children live, and then they have to move when the children get older" R1, female, 25, in vocational training, Ghanaian background, grew up in Nordvest.

The local schools are a key part of the concerns of parent interviewees in deprived housing estates regarding the opportunities for their children. As shown in Chapter 5, school segregation along ethnic and socio-economic lines is considered a growing problem in Copenhagen. Certain public schools are considered troubled by social and educational problems and consequently some socio-economically stronger families choose private schools instead. The high proportion of ethnic minority pupils as well as socially disadvantaged pupils is perceived as the core issues. The interviews mirror this. However, abandoning certain schools because of their pupil composition is not confined to affluent interviewees of ethnic Danish background alone: Rather the pupil composition is a key reason why young ethnic minority parents in socially disadvantaged positions move, or plan to move, out of certain areas in Bispebjerg. For instance, an Afghan-background single mother on long-term sick leave moved out of the school district of Tagensbo School to settle in Emdrup instead. Her children now attend Holberg School:

"At the other school [Tagensbo School] there were almost 80%, or more than 80% foreigners, and in the end we had a lot of problems. [...] Some of them, they have a foul language, which my children learned, and there were other problems as well. When we moved over here [Emdrup] my children changed to this school, and I've noticed that it's a little better because it's mixed, and besides that I think that since we will be living all our lives in Denmark, I want them to get to know the Danes, because when they grow up and get a job, they have to know each other, my children and their colleagues, and so on..." R6, female, 39, on long-term sick leave, Afghan background, single mother, lives in social housing in Emdrup.

To this interviewee, moving from the school district of Tagensbo School to that of Holberg School is considered crucial for the opportunities in the lives of her children. In the interviews, concerns about Tagensbo School are more pronounced amongst disadvantaged parent interviewees than amongst more affluent parents. This difference emphasises the key role in the eyes of the disadvantaged parents of schools for fostering or, conversely, hindering social mobility. Hence, socio-economic and ethnic diversity are perceived to affect the opportunities in life for children growing up in Bispebjerg.

Third, in areas of strong social cohesion, mutual help and support between residents can be identified. In such areas, interviewees describe assisting their neighbours with writing job applications, using each other's professional networks, etc. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, extensive social cohesion in the neighbourhood is primarily found in areas housing socially and economically affluent households. In contrast, extensive social cohesion is rarely found in areas housing large groups of socially deprived residents, and this limits the possibilities for social mobility in these areas.

Fourth, and finally, neighbourhood support where residents with social and personal resources help more disadvantaged residents in the neighbourhood presents an example of urban diversity fostering social mobility. The interviews present two examples of social bonds between affluent and disadvantaged residents fostering neighbourhood support: Firstly, the interviewee (R21)

living in a seniors' cohousing community who, as discussed in Chapter 6, helps other residents with job applications etc., and secondly, the interviewee R39 who recently arranged a trainee programme for his long-term unemployed neighbour at the gym fitness centre of which this interviewee is the manager. Additionally, the interviews present an example of a formally organised neighbourhood initiative in Bispebjerg, namely the Neighbourhood Mothers, discussed in Chapter 5. Upon receiving training on counselling as well as on subjects like childcare, the employment market, the public sector, integration, etc., local women volunteering to provide guidance and assistance to disadvantaged and often isolated women in the neighbourhood. The Neighbourhood Mothers is a national association, in Bispebjerg financed by a local master plan for community regeneration (see Andersen et al., 2014b on such master plans). Three interviewees (R44, R47 and R49) volunteer as 'neighbourhood mothers'. All three examples of neighbourhood support illustrate the activation of the potential of a socially mixed neighbourhood. However, the importance of continuous will and effort on behalf of the stronger residents is highlighted as a necessary component. Social mix alone will not do the trick. Additionally, in the case of the Neighbourhood Mothers, a formal association provides the organisational framework and support for the volunteering women.

