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Fixing Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods through Social Mix

A promising potential or delusional deroute?

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Abstract

Improving and solving issues related to disadvantaged neighbourhoods have for decades been a concern for politicians, researchers, and professionals in Denmark as well as internationally. Recently, the concept of *social mix* has been very popular as a vision of development within planning practices and political strategies to develop disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This thesis investigates the academic contributions and experiences of striving for mixed communities when targeting issues related to disadvantage in society. Further, it examines professionals' experiences of developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods consisting of non-profit housing in Denmark and the prospects of *social mix* in this regard. Drawing on Loïc Wacquant's concept of *territorial stigmatization* and Paul Cheshire's perspective on social mix policies addressing symptoms rather than the underlying structures causing inequality, this thesis questions the effects of *social mix* and elaborates on potential alternative approaches. Through a critique of social mix policies addressing symptoms and statistics rather than structures and individuals, the thesis concludes that *social mix* is a complex concept, which needs to be considered carefully when implemented in planning strategies and policies to avoid encouraging structures of gentrification, segregation, and racism.

Table of Content

Introduction	4
Contextualising Chapter	7
Historical Development and Usage of Social Mix	7
An Ideal for the Welfare State.....	9
Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods in Denmark	11
The Ghetto Initiative.....	12
The Current Danish Approach to Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods	14
Methodological Chapter	16
Critical Realism.....	16
Reading Documents	18
Systematic Review Protocol	19
<i>Applying the Systematic Review Protocol</i>	21
<i>The ontological approach to the method</i>	24
<i>Considerations and concerns post-method</i>	25
<i>The Systematic Review Protocol of this thesis</i>	25
Research Interview	30
Theoretical Chapter	33
Territorial Stigmatization.....	33
Addressing Symptoms Instead of Structures.....	36
Analytical Chapter	40
The Academic Arguments of Social Mix	40
Synopsis of Document Results from Protocol Review	40
<i>Definitions and understandings of social mix</i>	41
<i>Positive effects of social mix</i>	42
<i>Negative effects of social mix</i>	43
<i>Collection of synopsis results</i>	45
Theoretical Perspectives on the Synopsis Results.....	46
<i>Reinforcing processes of gentrification</i>	46

<i>The stigma as a hinderance to interaction</i>	48
Partial Conclusion.....	50
Prospects of Social Mix in a Danish Context	52
A Politically Defined Vision.....	52
Practitioners' Experiences of Social Mix.....	56
<i>Defining social mix</i>	56
<i>Achieving development in disadvantaged neighbourhoods</i>	57
<i>Challenges of as consequence of social mix</i>	58
Tools to Address Disadvantage	60
Partial Conclusion.....	63
Discussion Chapter	65
Blaming Ethnicity	65
Conclusion Chapter	69
For or Against Social Mix	69
Alternative Approaches to Social Mix.....	70
References	72

Pictures, tables, and appendix of this thesis

Picture 1: Location of ghetto neighbourhoods in Denmark 2017.....	13
Table 1: Adapted process of realist synthesis-approach to a Systematic Review Protocol.....	28
Table 2: List of articles in document result of the Systematic Review Protocol.....	29
Appendix 1: List and abstracts of articles from the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol	
Appendix 2: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Bent Madsen, CEO, BL	
Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)	
Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Nabokaber (former employee at CFBU)	

Introduction

Throughout my university studies and jobs in the Municipality of Copenhagen I have consequently come across the concept of *social mix* in various forms and with various meanings: Both as a theoretical concept of a just and balanced society and as a policy ideal for planners, politicians, and citizens to strive for in order to create positive development in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The concept is not only limited to a Danish context but has been an idea among Western city planners and politicians for at least a century (Galster & Friedrichs, 2015; Cheshire, 2007). During past few decades, the concept as an ideal has been implemented in development policies for several urban areas and cities throughout the world (Christensen, 2015). When *social mix* is implemented in planning practices it entails the visions of developing a city with no disadvantaged neighbourhoods, a less segregated city based on socio-economic factors, and a city where the wealthy and the poor live as neighbours, have similar housing standards, have children in the same schools, and join the same leisure time activities (Cronwald, 2017). This is trusted to improve conditions for socially challenged citizens - and especially their children - by expanding and strengthening their social networks. One can say that the strategies trust an idea of a “spill over-effect”, where the social capital of the resourceful citizens set a positive example for the less resourceful to follow (Ibid.). Simultaneously, the strategies refer to theory of demolishing barriers between people by meeting the *Other*. Various theories on *social mix* and *the classmate-effect*¹ support this concept as a strategy to develop a more equal society (Ibid.). The concept of *social mix* has also been heavily questioned, however, by theories suggesting that mixing communities is only a cover up for not dealing with structures dividing people into rich and poor, and recent evidence-based research suggests that mixing population groups does not break down barriers between people but instead helps build them (Christensen, 2015; Cronwald, 2017).

¹ The classmate-effect (in Danish: ‘Klassekammerateffekten’) is an investigation conducted by the economic political think tank ‘Arbejderbevægelsens Erhvervsråd’ in 2005, which concludes that children from resourceful families positively affect children from less resourceful families, if these are attending the same primary schools. This promoting the perception that mixing children of different backgrounds is crucial for the future prospects in society for less resourceful children (Olsen, 2005). The investigation has subsequently been heavily criticized for not taking central parameters affecting children's’ future prospects into account, but the theory is still highly referred to as firm knowledge in policy making and debates (Mainz, 2015).

In March 2018, the present liberal Danish government launched its new political initiative ‘One Denmark without Parallel Communities - No Ghettos in 2030’ (hereafter: ‘the Ghetto Initiative 2018’ which is its popular name in the Danish media). The initiative emphasises that issues related to disadvantaged neighbourhoods (labelled “ghettos” by the government) need to be dealt with through effective actions to prevent further parallel communities from developing (Regeringen, 2018). Through 22 concrete suggestions of interactions and legislations, the government wishes to stop a development where these parallel communities do not interact with “regular” society. The overall goal is to have no so-called ghettos in Denmark by 2030 through redesigning the ghetto neighbourhoods into “regular” neighbourhoods (Ibid.). The concrete suggestions are to secure a mix of different types of home-ownership and a cutback in the number of non-profit dwellings through demolition of and disinvestment in non-profit housing in the neighbourhoods (Ibid.). The initiative brings the discussion of *social mix* and its consequences into a Danish context.

The discrepancy in the debate about whether *social mix* is positive or negative for developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the entry of the concept on the Danish national political scene have inspired my curiosity about the theory and evidence supporting and criticising the concept of *social mix*, as well as on the thoughts of implementing the concept in Danish planning policies. It is a widespread concept and often an ideal for urban planning, especially in larger cities, but if mixing counteracts the aim of a more equal city, why is it so widely implemented?

I wish to divide my thesis into two chapters of analysis: For the first chapter I have conducted a Systematic Review Protocol with the purpose of reviewing the academic experiences and theoretical standpoints within the topic of *social mix*. This review protocol will lay the basis for the following analytical chapter where a careful reading of the result articles will help me elaborate upon the different experiences and arguments promoting and criticising *social mix* as an aim for urban development and developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The second chapter of the analysis will focus on how social mix policies are applied in a Danish context and how potential alternatives to a social mix strategy are presented in the interviews of this thesis. I hope to explore the thoughts upon the potential

as well as unforeseen consequences when implementing *social mix* as a strategy of development as formulated by professionals working with such development strategies. In the discussion chapter I wish to elaborate on the theme of ethnicity as a focus for social mix policies and the power structures it facilitates.

The aim of the thesis is to bring to light the effects of *social mix* as a tool used to develop disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the consequences this policy strategy might encourage, and reflect upon possible alternatives to this development policy.

In order to fulfil the above aim, I have formulated the following two working questions and three sub-questions:

- How is *social mix* founded in academic research and what are the main arguments for and against implementing the concept in planning practices?
- How is *social mix* in relation to developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods represented in a Danish context?
 - To what extent is the vision of *social mix* politically defined?
 - What experiences on *social mix* are expressed by practitioners working with developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods?
 - What alternatives to *social mix* are presented through the analysis and do they have a potential for development strategies?