7.3 Conclusions

The limited importance of the neighbourhood in the social networks of the interviewees restrains the potential of urban diversity for fostering social mobility. Despite living in a diverse area, the interviewees rarely have weak ties cutting across social groups. Furthermore, strong social cohesion in the local area is found to be of great importance for fostering social mobility for the residents; however, as shown in Chapter 6, strong cohesion is rarely found in areas housing large groups of socially disadvantaged residents. In other words, in areas housing those in need, the opportunities for social mobility are limited. Taking into account the diverse resident composition of such areas as compared with areas housing more affluent groups, neighbourhood diversity as fostering social mobility is challenged. However, matters are more complicated. First, the large numbers of disadvantaged residents highlight the role of social inequality for limiting the opportunities for residents of deprived areas as opposed to the role of diversity as such. Second, through neighbourhood support of e.g. residents with social resources helping their neighbours in disadvantaged areas, social mix can contribute to the social mobility of disadvantaged residents. Though the interviews show how this takes continuous engagement on behalf of the residents with social resources and accordingly how social mix alone is not enough, the findings support notions of neighbourhood diversity as containing potential for fostering social mobility. In this regard, local public actors or associations can take on the role of initiating and providing organisational support for such neighbourhood initiatives. Finally, and in connection with this, the contextual situations of diverse urban environments affect the role of neighbourhoods in fostering social mobility for the residents: The interviews illustrate how the extensive welfare system in Denmark makes the public sector a key actor in fostering social mobility.

8. Perceptions of public policies and initiatives

8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines how diversity-related policies and initiatives in the neighbourhood are perceived by the interviewees. A wide range of diversity-related policies and initiatives on national, city-wide, area-wide and estate level have been employed in Bispebjerg by the national

government, Copenhagen Municipality and various organisations (see Andersen et al., 2014a; 2014b). Despite a long tradition for public involvement in Denmark, realising ideals of engaging local residents in the formulation and implementation of policies is a challenge, and several studies point to the need for rethinking public involvement to develop new forms of collaboration (Agger, 2013). As pointed out by Bolt & van Kempen (2013), policies for creating social mix in the cities have become more prevalent over the years. This applies to Copenhagen too. Creating mixed neighbourhoods is a pronounced goal (Andersen et al., 2014a). Yet, segregational tendencies have proved hard to combat, and various structural factors such as social inequality, housing prices, divisions between rental and owning sectors, housing subsidies and tax exemptions enforcing socio-spatial segregation are not targeted by policies for social mixing (Bolt & van Kempen, 2013; Christensen, 2013; Vestergaard, 2010). The scale and scope of urban policies is thus perceived as highly limited as compared with the scope of the targeted problems. Fincher & Iveson (2008) point out how some diversities are unjust and that political and administrative targeting of them is imperative; simply embracing diversity as a positive feature is insufficient. Once again, untangling the relations between diversity, social inequality and social mobility is the key.

8.2 Perception and evaluation of existing policies and initiatives: what do residents know?

The interviewees have very limited knowledge about local policies and initiatives related to diversity. They either express very little recollection of having heard about such policies or initiatives, or refer to physical renovation projects, new construction projects or infrastructure developments instead. Yet, some interviewees have been personally affected by diversity-related policies and are consequently familiar with these, though their interest is limited to the specific project or policy concerned. For instance, the interviewee R4 is well informed about municipal policies on school districts, because schools were an important issue for her when choosing her place of residence. She was concerned about the pupil composition at the public school of their former neighbourhood and consequently wanted her son to attend a different school. Besides this policy however, her knowledge about local policies or initiatives concerns policies on the physical environment and facilities. Still, there are exceptions to such lack of involvement, and some interviewees are very familiar with diversity-related policies and initiatives being undertaken in their neighbourhood. There are three main reasons for their engagement: First, some interviewees have a general interest in society, including social politics, and this concerns their own neighbourhood too. This is the case for two interviewees with an educational background in social sciences as well as for two schoolteachers. These interviewees generally follow political debates in the city and the neighbourhood quite closely, and they engage in citizens' meetings or fundraising, write reader's letters to the local press or sit on the neighbourhood committee. Second, some interviewees are involved in the social work concerning their own housing estate. These interviewees all have substantial personal and social resources but live in social housing estates which are often quite deprived. In their estates, they engage in residents' committees (see 5.4) and associations and take part in organising social activities and projects for the residents. A woman who sits on the residents' committee of her social housing estate says:

"This summer we organised a bus trip to BonBon-Land [an amusement park] which was a huge success. There were 100 people, two buses, and they had organised breakfast on the bus, and then people brought their own lunch [...] The housing estate paid for the buses, and that Pulse project paid for the rest" R29, female, 40, trade union consultant, ethnic Danish background, lives in social housing estate in Nordvest.

The Pulse project is one of three so-called master plans for community regeneration currently running in Bispebjerg. The master plans focus on social as well as physical initiatives in deprived

social housing estates (see Andersen et al. (2014b) for a description of such master plans). Third, some interviewees have participated in activities in their social housing estate, for instance a 53-year-old Pakistani woman (R46) participated in weekly communal meals where residents cooked their dinner together. These were organised by a master plan for community regeneration. Another interviewee, R19, describes how as a teenager he joined a local boxing club set up to get young boys off the streets and out of trouble. While these interviewees generally acknowledge the positive effects of such initiatives, the effects are nevertheless perceived as small in comparison with the magnitude of the targeted problems. Altogether, the interviews show a general lack of involvement in local diversity-related policies and initiatives amongst the interviewees. The interviewee R17 who sits on Bispebjerg's neighbourhood committee comments on such lack of public awareness in the following way:

“[Initiatives] are mostly tailored to reach a specific target group. So we rarely spread it out to include large groups of residents. And when we do, we have a very low frequency of participation, for instance at citizens' meetings and things like that, it's very hard to attract people to these. People are not very committed, and it's always the same types of people that do show up, the 30- to 45-year-olds, families with two jobs, they show up. And generally, they are not the target group; rather it's the disadvantaged people, really [...]” R17, male, 29, schoolteacher, ethnic Danish background, lives in owner-occupied flat, member of the neighbourhood committee.

His statement illustrates the exceptions mentioned above: As in the first two exceptions, awareness of local diversity-related policies and projects is limited to socio-economically stronger citizens with a political and social awareness regarding their neighbourhood or housing estate. Or, as in the third example, awareness is limited to the target group relevant to this particular project, often disadvantaged residents of social housing estates. To sum up, with the exception of a few socially engaged citizens, the knowledge of the interviewees about the undertaking of initiatives reaching beyond their own daily lives is very limited. Putting these findings into perspective, a previous DIVERCITIES report (Andersen et al., 2014a) showed how significant attention was paid to public involvement, social mixing policies and area-based initiatives in Bispebjerg by Copenhagen Municipality. Furthermore, analysing locally based governance arrangements, another report (Andersen et al., 2014b) highlighted the importance of establishing such public involvement for ensuring the long-term effects of diversity-related projects and initiatives. Here, the extensive challenges in this regard were also apparent.

8.3 Policy priorities proposed by interviewees: what do residents want?

Even though there is a limited familiarity amongst the interviewees with policies and initiatives regarding their local area, the majority have an opinion of the preferable prioritisation of such policies. Overall, diversity-related issues are not first priority for the interviewees. Rather, public service functions and physical facilities are emphasised, for instance traffic noise and safety, better infrastructure, accessibility, climate-related issues, waste management and so on. In addition to these, policies and initiatives indirectly related to diversity are stressed, namely, initiatives in support of particular citizen groups: families with children, the elderly and the disadvantaged citizens. However, approximately a quarter of the interviewees give some sort of priority to different diversity-related issues.

Firstly, interviewees emphasise the importance of creating a mix in the local area in terms of: 1) functions, i.e. mixing dwellings with shops and cultural activities to preserve life in the local area and create vibrant neighbourhoods; 2) schools, i.e. creating a social mix in the pupil composition of Bispebjerg's six public schools; and 3) housing, i.e. various dwelling sizes, a wide price range to allow for lower-income households and a variety of target groups, e.g. youngsters, families with children, the elderly, disadvantaged households, affluent households and so on. All three aspects

are currently challenged: Local shops are closing in Bispebjerg's least central areas, troubled public schools in Copenhagen are deselected in favour of private schools, and ensuring a mixed housing stock in terms of prices is challenged by rising housing prices in the Copenhagen area and an increasing pressure on the local housing market. Meeting these challenges is thus considered important. As previous chapters of this report showed, social mixing is considered a positive thing for supporting disadvantaged residents as well as avoiding affluent residents dissociating themselves from their surroundings. But focus is put on balancing such mix: The extent of challenges must be matched by resources. For instance, in the case of public schools, a socially mixed pupil composition is highlighted as an asset *if* the proportion of disadvantaged pupils is not too high.