Contextualising Chapter

The following chapter will provide knowledge and information about the understanding and history of the concept of *social mix* as well as describe the understanding of social housing internationally, since the latter is often the target for social mix policies. Furthermore, this chapter aims at explaining the Danish social housing system and the political and economic landscape which frames it. The emergence of disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Denmark and the approach to these will also be presented together with a summary of the aim and content regarding *social mix* in the political initiative ‘One Denmark without Parallel Communities - no ghettos in 2030’.

Historical Development and Usage of Social Mix

The ideal of *social mix* and its usage in urban development and as a planning strategy in Western societies can be traced back to the late nineteenth century and the Garden City-movement (Galster & Friedrichs, 2015; Bricocolli & Cucca, 2016). Despite changing planning schemes, ideas of a “*balanced community*” and “*heterogeneity among residents*” as favourable for societal development have been continuous perceptions of the “good” society throughout the twentieth century (Galster & Friedrichs, 2015; Cheshire, 2007). Social mix policy has been presented as a solution to the numerous negative outcomes of disadvantaged neighbourhoods e.g. in Europe, North America, and Australia (Galster & Friedrichs, 2015). Since the 1970’s, several Western countries have implemented social mix-programs by using selective demolition and in-fill of owner-occupied housing to deconcentrate social housing in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Since the 1990’s, France has adopted policies to build social housing in neighbourhoods where it constitutes 20 per cent or less of the total housing stock and to include 25 per cent social housing in all new housing developments. Other European countries have tried to implement similar strategies as well (Ibid.). As an attempt to preserve resourceful residents who otherwise would have moved out of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods, policies allowing residents of social housing to buy their apartment have also been attempted in several countries (Ibid.).

One of the most influential scriptures for urban planning has been the principles formulated by CIAM (Congr s International d’Architecture Moderne) in 1933. CIAM was an annual congress

for modern architecture, and the principles for urban development formulated on this particular congress were built on the vision of making architecture and urban planning less a question of taste and more a collection of tools for social and economic politics. The principles referred to values of rationality and systematising which emerged with the industrialisation. The final scripture was called 'The Functional City' and contained 95 principles for future urban development. The scripture was published in 1942 by one of the founders of CIAM, Le Corbusier, and the ideal of dividing the city into zones depending on functions such as work, leisure, traffic as well as connecting to values such as democracy, equality, and healthy housing dominated the housing development in 1960's Europe especially (Holek & Bjørn, 2008).

In the 1990's a group of architects and planners formed the New Urbanism-movement, which collects many of the thoughts and values grounded in the social mix-approach (Hipp, J.R. et al., 2017). The purpose was to rethink the CIAM's modernist principles of equality and instead focusing on the future when designing housing. It aimed at making architectural references to the past when developing a community. The principles were especially implemented in the United States both when renovating existing social housing and when building new (Mortensen, 2008). The focus of New Urbanism was on creating neighbourhoods with a sense of community by planning diverse neighbourhoods in terms of use and population. Some of the design elements of this perspective were high density and mixed use to create vibrant public spaces as well as the importance of mixing along various dimensions (economy, ethnicity, nativity, tenure type, etc.) to support economic development and thus a forerunner for the concept of *social mix* which is referred to in this thesis.

In general terms, *social mix* – and similar expressions for the same intent – can be defined as “(...) a combination of diverse shares of social groups in a neighbourhood (...) [which] (...) encompasses mixing based on economic resources, ethnicity, nativity, household structure or tenure type (...)” (Galster & Friedrichs, 2015: p. 176). *Social mix* has been considered both a neo-liberal and a socialist ideology and has been implemented in various forms and to various degrees throughout the past century (Galster & Friedrichs, 2015). In the last decade or so, policies of *social mix* as counteractive responses to disadvantaged neighbourhoods have had a revival in Western societies. Many of the larger cities in various countries still struggle to handle disadvan-

tagged neighbourhoods and in several cases these neighbourhoods have developed into actual ghettos (Bricocoli & Cucca, 2016). Alongside physical changes and social interventions in the neighbourhoods, policies of mixing communities in terms of ethnicity, income level, educational level, attachment to the labour market, and tenure type have attempted to integrate the disadvantaged neighbourhoods with surrounding society (Ibid.). When debating social mix as a development tool, it is almost always in the context of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and possible interventions to solve some of the issues tied to these neighbourhoods. In an international as well as in a Danish context, these disadvantaged neighbourhoods often entail a large amount of social housing (Buceri et al., 2017; Teersteg & Pinster, 2016). Despite the fact that many of the issues connected to these disadvantaged neighbourhoods are similar and also connected to neighbourhoods developed from the same historical need and visions, the different national systems of social housing are far from a uniform construction, and the systems are almost impossible to compare even in countries similar to each other. In Denmark for example, the social housing sector is a private actor, whereas in several other countries it is a state actor. Furthermore, the rules for allocation and target population group are also very different. Still, many of the causes of issues are similar and interventions in the neighbourhoods can thus be compared across national borders. Therefore, this thesis will draw on examples of *social mix* from other Western European countries despite the fact that the systems of social housing and support for disadvantaged citizens are not alike and that the focus of this thesis is *social mix* within a Danish context.

An Ideal for the Welfare State

Especially in the Scandinavian welfare societies the visions and ideals linked to creating mixed communities have been popular both among left-wing and right-wing politicians. On the Danish political scene most agree that *social mix* is positive when aiming for developing a city with equal prospects for the citizens and when aiming at changing the negative statistics in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Christensen, 2015).

The Danish social housing sector is in Danish called ‘common housing’² but translates better into non-profit housing (Larsen & Henriksen, 2015). When discussing social housing in a Danish context, the wording ‘non-profit housing’ will be applied as this is most accurate to the Danish

² In Danish: Almene boliger

system, as its purpose is not solely to provide housing for disadvantaged citizens, but to offer affordable and qualitative housing for all. The Danish system of non-profit housing can be defined as follows:

“Non-profit housing can be characterized as ‘collective private property’, organized in independent housing associations that traditionally have received public support from the state and municipality for construction and repayment of loans.” (Larsen & Hansen, 2015: p. 268).

In Denmark non-profit housing is not reserved for a certain population group and most of the units are distributed following a waiting list-principle. One of the primary tasks of the sector is still to provide affordable housing to an economically and socially vulnerable population group. A constant focus is to keep the sector attractive to the broader population and not tying a stigma to the tenure type itself. This is to prevent that the task of providing affordable housing should result in isolating the most vulnerable citizens and hence creating parallel communities to the general society. The sector thus also has an important task in counteracting tendencies of segregation and ghettoization (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2006). Preventing and counteracting this stigma continues to be an increasing challenge for the sector as *“(…) by the 2000s there was an overrepresentation of low-income, unemployed, immigrant, one-person and single-parent households living in non-profit housing”* (Ministry of Social Affairs, 2006 in Larsen & Hansen, 2015: p. 268). The non-profit housing sector is a key component of the Danish welfare state and holds almost 20 per cent of the total Danish housing stock, and it is far from every non-profit housing neighbourhood which is characterised as a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Most of the non-profit housing is attractive and located in well-functioning neighbourhoods (Larsen & Hansen, 2015; Andersen et al., 2014).

The main focus in the Danish debate on diversity has been – and continues to be – on immigration and integration challenges (Andersen et al., 2014). Much of the discussion centres around the implications for the Danish welfare system as the population no longer consists of a homogenous body of native Danes (Ibid.). Increased immigration - and thereby an increased population with different ethnic, cultural, and social backgrounds - has been blamed for the increasing issues with spatial segregation, since many immigrants tend to live in the same neighbourhoods. Since

the 1990s, Danish governments and municipalities have tried to implement several strategies to increase the mixed composition of residents in stigmatised neighbourhoods (Ibid.). The Danish housing policy has played a significant role in creating disadvantaged neighbourhoods as there are remarkable differences in the financial conditions for rented housing and for owner-occupied housing. Owner-occupied housing often requires a higher income as it has extensive tax subsidies. Hence, it is often not possible for low-income household to enter the owner-occupied housing market, and these households are left with the option of rent housing - which is often non-profit housing (Christensen, 2015).

Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods in Denmark

The governmental ‘ghetto-list’ was implemented in 2010 and shifting governments have annually published the list naming the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Denmark. The listed neighbourhoods need to consist of non-profit housing and fulfil three of five criteria to be included. The criteria being: 1) More than 40 % of residents off the labour market, 2) more than 50 % of residents are immigrants or descendants from non-Western countries, 3) more than 2,70 % of the residents are convicted, 4) more than 50 % of residents (30-59 years old) only have primary school or less as their highest educational level, and 5) the average income level for the age group 18-64 is less than 55 % of the average income in the region (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2017a). The official ghetto-list of 2017³ holds 22 neighbourhoods in Denmark, where the majority of these are located in the larger cities (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2017b). The criteria of the ghetto-list have changed from year to year which makes it difficult to compare the development in the number of listed ghetto neighbourhoods over the years (Burhøi, 2017).

Every year when the list is published, the criteria for being a ghetto as well as the definition and the usage of the word *ghetto* in a Danish context are highly criticised. The word itself refers back to the Jewish ghettos in Venice in the 1500’s, and since then the word has been especially linked

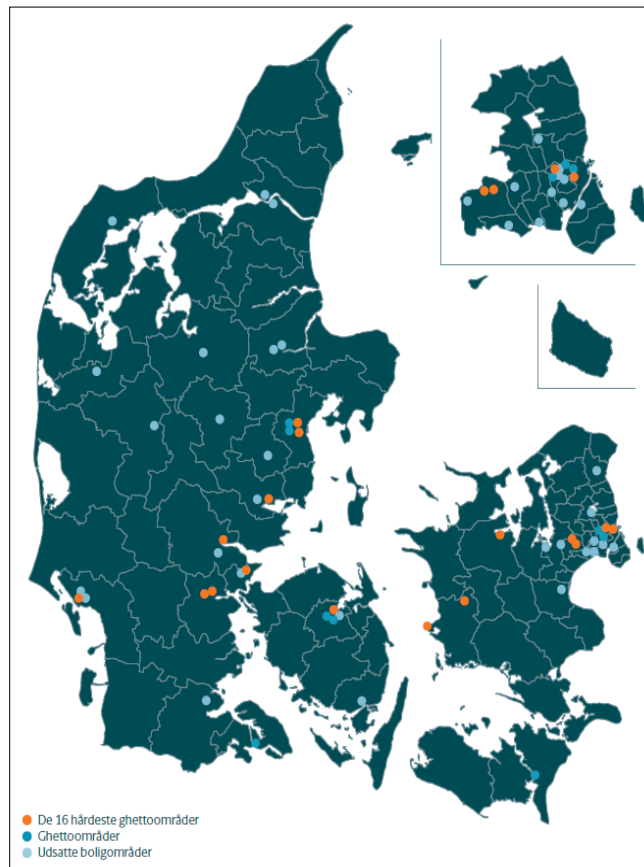
³ After heavy criticism of the government not using the latest available data, a list based on this data and only containing 11 ghetto areas has been published (Jyllands-posten, 2018). In May 2018 as the financing of the Ghetto Initiative 2018 was voted through, the criteria of being included on the list also changed and the list now holds 55 neighbourhoods contra the 22 neighbourhoods from the first list in December (Kristiansen, 2018). As of this date of hand-in it is still the original list from December 2017 which is available on the government’s official homepage (www.regeringen.dk) and therefore this thesis continues to refer to this list.

to the ethnic enclaves in American cities, such as Little Sicily, Chinatown, and not least the black ghettos. In recent decades the word has also gained ground in the public and political debate referring to disadvantaged neighbourhoods in European cities. This can be argued to be a shattered use of the word since the European ghettos are neither ethnically isolated nor depending on the same structures which have founded the Jewish or American ghettos. The only comparison is that both the American and European ghettos have the same low status position in society and thus the usage of the word *ghetto* in a European context only reinforce the stigmatisation of the neighbourhood and its residents (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017). Similarly, the Danish definition of the word *ghetto* vary from the common theoretical definition of the word by depending on certain criteria as explained above which only make sense within a Danish context. Therefore, one must be aware that the Danish ghettos can hardly be compared in an international context. In such case the Danish ghettos should instead be compared to disadvantaged neighbourhoods in general.

The Ghetto Initiative

The present liberal Danish government's political initiative 'One Denmark without Parallel Communities - no ghettos in 2030' was launched in March 2018 at a heavy press covered event in the listed ghetto Mjølnerparken in Copenhagen (Vissing, 2018). The Ghetto Initiative 2018 bases many of its suggestions on the assumption that mixed communities are essential for positive development in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. It states that the issues of these neighbourhoods stem from Denmark experiencing a growth in the number of immigrants and refugees which have been allowed to gather in segregated neighbourhoods with limited contact to surrounding society (Regeringen, 2018). According to the government, when a large group of citizens do not integrate with Danish norms and values this causes parallel communities within society. Besides being a load to societal cohesion these parallel communities also constitute a threat towards a modern society based on freedom, democracy, and tolerance (Ibid.). Through 22 concrete suggestions of interaction and legislation the government wishes to stop a development where these parallel communities do not interact with "regular" society, by redesigning the ghetto neighbourhoods into "regular" neighbourhoods and thus aiming at having no ghettos in Denmark by 2030 (Ibid.). The 22 suggestions in the Ghetto Initiative 2018 are separated into four themes: Physical demolition and conversion of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, more regulated

control of who can live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, strengthened police force and higher penalty in the neighbourhoods to fight crime and improve security, and a governmental follow-up on the development of the ghettos (Ibid.). The concrete suggestions are supposed to secure a mix of different types of homeownership and a cutback in the number of non-profit dwellings (Ibid.). The initiative states that the dismantling should be executed through divestment or demolition in the neighbourhoods. Hereafter, a new urban development programme will restore the neighbourhoods “(...) as a neighbourhood with a mix of residents, which is integrated with surrounding society” (Regeringen, 2018: p. 14).



Picture 1: Location of ghetto neighbourhoods in Denmark 2017 (Regeringen, 2018). The different colored dots represent differences in where on the list the ghettos are placed; the first dot being very disadvantaged and the last being little disadvantaged.

The Current Danish Approach to Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods

Each non-profit housing organisation owns and runs its own dwellings but gets funding loans to buy construction sites from the municipality in which the dwellings are located (Københavns Kommune, 2017; Andersen et al. 2014). The funding gives the municipalities access to set certain demands that the non-profit housing companies need to fulfil, this being e.g. rent loft, quality of materials, amount of daylight in the apartments as well as the allocation right to one quarter of the apartments (Trafikstyrelsen, 2017; Larsen & Hansen, 2015). The task of handling issues occurring in relation to the non-profit housing dwellings are thus to be taken care of by the non-profit housing organisation in cooperation with the relevant municipality. A common tool when dealing with disadvantaged neighbourhoods consisting of non-profit housing is to plan and carry out physical and social holistic plans. The physical holistic plans modernize the dwellings and buildings themselves but also restructure physical changes in the common spaces; establishing new roads, meeting spots, sport facilities, playgrounds, etc. The social holistic plans are aimed at targeting the social issues of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and mainly offer interventions and activities which are to strengthen the disadvantaged individual living in the neighbourhood. Both the physical and social holistic plans are financed mainly by the National Building Trust (hereafter: 'Landsbyggefonden') and partly by the non-profit housing organisation and the local municipality (AAB, 2018). The trust is an independent organisation established under the non-profit housing sector's interest organisation, BL - Danmarks Almene Boliger (hereafter: 'BL'), with the main purpose of improving the non-profit housing sector (Landsbyggefonden, 2018a). Landsbyggefonden's capital stems from the monthly rent of every resident in the non-profit housing sector, and a great part of their task is to consult and approve physical and social holistic plans (Landsbyggefonden, 2018b). In this thesis the main focus will be on the social issues and thus also on the social holistic plans even though it is important to incorporate both physical and social changes when developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Nygård, 2018).

The purpose of the social holistic plans is to address the social issues in a disadvantaged neighbourhood and builds on the Danish term 'boligsocial' interventions, which can be directly translated to 'housing-social'. The word itself emerged in the 1980's, as the non-profit housing organisations began to facilitate socio-economic interventions in neighbourhoods experiencing an increasing number of social issues due to a high number of residents being refugees, immigrants,

or disadvantaged. Today, the notion is being used as a collective word for diverse types of interventions and programmes driven mainly by the non-profit housing organisations addressing local social issues (CFBU, 2018a). When preparing the content of the social holistic plans, the activities and purposes of the plan need to be approved by Landsbyggefonden and as an attempt to collect experiences and evaluations of the many different housing-social activities implemented in the social holistic plans, the CFBU (Center for Boligsocial Udvikling)⁴ published a catalogue in 2016 summing up the 40 most common and effective activities (CFBU, 2018b). To ensure that the activities are evidence-based and target social issues, existing and future social holistic plans are encouraged to implement the activities described in this catalogue when deciding the content of the social holistic plans (Ibid.).