Secondly, preserving life in the local area is highlighted by the interviewees. Rather than centralising businesses, public functions and cultural facilities in the Copenhagen city centre leaving Bispebjerg as a monofunctional residential area, the preservation and enhancement of local life is emphasised by a broad group of interviewees across age groups, ethnicities, lifestyles and socio-economic situations. Also in this regard, the local schools are perceived as key arenas for social cohesion between residents. Additionally, a wide variety of local shops and cultural facilities are considered to be central to keeping Bispebjerg's different neighbourhoods from 'dying out'. Amongst the younger interviewees expressing such views, the enhancement of urban elements in local life, for instance cafés and shops as well as a densification of dwellings, is emphasised. Other interviewees point to local green areas for recreation and activities as important neighbourhood features. Though only a few, some of these interviewees call attention to local physical facilities as arenas for interaction between local residents, and accordingly across differences. A young man living in a large monofunctional housing estate phrases it like this:

"I often end up down at the grill bar, because there are no other options. So, we need some more eateries and of course some cafés and stuff like that. Because we don't have anything that makes people connect. We don't have any meeting places, you know, where people can meet and talk and... We only have the seedy pub" R40, male, 30, unemployed, ethnic Danish background, lives in social housing in Emdrup.

Thirdly, and in connection with the second point, the importance of supporting the particular ambience of Bispebjerg at such new meeting places is emphasised by a handful of interviewees. Newly landscaped and designed parks and squares are considered to be mismatched with their surroundings and with the residents of Bispebjerg. They are considered too posh for the motley atmosphere surrounding them. In contrast, an unmown lawn surrounded by graffitied walls in Nordvest is brought forward as an example of a local meeting place fitting in with the particular ambience of the area (Figure 6, below). Being located on the plot of a former auto repair shop, the lawn has been used as a park by the local residents who have organised its basic maintenance between them. However, creating public spaces with which the residents can identify is of course complicated by the multifaceted diversity of Bispebjerg's resident composition. The former auto repair plot exemplifies this, because it primarily attracts the younger residents of Nordvest, often highly educated or students, and rarely of ethnic minority backgrounds. Other types of residents in Bispebjerg do not use this park. Hence, despite being accentuated as fitting in with the scruffy atmosphere of Nordvest, this park predominantly caters to a particular group of residents. Such challenges are recognised by the local neighbourhood regeneration project in Nordvest, as described in a previous report of the DIVERCITIES project (Andersen et al., 2014a): Rather than aiming at establishing public spaces for the majority of residents, the programme has a set goal to ensure various public spaces for various groups. The importance of involving local residents in decisions and plans for their neighbourhood and to some degree taking a bottom-up approach is considered of great importance. Yet, as illustrated in Section 8.2, engagement and

participation from the locals is not easily established. Ordinary approaches to public involvement, such as hearings and citizens' meetings, seem inadequate to the interviewees:

"I think public involvement is very important, and at the same time, I'm perfectly aware that nobody shows up at hearings and residents' meetings and so on, until the day construction is started, and then suddenly everyone complains, like, 'why were we not involved in this?!' And I'm pretty sure that it's because, for instance, hearings seem so boring, like, 'who on earth would want to attend that?'" But the authorities can say 'well, we did invite you, but nobody showed up, so...' So we need a different form of public involvement" R43, female, 30-40, lives in SocialHousing+.



Figure 6. Site of the former auto repair plot used as a park until March 2015. It is now being prepared for construction of youth housing.