⁴ CFBU is an independent institution under the Ministry for Transport, Building, and Housing working with strengthening the socio-economic initiatives in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Methodological Chapter

Three different methods form the basis for my thesis: Systematic Review Protocol, Research Interview, and document reading. The Systematic Review Protocol provides a search method which enables the researcher to sort the published literature on a topic. This method's template of conducting a literature search and further sort the document result, ensures that the academic articles implemented in the thesis are representative for the main arguments within the academic debate of a given topic. The main reason for choosing this method is its structure which provides order when researching a complex academic topic. An explanation of the conducted research interviews with representatives of organisations in Denmark working within the field of non-profit housing and developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods will follow the description of the Systematic Review Protocol. But first, the following chapter will present the applied philosophy of science and the approach to gathering knowledge through document reading.

Critical Realism

The ontology of *critical realism* is inspired from the discussion of philosophy of science within the natural sciences, and especially Roy Bhaskar's book *A Realist Theory of Science* from 1975 is a key contributor in the development of this ontological position (Jespersen, 2007). Realism is based on the perception that "reality" exists independently from theories formulated by natural or social sciences; a rejection of the perception that "nature" or "society" are either an ideological abstraction (idealism) or a social construction (relativism) (Ibid.). Bhaskar states that behind the acquired "reality" exists an "under world" of transcendent phenomena. Therefore, the framework for understanding "reality" must be an *open* system and not a *closed* one as "reality" is influenced by these transcendent - and changeable - phenomena (Ibid.). The ontological approach to the Systematic Review Protocol, realist synthesis, also focuses on how structures and power relations shape our understanding of the "reality" and will be unfolded in the section explaining the Systematic Review Protocol.

Jesper Jespersen (2007) refers to Lawson stating that the general challenge of philosophy of science consists of making the three different epistemic levels connect to understand causal rela-

tions and to give a systematic explanation of events and observed data: 1. the empirical level (data), 2. the present level (actions, events), and 3. the deeper level (structures, mechanisms, forces). In this thesis these levels are visible when gathering empirical data through the Systematic Review Protocol (empirical level) which leads to an investigation of the present experiences of *social mix* in a Danish context (present level), and finally an analysis and understanding of the underlying structures and power relations when discussing development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods (deeper level). Critical realism applies great meaning to the description of the ontology of a subject field in order to answer a research aim and thus attempts to define which social structures, norms, and institutions characterise “the reality” examined (Jespersen, 2007). Critical realism triangulates its methodology into ontological levels following the three epistemic levels listed above and asks: 1. ”What are we looking at?”, 2. “What knowledge can we acquire?”, 3. “How can we acquire this knowledge?”. This being a consequence of the assumption that society is both *open* (changeable) and structured (with a certain stability). This leaves the researcher to investigate the empirical and present level while the deeper level may be (partly) hidden (Ibid.). The knowledge acquired through analysis of the empirical findings in the first two levels is always being limited by the uncertainty which relates to data and hypothetical explanations and by the uncertainty connected to “ignorance” about the deeper level. Every examination therefore needs to be given a contextualising relation and an evaluation of the value of this context in order to understand how general conclusions can be made from the examination. It is essential in critical realism to understand the ontology of a subject field in order to gain relevant knowledge for the following analysis (Ibid.). A challenge of this thesis is that the Systematic Review Protocol collects results without consideration to different ontological approaches. Therefore, the ontologies of the academic articles in the document result may contradict. This means that despite contributing knowledge to the same topic, their understanding of *social mix* and aims for the society differ depending on article.

Bhaskar warns the researcher against the *empirical fallacy* where the ontology of a subject field is being reduced to the systematic knowledge we can acquire about its functions and structures. When examining a subject field, the researcher must therefore decide which aspects of the subject field she is examining since different institutions, structures, population groups, etc. have different ontologies defined by their power relations and formal as well as informal contracts with other actors. The researcher thus needs to adapt her scientific approach depending on which

parts of the subject field are being investigated (Jespersen, 2007). The focus in this thesis is on the academic and professional experiences of *social mix*, and hence it is the ontology of the societal consequences of *social mix* which are examined, and not, for example, on the lived experiences of the residents.

Critical realists epistemologically reject the possibility of obtaining complete understanding of a field while simultaneously rejecting that observations are not solely dependent on theoretical position and thus subjective. The knowledge gained is a product of an *open* system, and because this system is changeable, the knowledge gained might not confirm any steady conclusions (Jespersen, 2007). This links to Bhaskar's example of it being impossible to swim in the same river twice as the water, the sediments, and the surroundings all have changed in the meantime - despite the fact that it might look the same to the swimmer. According to critical realism, knowledge gained through scientific examination is rather new knowledge than proven evidence of already stated conclusions (Ibid.). This also means that the conclusions of this thesis are not predicting every future consequence of social mix policies but state the consequences such policies impact within the present context and the structures and power relations prevailing.

Reading Documents

Collecting, reading, and analysing documents have been present during all steps of my research; from opinionated feature articles to evidence-based academic articles and politically biased policy documents. In the very beginning, when reading for the mere aim of framing a topic of research, everything that had a relation to my topic of interest seemed relevant. However, I soon had to make choices to scope and focus my research. According to Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen (2001) moving on from this first phase where everything seems interesting is important to transform diffuse learning into focused knowledge. According to Olden-Jørgensen (2001), exactly the difference between diffuse learning and focused knowledge is one of the most important characteristics of science. A simple and classic approach to keep this focus is to ask questions, both to one self, the sources, and the literature and thus consciously and critically working with one's overall research question (Ibid.). This process has been very present in developing my thesis, which started with an undefined curiosity towards the usage of the concepts *mixed community* and *social mix* and an interest in developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Reading many dif-

ferent statements, articles, and reflections regarding these topics helped me to narrow my interest and formulate a preliminary research aim which forced me to make choices about the scope of my thesis. Throughout my thesis the research aim has been a lighthouse when the working process has been confusing, as well as a test of relevance and development of my focus area. Writing my thesis has been a dialogue between my research aim and the content of my analysis and has demanded me to be critical on both and adapt each when reaching a new level of insight.

My reading into this topic of *social mix* is based on the structures of hermeneutics. The research process can be viewed as a dialogue between the researcher and the literature: Examining one's question by reading different literature provides the researcher with new experience and thus she becomes more knowledgeable on the topic and own interests. This forms the hermeneutic circle (Ibid.). The basic idea behind hermeneutics is that one always approaches a phenomenon with some level of pre-understanding and thus is never completely objective. This means that one always has a cultural and personal conditioned pre-understanding of any phenomenon. Being aware of this enables the researcher to develop her own understanding of a given phenomenon and thus gain a more qualified and more holistic understanding (Ibid.). When reading the articles from the literature result in the Systematic Review Protocol (described below) I had knowledge on the topic of *social mix* from previous experiences through my studies and jobs, and thus also had formed a preliminary opinion. The metaphor of this technique moving in a circle would be more accurate if depicted as a spiral as one does not return to the same starting point when developing one's understanding. Instead it can be described as if layers are being added. In order to prevent the hermeneutics becoming a caricature where the researcher's feeling of a topic is controlling, it is important to add a critical sense when trying to understand a phenomenon (Ibid.). This allows the researcher to sort between qualified and non-qualified arguments and data, and thus shape one's understanding based on evidence rather than one's own preference of argument.

Systematic Review Protocol

Briefly, a review protocol can be explained as a search method which summarizes all relevant articles and studies on a given topic (Kastner et al., 2012). Often, when searching for relevant literature on a topic, one can only collect and read so much and will often be reading literature that connects to each other and is found through e.g. snowballing. The result of the Systematic

Review Protocol contains the most relevant literature within a limited topic and not just a biased or more random selection. One can thus rely on the most relevant arguments, viewpoints, and traditions being included in the document result. Despite the method being most common within the more positivistic sciences, especially medicine studies, and being applied less within social sciences and humanities, it can provide a structured search frame within softer science studies (Ibid.). Applying a natural scientific method to a social scientific research aim demands the exclusion or a different interpretation of some aspects. Excluding certain aspects from the method does not make the method less valid; on the contrary it ensures that the method is relevant within the individual scope of research, but one needs to be aware to exclude these aspects on purpose (CDR, 2009).

To base political strategies and decisions on research can be difficult for many reasons but one might be that it can be difficult to navigate within the large amounts of information generated by individual studies which might be biased, methodologically flawed, time and context dependent, be misinterpreted and misrepresented, and can have conflicting conclusions. In such cases it is not always clear which conclusions are the most reliable and thus should be used as the basis for practice and policy-making (CRD, 2009). The method of Systematic Review Protocol combines results of several studies and hence gives a more reliable and precise estimate of an intervention's effectiveness and can thus be helpful when attempting to navigate complex academic debates on a given topic. By identifying, evaluating, and summarising the findings of all relevant individual studies the method secures that the available evidence is accessible and the conclusions are defensible (Ibid.). As well as making clear what is already known about a particular intervention, the method of Systematic Review Protocol can also demonstrate where knowledge is lacking which can lay basis for future research (Ibid.).

I have chosen this method as my primary foundation for a significant part of my analysis as it limits as well as secures the quality and relevance of the literature result. This enables me to refer to evidence-based academic research which helps me answer my working question of how the concept of *social mix* is founded in academic research and what main arguments relate to implementing social mix policies in planning practices, as well as providing a basis for answering my overall research aim of investigating alternatives to *social mix* policies.

Applying the Systematic Review Protocol

The sections below will present the general recommended choices one should consider when conducting the method of Systematic Review Protocol as well as the reflections and choices I have made while applying the method to this thesis. After following several steps some choices need to be made to secure that the search result only represents the most relevant articles on a topic. The general steps of the Systematic Review Protocol are (CDR, 2009):

Step 1: Formulate a review question which needs to be answered through the final document result and make choices of search words and inclusion/exclusion criteria to sort the first search result.

Step 2: Sort between articles based on the chosen criteria and a read through of titles and abstracts of the articles from the first search result and thus limit the number of articles.

Step 3: Skim the articles which fulfilled the criteria of step 2 more carefully to secure their relevance following the chosen criteria and the general quality of the articles.

Step 4: The remaining articles after conducting step 3 represent the literature result of the method and these need to be read thoroughly.

Step 5: Write a synopsis of the arguments presented in the articles of the final literature result. The synopsis is the product of the method which then lay ground for the following analysis.

Choices to make

To ensure that the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol will provide meaningful information, the researcher needs to be clear on the questions wanted answered. The review questions should thus consider reflections upon population, intervention(s), comparator(s), and outcomes of the studies that will be included in the review. The formulated question for this review is:

What arguments of *social mix* are represented in academic research in relation to policies of developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods and what could be feasible alternative approaches to social mix policies?

Besides following the above listed process steps when conducting the method, one must also define the following elements to scope the aim of the search and interpret the result. One must include only the relevant elements for the specific review and some might be irrelevant due to the frame of one's focus. The included elements differ depending on the discipline of which the research is conducted (CDR, 2009). For the elements below, the description explains how the specific element is applied both within studies of medicine (where this method is common) and in this thesis:

Population traditionally defines a type or group of patients as this method is often used within studies of medicine. This makes little sense in this specific review, but within social science studies that investigate e.g. experiences of different population-groups the element would be relevant to include when defining the characteristics of this group (age, sex, educational level, etc.). I have excluded the element in the following review since the element is not used as described in the reference text.

Interventions refers to the type of effect, change, causality, etc. on which the review is focusing. Within medicine it could be a type of medication's effect on a disease, but in this review the intervention which is investigated is the effect of the concept and planning ideal *social mix* on transforming disadvantaged neighbourhoods and creating mixed communities.

Comparators means the character of the different studies compared. In the case of this review, it refers to studies holding similar examples (experiences from local case or field studies) from various Western European countries.

Outcomes implies that a review should explore a clearly defined set of relevant outcomes and that it is important to be able to justify each outcome included. This justification is made through the exclusion/inclusion criteria and the read through of the articles in the document result.

Study design is the limitations the researcher decides for the literature review in order to reduce or increase the number of results. Research in relation to *social mix* cover a wide range of study focuses and the study design of this review provided a large number of results which then needed to be reduced. The research question determining the search has also helped narrowing the document result.

Through the search of the review protocol I wished to collect relevant articles within in the topic of my research question. Reading the articles in the document result provided me with an overview of the different arguments in the discussion of *social mix*. An inclusion criterion for this review protocol is that arguments and findings of the articles must be supported by case or field studies and not solely theoretically founded as I want the elaboration of *social mix* to be related to existing systems. Attempting to ensure that the arguments of the articles are comparable to a Danish context I have chosen to only include studies focusing on examples from Western European countries. This is due to the fact that structures of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and socio-economic and political structures in these countries result to a higher degree from similar historical and cultural development. Also, I have limited the search to only include articles published between 2010-2018, since I wanted the evidence-based research to be tied to more recent planning dilemmas and ideals. This limitation contains the risk of neglecting important academic research on the topic before 2010, but in order to bring down the number of results a time limit needed to be applied.

Conducting the search of Systematic Review Protocol

I used Scopus as the database for the review protocol search. The first search string I formulated was very long and specific including all the synonyms of social mix which I could think of (e.g. mixed communities), as well as counter words such as e.g. segregated communities. With almost 300 results and mainly on the topic of mixed communities in petri dishes, this result was not very useful. I decided to simplify my search string to only include the terms I had come across in the preparatory reading. After applying the mentioned limitations, the search gave a result of 155 documents. This was still too many to read for the analysis, but few enough for me to go through each title and abstract referring to my research question and choices of limitations. Selection of articles from the document result is often carried out in two stages and this approach also applies to my search: 1) A shallow read-through of the titles and abstracts bearing the inclusion criteria and the research question in mind to identify relevant papers, and 2) a screening of the full papers identified in the shallow read through. It is important that the protocol specifies the process of the selection of studies and the decisions behind this (CDR, 2009). The exclusion criteria in the second reading was similar to the first read and aimed at excluding the slip throughs that could not be identified solely from its title and abstract.

The articles had to address examples in Western European countries and the main focus described in the abstract needed to be on experiences of *social mix*, and not e.g. housing policies or gentrification. This resulted in 39 documents, which I then skimmed to qualify if they all fit within the limitations of my thesis. After this skimming, the literature result was narrowed down to 16 articles which I then needed to read more carefully and which are included in the following synopsis. For the synopsis, I have read the articles focusing on experiences and outcomes of pursuing social mix in urban development.

The ontological approach to the method

The ontological approach to this method is linked to the ontology of the thesis but is more specific on the method of Systematic Review Protocol and ensures its aim and content to be relevant for the review question asked. For this search I have followed a realist synthesis-approach. A realist approach aims at combining theoretical thinking and empirical evidence in its conclusion (Pawson et al., 2004). Ray Pawson et al. (2004) further state: “*Realist synthesis is an approach to reviewing research evidence on complex social interventions, which provides an explanatory analysis of how and why they work (or don’t work) in particular contexts or settings*” (p. iv). This supports the aim of my thesis which is to gain an overview of the structures and arguments at play in relation to *social mix* and the reason for the implementation of the concept in planning policies. According to Pawson et al. (2004), attempts to measure whether such complex systems work using a more conventional method - and less systematic - will always end up with conclusions as ‘to some extent’ and ‘sometimes’. These conclusions though, are of little use to policy makers and practitioners as they provide no clue as to why the interventions sometimes work and sometimes do not. Rather than seeking generalisable statements, the approach recognises that similar interventions can never get implemented identically and thus never have exactly the same impact when it differs due to context, setting, process, stakeholders, and outcomes (Ibid.). Instead it holds an explanatory aim focusing on “*what works for whom, in what circumstances, in what respects, and how?*” (Pawson et al., 2004: p. v).

In this thesis the Systematic Review Protocol can be argued to have a more positivistic approach in the first stage of conducting the actual search and in collecting and sorting the document results of the search as the aim of the method at this point is to find existing and valid arguments

and experiences of *social mix* (Olden, Jørgensen, 2001). A break with the positivistic approach follows in the processing of the data collected in the first stage, as the arguments of *social mix* themselves appeared nuanced and complex and the data collection required an analysis and a weighting of each argument, which was not possible through a test of results compared to a pre-defined hypothesis, but instead through a critical reflection (Olden-Jørgensen, 2001).