8.4 Conclusions

Despite a wide range of diversity-related policies and initiatives being employed in Bispebjerg at different levels and by different actors, the knowledge of the interviewees about diversity-related policies and initiatives regarding their local area is very limited. With the exception of a few socially engaged citizens, involvement is primarily limited to those having been personally engaged in projects, for instance communal meals in their housing estate. The challenges of establishing public involvement and engagement thus mirror academic and governance-related debates (Agger, 2013). Such perspectives echo previous DIVERCITIES reports (Andersen et al., 2014a; 2014b) in which policies on diversity along with the working conditions of local governance arrangements were analysed. Whereas most interviewees focus on public service functions and physical facilities, some interviewees emphasise diversity-related initiatives as something to prioritise. In their perspective, the key challenge is to make room in the neighbourhood for socially disadvantaged residents as opposed to gentrifying the area, while at the same time fighting the deprivation and the social problems in Bispebjerg's various housing estates, schools and so on associated with high concentrations of disadvantaged residents. Yet, while diversity-related policies and initiatives are generally acknowledged as good-intentional and efficacious, the scope of the targeted problems are perceived as reaching beyond the capacity of such initiatives. Furthermore, interviewees point to public and semi-public spaces such as recreational areas, cafés, schools, etc. as providing important arenas for local encounters and consequently social cohesion, thus mirroring findings of previous studies (Curley, 2010; Fincher & Iveson, 2008).

9. Conclusion

The purpose of this report was to explore the experiences of living with hyper-diversity and how this affects the lives of residents living in a diverse urban neighbourhood. Taking the area of Bispebjerg in the city of Copenhagen as a case study, interviews with a wide range of residents were conducted in order to answer these questions. The analyses clearly underlined the importance of taking hyper-diversity into account (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014): The interaction between various diversities, not only socio-economic, demographic and ethnic, but also in terms of lifestyle, attitudes and activities, is critical for understanding the experiences of living with diversity in Bispebjerg. Several aspects of the lives of the residents affect their patterns of activities, their usage of the neighbourhood, and their local social networks. The analyses showed how differences between individuals in some aspects may be overcome through similarities in other aspects, such as being at the same life course stage. Furthermore, the interviews showed how prejudices about, for instance, certain minority ethnic groups are rarely about ethnicity as such, but about certain cultures, lifestyles, activities and attitudes associated with these groups. In other words, disregarding the impact of hyper-diversity limits the analyses significantly.

The importance of neighbourhoods might be questioned in a time of increased mobility and flows within and between cities; however, while the role of the neighbourhood varies between the interviewees in this analysis, its importance for creating spaces of encounters with diversity must not be disregarded. The interviews show how public and semi-public spaces such as streets, parks, playgrounds, supermarkets, libraries, schools, childcare institutions and local clubs and associations hold a large potential for providing arenas for encounters across differences. Some encounters remain brief and superficial, like seeing people in the street, while others consist of repeated social interaction, like between parents of children attending school together.

Still, while the interviewees indicate that even brief public space encounters can, to some degree, positively affect their perceptions of urban diversity, the translation of such perceptions into a generalised tolerance and openness towards diversity is more complicated. While interviewees generally consider diversity a clearly positive term adding liveliness and variety to their daily experiences in the neighbourhood, some interviewees express reservations regarding ethnic diversity. However, such expressions are rare amongst the socio-economically affluent interviewees: The analyses indicate that the resources, the economic safety and the, to varying degrees, arm's-length encounters with diversity make it fairly uncomplicated for the more affluent interviewees to express unreserved openness towards diversity. In contrast, some of the older interviewees of primarily working-class background express concerns about the ethnic mix in certain areas of Bispebjerg: Narratives of the erosion of familiar Danish culture as well as economic stability in terms of employment, financial support for the elderly, etc., install in them a feeling of unease towards the ongoing ethnic diversification of their neighbourhood. Reaching far beyond brief public-space encounters, the young interviewees having grown up in Bispebjerg have spent their childhoods in the midst of ethnic diversity. In their case, the impact of diverse encounters on their attitudes to neighbourhood diversity has been much more extensive: A certain socialisation to become tolerant to differences and an ability to form cross-cutting social relations can be identified in interviewees who grew up in highly diverse contexts, such as ethnically mixed schools or socio-economically mixed housing estates. They present a certain insistence on tolerance, underlining the key role of local schools, institutions and associations. However, the potential of such local arenas for fostering diverse encounters is activated only to the extent to which they reflect the population diversity. Centralisation of facilities, businesses, etc. away from the local area, issues of school segregation, and the limited participation of specific groups in clubs and activities in the local area challenge the activation of the potential of

the neighbourhood to foster encounters with diversity. Additionally, segmentation of the local housing market adds to the division of the area into homogenous entities, especially with regards to economy. In this regard, scale matters, as the neighbourhood may be diverse on a larger scale, but at the same time consist of homogenous entities with limited cross-cutting relations on a smaller scale. Furthermore, the analyses show how different types of built environment (blocks of flats, detached houses, etc.) and different tenure types seem to foster different kinds of local social interaction and different norms of mutual support and social bonds in the neighbourhood. In other words, the opportunities for local encounters with diversity are affected by the degree to which various types of activities, functions and dwellings are geographically scattered across the area, and the extent to which the local residents engage and participate in neighbourhood institutions, such as local schools.