Considerations and concerns post-method

The method of Systematic Review Protocol is useful when interpreting results of individual studies in a context of the totality of evidence and can be beneficial in certain research within softer sciences, when aiming at understanding the inconsistencies in research results. The potential bias in sorting literature can, however, never be eliminated completely, as the researcher ahead of the search needs to make choices about e.g. focus points, inclusion/exclusion criteria to bring down the number of articles. These choices are likely to be shaped by the researcher's own interest and predefined knowledge of the topic.

The Systematic Review Protocol of this thesis

The following section presents the actual Systematic Review Protocol I have conducted for this thesis. The protocol follows a template with several headlines and thus collects the main points and choices described in the above stated. Simply put, one needs only to read the following section to know the purpose and execution of the Systematic Review Protocol in this thesis. As a continuation of this chapter, most of the elements in the section below might seem like repetitions since the main purpose of the below review protocol is to summarize how the method is applied to a specific study and provide this information in a concise format. The major part of this information stems from the sections above.

Aim of review

The aim of this review is to provide insight into the academic discussion and experiences with the concept of social mix and provide me with a solid knowledge on the broad topic of social mix as a planning ideal, when aiming at investigating the reasoning for implementing this ideal

in policy making in Denmark. This review will elaborate on different views and practical experiences of pursuing the ideals of the concept by implementing it in practice. All in all, the review will provide foundation for navigating between the different arguments for and against social mix and present the general academic knowledge on this topic.

Conducting the review, the following research question is to be examined:

How is the concept of *social mix* founded in academic research and to what extent does the concept represent an ideal for a just society?

This search has included scientific articles published in the period 2010-2018 within the subject area of Social Sciences in the search database Scopus dealing with the topic of *social mix* and *mixed communities*. Furthermore, the articles must concern Western European countries as well as refer to local examples of experiences in relation to planning for a type of social mix.

Search terms

The selection of search words is based on a preparatory reading of both academic articles and newspaper articles and their phrasing when referring to the concept of *social mix*. The terms *social mix* and *mixed communities* are used interchangeably and are dominating when referring to the concept, and since I am interested in all the different ways in which this concept is applied, I have implemented both as search words.

This results in the following search words:

- Mixed communities
- Social mix

The complete search string is as follows:

("mixed communities") OR ("social mix")

Exclusions and reasons for choice of search words

I have chosen only to search for English words and have delimited search words defining the specific parameter of mix, e.g. ethnicity, as I am more interested in the concept as an ideal for planning over the local context of which parameters the concept is applied in practice. The

search is limited to articles within the field of social science, published 2010-2018, and written in English.

Inclusion and exclusion criteria of papers searched

Step 1: Search the words listed above.

Step 2: Evaluate if papers are concerned with evidence-based research in Western European countries, and further if they focus on social mix as a planning strategy.

Step 3: Evaluate the quality of the papers including the soundness of their conclusions and reliability of their context.

Process of conducting the review

Approach: Realist synthesis

The aim of the review is to sort the different academic arguments based on evidence on the concept of social mix. The review should give a clear answer to whether there are any dominating stances within academia when investigating the usage of the concept of social mix as a planning strategy.

Table 1 lists the different steps and considerations one must go through in order to conduct a realist review. The content of the columns ‘Stage’ and ‘Action’ is from the original template by Pawson et al. (2004) while the column ‘Activity’ is adapted to this thesis. Following this process for the search, reading, and analysis, one will be able to produce a synthesis of arguments and conclusions directed towards practitioners and decision makers (Ibid.).

The result of this review will bring knowledge about the arguments for and against the strategy of mixing communities as well as the meaning of the concept. This outcome is important in my further investigation, as the aim of my thesis is to examine to what extent the concept of mixed communities is beneficial as an ideal for developing a just society.

The 16 articles of the document result are presented in Table 2 beneath and the abstracts of the articles are to be found in Appendix 1.

Stage	Action	Activity
Define the scope of the review	Identify the question	How is the concept of <i>social mix</i> founded in academic research and to what extent does the concept represent an ideal for a just society?
	Clarify the purpose(s) of the review	Theory integrity – is there a dominating argument within the topic of social mix? Theory adjudication – which academic research around examples of social mix is qualified? Comparison – how is social mix implemented in different societies? Reality testing – how does the concept <i>social mix</i> translate ideals into practice?
	Find and articulate the programme theories	Search for relevant evidence-based arguments in the literature. Draw up list of evidence-based arguments. Group, categorise or synthesise evidence-based arguments.
Search for and appraise the evidence	Search for the evidence	Investigate search sources, terms and methods to be used (including cited reference searching).
	Test of relevance	Test relevance – does the research address the concept of <i>social mix</i> ? Test rigour – does the research agree on similar conclusions drawn from the research?
Extract and synthesise findings	Extract the results	Extract arguments and conclusions to populate the evaluative framework with evidence.
	Synthesise findings	Compare and contrast findings from different studies. Use findings from studies to address purposes(s) of review. Seek both confirmatory and contradictory findings. Refine programme theories in the light of evidence including findings from analysis of study data.
Develop narrative		Consider how practitioners/decision makers should benefit from the review of findings. Disseminate review with findings, conclusions and recommendations.

Table 1: Adapted process of realist synthesis-approach to a Systematic Review Protocol (Pawson et al., 2004)

Bacqué M. et al. (2011). Social Mix Policies in Paris: Discourses, Policies and Social Effects. <i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</i> , Vol. 35(2), 256-273.	Livingston M. et al. (2010). Neighbourhood attachment in deprived areas: evidence from the north of England. <i>J Hous and the Built Environ.</i> Vol. 25, 409-427.
Bricocoli, M. & Cucca, R. (2016). Social mix and housing policy: Local effects of a misleading rhetoric. The case of Milan. <i>Urban Studies</i> , Vol. 53(1), 77-91.	Livingston M. et al. (2013). Delivering Mixed Communities: The Relationship between Housing Tenure Mix and Social Mix in England's Neighbourhoods. <i>Housing Studies</i> . Vol. 28(7), 1056-1080.
Crook, T. et al. (2016). New housing association development and its potential to reduce concentrations of deprivation: An English case study. <i>Urban Studies</i> . Vol. 53(16), 3388-3404.	Manzi, T. (2010). Promoting Responsibility, Shaping Behaviour: Housing Management, Mixed Communities and the Construction of Citizenship. <i>Housing Studies</i> . Vol. 25(1), 5-19.
Davidson, M. (2010). Love thy neighbour? Social mixing in London's gentrification frontiers. <i>Environment and Planning A</i> . Vol. 42, 524-544.	Markovisch, J. (2015). 'They Seem to Divide Us': Social Mix and Inclusion in Two Traditional Urbanist Communities. <i>Housing Studies</i> . Vol. 30(1), 139-168.
Górczyńska, M. (2017). Social and housing tenure mix in Paris intramuros, 1990–2010. <i>Housing Studies</i> . Vol. 32(4), 385-410.	Provan, B. (2017). Mixing Communities? Riots, Regeneration and Renewal on Problem Estates in France and England. <i>The Political Quarterly</i> . Vol. 88(3), 452-464.
Jackson, E. & Butler, T. (2015). Revisiting 'social tectonics': The middle classes and social mix in gentrifying neighbourhoods. <i>Urban Studies</i> . Vol.52 (13), 2349-2369.	Tieskens, K. & Musterd, S. (2013). Displacement and urban restructuring in Amsterdam; following relocatees after demolition of social housing. <i>Urban Research & Practice</i> . Vol. 6(2), 194-210.
Korsu, E. (2016). Building social mix by building social housing? An evaluation in the Paris, Lyon and Marseille Metropolitan Areas. <i>Housing Studies</i> . Vol. 31(5), 598-623.	Van Gent, W.P.C. et al. (2016). Surveying the Fault Lines in Social Tectonics; Neighbourhood Boundaries in a Socially-mixed Renewal Area. <i>Housing, Theory and Society</i> . Vol. 33(3), 247-267.
Koutrolikou, P. (2012). Spatialities of Ethnocultural Relations in Multicultural East London: Discourses of Interaction and Social Mix. <i>Urban Studies</i> . Vol. 49(10), 2049-2066.	Weck, S. & Hanhörster, H. (2015). Seeking Urbanity or Seeking Diversity? Middle-class family households in a mixed neighbourhood in Germany. <i>J Hous and the Built Environ.</i> Vol. 30, 471-486.