However, while policies for creating social mix are currently politically prevalent in Copenhagen (Andersen et al., 2014a), the capability of area-based initiatives and policies on neighbourhood or estate level for combatting large-scale structural problems of segregation must be questioned: Local diversity-related policies and initiatives are generally acknowledged by the interviewees as good-intentional and efficacious, but the scope of these initiatives as compared with that of the targeted problems is insufficient. Such perceptions mirror findings of a previous report in the DIVERCITIES project regarding local governance arrangements (Andersen et al., 2014b). Furthermore, despite the clear potential of urban diversity, social mixing alone does not do the trick: For instance, the interviews show how the potential of stronger residents in the neighbourhood helping the more disadvantaged residents is activated only through substantial and continuous engagement on behalf of the stronger residents. In this regard however, public actors or local associations can take on the responsibility of initiating and supporting such neighbourhood relations.

The highly mixed housing stock of Bispebjerg and the relatively affordable and easily accessible dwellings drive population diversity in many respects. For instance, affluent families with children typically move into the owner-occupied houses, youths move into the flats in inner Nordvest, newcomer immigrants with acute housing needs move into short-term-contract private rental flats, and socio-economically disadvantaged groups often move into social housing estates due to the relatively cheap rent, the shorter waiting lists (sometimes caused by a poor reputation) and the municipality's housing allocation to certain Bispebjerg estates. Such mechanisms enforce the small-scale segmentation of Bispebjerg in many respects, and this highlights a key implication of urban diversity, namely, that living in a diverse neighbourhood also entails living with social inequality. While the resident composition in Bispebjerg's blocks of flats may be highly diverse in terms of ethnicity, demography, lifestyle, etc., these blocks also house large groups of socio-economically disadvantaged residents. Furthermore, the analyses find substantial differences in the local social cohesion between various types of areas in Bispebjerg, especially between areas consisting of blocks of flats, on one hand, and areas consisting of detached or semi-detached housing, on the other. The highly diverse resident composition of the former areas as compared with the extensive homogeneity in the resident composition of the latter indicates a strong link between identification between neighbours and the degree of mutual support and social bonds between them. In this respect, diversity poses a challenge to local social cohesion. Furthermore, strong social cohesion in an area is found to be of great importance for fostering social mobility. Such a connection limits the possibilities for social mobility of the residents living in Bispebjerg's highly diverse areas of blocks of flats, and given the large groups of socio-economically disadvantaged residents living in these areas, such findings are critical. The analyses show how, despite living in a diverse urban environment, the residents rarely develop social networks that cut across groups. Yet, while these findings may indicate that social cohesion and social mobility are negatively linked to diversity, a substantially larger impact of social inequality can be

identified. In other words, social cohesion and social mobility is challenged by socio-economic disadvantagedness rather than by residents being different from each other in various ways. Furthermore, the interviews show that neighbourhood diversity is not a hindrance to mutual trust between neighbours: Even in Bispebjerg's relatively deprived housing estates, the interviewees generally have a basic sense of trust in their neighbours. In other words, the key challenge is combatting social inequality while applauding and promoting urban diversity. This paradoxical nature of the relationship between urban diversity and social inequality echoes the challenges identified in a previous DIVERCITIES report analysing stakeholder approaches to diversity: Here, challenges to promoting positive aspects of urban diversity, e.g. cultural diversity, while tackling the negative aspects and aiming to create '*socio-economic uniformity*' were central (Andersen et al., 2014a). Such findings highlight the importance of taking the local context into consideration when analysing urban neighbourhoods: In Denmark, the extensive welfare system makes the public sector a key actor in fostering social mobility, and this situates the workings of the neighbourhood within a very distinct context.