Table 2: List of articles in document result of the Systematic Review Protocol

Research Interview

Kvale & Brinkmann emphasise that interviewing is a difficult task to do well which requires both planning and rehearsing despite it looking simple and straightforward at first glance. For my thesis I have conducted three interviews with representatives for organisations working with non-profit housing and developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods in a Danish context. The three interviewees are Bent Madsen, CEO of the non-profit housing sector's interest organisation BL, Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant at Landsbyggefonden (The National Building Trust) consulting and approving social holistic plans, and Louise Aner, consultant in her own company Naboskaber and former employee at CFBU (Center for Boligsocial Udvikling) and thus experienced within housing-social activities and measurements. The interviews constitute the basis for the second analysis chapter focusing on professionals' views and experiences of *social mix* in a Danish context. Having the insight of only three interviewees to this complex topic means that there can be other experiences and views on *social mix* and developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Denmark which are not reflected upon in this thesis. That said, the interviewees of this thesis are highly representative for the non-profit housing sector as well as for development in disadvantaged neighbourhoods meaning their experiences have potential to represent a more general perspective when discussing the prospects of *social mix* and of disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

The interviews in this thesis mainly have a character of being research interviews where the knowledge outcome is the overall goal (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). The research interview is based on everyday life conversations but has a character of being a professional conversation. Kvale and Brinkmann (2015) describe it as an *inter-view* where knowledge is constructed in the *inter-action* between the interviewer and the interviewee and where the interview is an exchange of views on a common interest. The focus of the interviews in this thesis has been on the knowledge constructed throughout the conversation. I as the researcher also needed to focus on the interviewee as a person to be able to adapt questions, approach, and attitude in order to manage the interview and steer the conversation within the overall topic of my thesis and research aim (Ibid.).

Kvale & Brinkmann (2015) present two ideals of interview knowledge: Knowledge as given or knowledge as constructed. The interviews in this thesis have “given” knowledge to the thesis and

the knowledge is not constructed through a shared experience between the researcher and the interviewee. The interviewees are relevant because of their professional occupation and experience within the field of *social mix* and disadvantaged neighbourhoods in a Danish context.

Kvale & Brinkmann summarize seven phases of the interview research which should be taken into account in the planning of the interview: 1. *Thematization*: Describe the purpose of the research, 2. *Design*: Decide on all seven of these phases in relation to the specific research before the interviews, 3. *Interview*: Sketch out an interview guide, 4. *Transcription*: Prepare the interview material for the analysis, 5. *Analysis*: Decide what methods of analysis fit the interviews, 6. *Verification*: Consider the validity, the reliability, and the potential to generalise these results, and 7. *Reporting*: Communicate the results of the research and the applied methods (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). When conducting and interpreting interview research ethical challenges can occur, especially when interviewees' personal relations or stories are being investigated and published but also when interviewing representatives in their professional setting. The researcher must consider if the interview might have personal or professional consequences for the interviewee both during and after the interview, such as personal or public humiliation. The confidentiality between the interviewee and the researcher must not be broken in the interpretation of the interview results and further the interpretation and repetition of the interview must be loyal to the interviewee's viewpoints (Ibid.). The research interview has quite an open structure and in general has no standard procedure for execution (Ibid.). The seven phases mentioned above support the inexperienced researcher in potential challenges regarding the interview and to keep a focus on the original purpose of the interview (Ibid.).

A crucial element of interviews is questions. Interviews entail both prepared questions and follow-up questions formulated during the interview - the latter requiring the researcher to listen to the answers given and not only focus on one's own agenda (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). For the interviews in this thesis I have written two interview guides; one for the interview with Bent Madsen, BL, and a shared for the two other interviews. I have done so in order to be able to specify the questions to the interviewee's position, experience, time, etc. The interview guides can be found in Appendix 2, Appendix 3, and Appendix 4. The interviews can be described as semi-structured when there are certain themes and questions I pursue the answer to (*direct questions*) but the design also gives room to follow the conversation and specifying interests that oc-

cur during the interview and for the interviewees to present their understandings (*introducing questions*) (Ibid.).

I have chosen to record the interviews conducted in relation to this thesis as well as to take notes during the interview. The recording gives the researcher space to concentrate on the aim of the interview and the dynamics of the conversation and thus adapt questions and questioning technique (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). There are many ways of transcribing interviews depending on its purpose and most crucial for transcribing is consistency in all interviews (Ibid.). For this thesis all the interviews have been transcribed in Danish excluding elements such as pauses and fill-in words and only the parts relevant for answering the research and working questions are being translated into English. This limits the reader's experience of the atmosphere of the interview and the reader's ability to interpret the meaning him- or herself, but instead supports the purpose of the interview to function as pure knowledge production. The language barrier stemming from the interviews being carried out in Danish while the thesis and the analysis are written in English does constitute a challenge which requires the researcher to be careful to not twist the interviewers wording or opinion by being aware that some phrasing might be difficult to translate fully to a different language. The transcriptions of the interviews are presented after the interview guides in Appendix 1, Appendix 2, and Appendix 3.

Theoretical Chapter

The following chapter will present the main theories which bring perspective to the analyses and conclusions of this thesis. The theory of territorial stigmatization is chosen as Loïc Wacquant is a key contributor within the academic research of the social effects of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. His reflections of the stigma related to living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood and of the surrounding society's perception of these neighbourhoods are highly relevant to understanding the aims of applying social mix policies to these neighbourhoods. Paul Cheshire investigates the causation of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the effects of social mix policies for such neighbourhoods. His contribution is highly critical to social mix policies and in this thesis his arguments bring perspective to the main findings in the synopsis of the Systematic Review Protocol as well as the conducted interviews. The reason Wacquant and Cheshire are not included in the literature result of the Systematic Review Protocol is that they are both key research contributors within the topic of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and thus constitute a broader theoretical frame for interpreting main arguments and experiences of social mix policies.

Territorial Stigmatization

Loïc Wacquant has contributed greatly to theory concerning deprived neighbourhoods and the stigmatization linked to these. His acknowledgement of how neighbourhood and everyday life connect to stigmatization is known as the concept *territorial stigmatization*. His work is based on analyses of the US ghetto and the French *banlieue* (outer city) but his argument of stigmatization is present in all metropolises in Western countries (Wacquant, 2007):

“In every country a small set of urban boroughs have come to be universally renowned and reviled across class and space [...]. Their names circulate in the discourses of journalism, politics, and scholarship, as well as in ordinary conversation as synonyms for social hell.” (Wacquant, 2014: p. 1273)

His concept of *territorial stigmatization* adds to Erving Goffman's three types of stigma: Abominations of the body, blemishes of individual character, and race, nation, and religion. *Territorial stigmatization* ties to Goffman's third stigma *“as it can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family”* (Wacquant, 2007). Wacquant states that disadvantaged neighbourhoods are impacted by discourses and that these discourses are linked to a geo-

graphical area and what it represents. The discourses both stem from below through ordinary interactions of daily life, and from above in the journalistic, political, bureaucratic (even scientific) fields. Wacquant argues, however, that this type of stigma can be attenuated and even annulled through geographic mobility (Ibid.).