As underlined by the analysis, the key challenge lies in making room in the neighbourhood for socially disadvantaged residents as opposed to gentrifying the area, while at the same time fighting the deprivation and the social problems in Bispebjerg's various housing estates, schools, etc. associated with high concentrations of disadvantaged residents. In this regard, the question of how much cross-cutting interaction is needed for diversity to have a positive effect on the lives of the people involved, remains central. Consequently, translating encounters with diversity in public and semi-public spaces into tolerant and positive attitudes towards diversity, and activating the possibilities of cross-cutting interaction and mutual support for fostering social cohesion and social mobility is crucial. Altogether, social mix in urban neighbourhoods makes a difference only when it realises the potential of diversity for improving the lives of disadvantaged residents in today's hyper-diversified cities.

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Appendices

List of the interviewees

No.	Gender	Age	Occupation	Ethnic group	Position in household	Income group	Dwelling type
R1	Female	25	In vocational training	Ghanaian	Lives with boyfriend	C/D	Cooperative housing flat
R2	Male	72	Retired university professor	Danish	Lives with wife, children are grown up	D	Owner-occupied detached house
R3	Male	69	Retired machine operator	French	Lives with wife	B	Owner-occupied terraced house
R4	Female	43	Export adviser	German-Polish	Lives with husband and teenage son	D	Owner-occupied detached house
R5	Female	56	Secretary	Danish	Lives with husband, children are grown up	D	Owner-occupied detached house
R6	Female	39	On sick-leave	Afghan	Single mother of three children	A	Social housing flat
R7	Male	43	Consultant at professional association	Danish	Lives with wife and three children	D	Owner-occupied detached house
R8	Female	41	Unemployed	Danish-Indian-Turkish	Lives with daughter and has one grown daughter	A	Social housing flat
R9	Female	25	Works at a bakery	Danish	Lives with boyfriend and two children	B/C	Social housing flat
R10	Female	20	Student at special purposes teaching programme	Danish	Single	A	Social housing flat
R11	Female	24	Student nurse (registered)	Danish	Single	A	Private rental flat
R12	Male	73	Retired administrative officer	Danish	Widower, children are grown up	C	Social housing terraced house
R13	Male	32	University student	Iranian	Single	A	Social housing flat
R14	Male	71	Retired schoolteacher	Danish	Lives with wife, children are grown up	C	Owner-occupied detached house
R15	Female	24	In vocational training	Danish	Lives with boyfriend	B/C	Cooperative housing flat
R16	Male	65	Retired telephone technician	Danish	Lives with wife, children are grown up	C	Cooperative housing flat

R17	Male	29	Schoolteacher	Danish	Lives with girlfriend and their small child	C	Owner-occupied flat
R18	Male	76	Retired telephone technician	Danish	Lives with wife, children are grown up	C	Cooperative housing flat
R19	Male	25	Part-time shop assistant	Danish	Single	A	Homeless
R20	Male	44	Unemployed	Danish	Single, children are grown up	A	Social housing flat
R21	Female	76	Retired actress and artist	Danish	Single, children are grown up	A	Shared living community flat in social housing estate
R22	Female	64	On early retirement, former clerk	Danish	Lives with husband, children are grown up	C	Social housing terraced house
R23	Female	30	University student	Danish-Israeli	Single, lives with roommate	A	Private rental flat
R24	Male	40	University student, works as a cleaner	Nepalese	Lives with wife and their son	B	Cooperative housing flat
R25	Male	82	Retired removals man	Danish	Widower, children are grown up	n/a	Cooperative housing flat
R26	Female	36	Management consultant	Danish	Lives with husband and two small children	D	Owner-occupied detached house
R27*	Female	30s	-	-	Family with children	D	SocialHousing+
R28	Female	77	Retired secretary	Danish	Widow, children are grown up	B	Cooperative housing flat
R29	Female	40	Trade union officer	Danish	Single, children are grown up	C	Social housing flat
R30	Male	62	Lawyer	Danish	Lives with wife, children are grown up	D	Owner-occupied detached house
R31	Female	50	Sales consultant	Danish	Single, children are grown up	C	Social housing flat
R32	Male	31	University student, works as a chef	Nepalese	Lives with wife and their small child	C	Cooperative housing flat
R33	Male	66	Retiree	Danish	Single	B	Social housing flat
R34	Male	65	Retired driver and caretaker	Danish	Single	A	Social housing flat
R35	Male	79	Retired salesman	Danish	Lives with wife, his children are grown up	C	Social housing terraced house
R36	Female	86	Retiree	Danish	Widow, children are grown up	A	Social housing flat

R37	Female	38	Health sector consultant	Danish	Lives with husband and two small children	D	Owner-occupied terraced house
R38	Female	30	Illustrator, takes additional unskilled jobs	Danish	Single	A	Private rental flat
R39	Male	35	Manager of fitness centre	Algerian	Lives with wife and two small children	B	Cooperative housing flat
R40	Male	30	Unemployed	Danish	Single	A	Social housing flat
R41	Male	42	PhD, works as a gardener	Chinese	Lives with wife and their son	A	Private rental flat
R42	Male	48	Engineer	Indian	Lives with wife, children are grown up	D	Owner-occupied detached house
R43*	Female	30s	-	-	Family with children	D	SocialHousing+
R44	Female	24	Student at upper secondary general education	Iraqi	Lives alone with her son (husband works abroad)	A	Social housing flat
R45	Female	30	On sick-leave	Danish	Single	A	Social housing flat
R46	Female	53	Unemployed, in activation	Pakistani	Lives with husband and three children, one grown son	C	Social housing flat
R47	Female	45	Unemployed	Pakistani	Lives with husband and their two children	C	Social housing flat
R48	Female	24	Finishing lower secondary education	Somali	Single mother of two small children	A	Social housing flat
R49	Female	28	Unemployed	Danish	Lives with boyfriend, expecting their first child	n/a	Cooperative housing flat
R50	Female	26	In vocational training	Danish	Single	B	Private rental flat

*: Some information on the interviewee is withheld due to considerations of anonymity: The SocialHousing+ estate in Bispebjerg, where this interviewee lives, only contains 80 dwellings. See section 3.2 regarding this special dwelling type.

Additional illustrations



Figure 7. The SocialHousing+ estate in Bispebjerg.

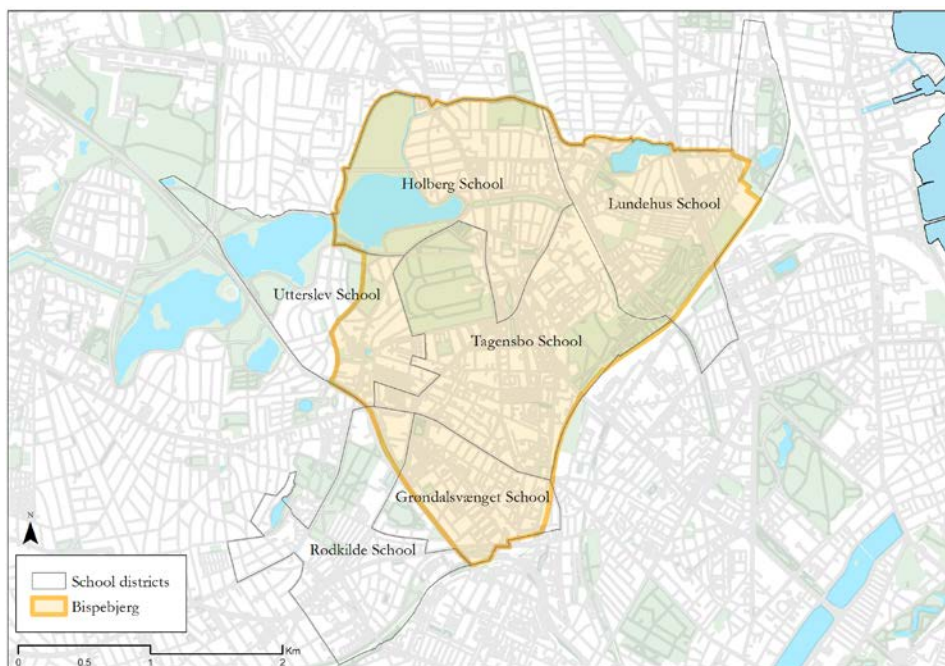


Figure 8. School districts of public schools covering the area of Bispebjerg in Copenhagen, 2015 (Københavns Kommune, 2015).



Figure 9. The new public library and cultural centre in Bispebjerg.