These discourses reinforce the prejudicial belief that these neighbourhoods are dilapidated, dangerous, and filled with poor people which leads to socially harmful consequences (Ibid.). As Wacquant argues: “A Blemish of Place *is superimposed on the already existing stigmata traditionally associated with poverty and ethnic origin or postcolonial immigrant status, to which it is so closely linked but not reducible*” (Wacquant, 2007: p. 67). The discourses affect both the people living outside these neighbourhoods as well as the residents living within the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and how they perceive the stigmatised neighbourhood. Living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood creates a muted sentiment of guilt and shame which affects human relations exemplified by people hiding their address, avoiding inviting visitors home, making excuses for why they live where they do, etc. (Wacquant, 2007). In order to distinguish oneself from this stigma, one must attenuate one's own linkages by thrusting the stigma onto a faceless and demonized *Other*; the downstairs neighbour, the immigrant families, the block over there, the youths doing drugs or hanging on the streets, etc. (Ibid.). By applying this stigma to others - similar to themselves - the residents of these neighbourhoods validate the stigma further and help spread its effects. Through his field work in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Chicago and Paris, Wacquant shows that the residents of these neighbourhoods echo the stigma of their neighbourhood which they hear public officials, the commercial media, and other urban inhabitants use and thus they disparage their own neighbourhood and confirm it as being a nest of violence, poverty, and crime. (Wacquant, 2014). Wacquant emphasises that this logic of *lateral denigration and mutual distancing* can further unravel the already weakened disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Wacquant, 2007) and is difficult to check, when:

“(...) *the stigmatized neighbourhood symbolically degrades those who live in it and they degrade it symbolically in return, since, being deprived of all the assets necessary to participate in the various social games, their common lot consists only of their common excommunication. Assembling in one place a population homogeneous in its dispossession also has the effect of accentuating dispossession.*” (Bourdieu, 1999 in Wacquant, 2007: p. 69)

The territorial stigma is closely tied to conditions of poverty, second-rate ethnicity, dilapidated housing, immorality, and crime which are such strong narratives that these neighbourhoods are seen as posing a threat to the very fabric of the nation (Wacquant, 2014). Territorial stigmatization is also visible at the level of public policies. Once a place is publicly labelled as a type of “lawless zone” it is easy for the authorities to justify special measure, deviating from both law and custom, which can destabilize and further marginalize the local residents (Wacquant, 2007).

Wacquant argues that one of the severe consequences of this stigma is the dissolution of *place*, when local, marginalised residents lose humanized, culturally familiar, and socially filtered locations which they use to identify with and feel “at home” and secure in (Wacquant, 2007). This happens because the neighbourhoods have been reduced from communal *places* to indifferent *spaces*⁵ dominated by survival and relentless contest which also fosters a change in making politics of *space* instead of *place* in these neighbourhoods (Ibid.). This change strengthens the tendency of individuals’ retreat into their private sphere and the feeling of vulnerability due to the pursuit of security and the general weakening of the existing local social collectives (Ibid.). The classic industrial marginalised neighbourhoods were perceived rather as powerful and hierarchical counter-societies or counterfeits of the society surrounding it. Wacquant argues that contemporary labels such as ‘ghetto’ dramatize the neighbourhood’s disintegration and enforces the perception of these neighbourhoods as being “*vectors of social disintegration, fundamentally dissolute and irretrievably disorganised*” (Wacquant, 2014: p. 1274). The neighbourhoods’ cultural differences are often exaggerated and claimed to be hostile to dominant national norms (with religion often as the catalysator of this rebellion) and the marginalised residents’ position is continually being ignored (Wacquant, 2014). Today, the space of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods has become a battlefield for a contest between independent and organized street predators (gangs/hustlers), local residents and their grass root organizations, state agencies of surveillance and social control (police, social workers, etc.), and outside institutional predators (private investors/realtors) (Wacquant, 2007).

⁵ Wacquant refers to Dennis Smith’s definition of space and place. *Place* being “full”, “fixed” and “stable” areas and *space* being “potential voids”, “possible threats” and areas that need to be feared, secured, or fled (Wacquant, 2007; 69).

Even when persons of power (e.g. the ones in policy-making) visit these stigmatized neighbourhoods it is often in a martial mode announcing policies, attempts, measures, etc. to restore order, punish miscreants, and clean up the neighbourhood (Wacquant, 2014).

Following Wacquant, it is crucial - if dealing with issues linked to stigmatized neighbourhoods - to understand that: "*Territorial stigma is not a static condition, a neutral process, or an innocuous cultural game, but a consequential and injurious form of action through collective representation fastened on place.*" (Wacquant, 2014: p. 1278)

Addressing Symptoms Instead of Structures

The main contributions of Paul Cheshire are within the field of economic geography and his economic focus is also present in the following theoretical representation when he – in his criticism of policy making in relation to social mix – points to the underlying structures of economy in form of income distribution as the root to present issues of disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Cheshire (2007) states that all cities throughout all times and places have been segregated to some extent. Segregation is thus not a modern phenomenon, and neither is the attempt to counteract this development (Cheshire, 2007). In the same way as wealthier households buy more expensive clothes, holidays, health care, etc., they are also able to buy "better" neighbourhoods. With this causation of income level as a defining advantage for life as his recurring argument, Cheshire concludes that "*(...) the equity problem is not with the places in which people live but with the distribution of incomes*" (Cheshire, 2007: p. 1).

Segregation does not only occur based on income but also of ethnicity, age, demographic status, education, and several other factors (Cheshire, 2007). One of the reasons why segregation issues are primarily related to cities is that it demands a certain geographical size to have enough households in particular income groups to fulfil the spatial definition of *a neighbourhood* and thus the larger a city is, the greater the degree of measured segregation appears (Ibid.). People choose their neighbourhood from a variety of constraints such as income level but also due to where they want to live and see themselves fitting in (Ibid.). A large number of more homogeneous and specialized neighbourhoods in a city provides a wider choice of which urban community and social setting one wishes to live in (Ibid.). This causation theory of Cheshire (that segregation occurs not only because of economic constraints but due to various factors) could be tested

in an experiment where all households in e.g. a municipality or a region would cost the same and at a price level affordable to everyone. Would segregation still happen then? According to Cheshire, it would because people tend to want to live near people they identify themselves with. Segregation would then just be based on social, cultural, political, etc. indicators rather than income level (Ibid.).

Issues related to disadvantaged neighbourhoods are often measured by looking at the level of income, health conditions, educational level, or unemployment rate of the residents (Cheshire, 2007). There might be more difficult-to-measure factors which to the same or a higher degree also influence people's life chances; Cheshire suggests for example general predisposition to suffer from dyslexia, motivation, aspirations, and luck. These factors are not standardized for when comparing a disadvantaged neighbourhood to more affluent ones, since these are not observed (Ibid.). Furthermore, Cheshire argues that another typical false assumption in these policies of *social mix* – and in general issue-solving in disadvantaged neighbourhoods – is that the residents of the neighbourhoods are a stable set of families. Cheshire instead compares these neighbourhoods to busses with a constantly changing set of people in them: People and families are always moving in and others are moving out (Ibid.). In many cases the disadvantaged neighbourhoods function as an “elevator” into society, by having several interventions designed to support the most socially and economically challenged residents and through these improving for example the residents’ labour market position which enables them to move out of the disadvantaged neighbourhood into a more attractive location. These residents will then be replaced by other disadvantaged residents who might benefit from the same interventions. This suggests that the mere success of a policy or programme also might lead to a statistical deterioration or at least stagnation when measuring the issues of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Ibid.). By replacing the aim of improving life conditions for individuals with the aim of improving the statistics of a neighbourhood, policies and politicians tend to attack symptoms instead of the structures causing disadvantaged neighbourhoods and citizens in the first place (Ibid.).

Through Cheshire’s own studies he presents evidence which suggests that there are numerous benefits of living in specialised (or homogenous) neighbourhoods. The homogenous neighbourhoods are “(...) *significant in terms of both finding suitable jobs and increasing the range of*

choices available to people and the welfare they derive from living in cities” (Cheshire, 2007: p. 34). Living in a homogenous neighbourhood with similar households to one’s own may provide networks, experiences, and identifications which can be positive for disadvantaged residents in improving the life chances and connections to established society and labour market (Cheshire, 2007). Benefits might also come of mixing communities but there are almost certainly costs as well, as mixing neighbourhoods might reduce welfare for the low-income class due to the level of welfare decreasing as a person’s income falls relative to their neighbours’ (Luttmer, 2005 in Cheshire, 2007: p. 35). According to Cheshire there is limited evidence that poor people benefit from being forced to live in a more affluent neighbourhood as they lose the support of families similar to themselves and local services tailored to their needs. The fact that they get increased access to better local amenities than otherwise does not match the losses experienced (Cheshire, 2007). Cheshire emphasises the need to consider the net gains when implementing a policy enforcing social mix (Ibid.).

In his research Cheshire concludes that social mix policies draw attention from the need for income redistribution and from focusing on solving issues of poverty instead of disadvantage. Policies focusing on helping people effectively, so they have an increased probability of moving to a different neighbourhood are a better investment for society than trying to demolish disadvantaged neighbourhoods through e.g. social mix policies (Cheshire, 2007). If policies do not effectively address underlying causes of poverty, improving the built environment and amenities of disadvantaged neighbourhoods may just result in displacing poorer people and restraining them further from the help they need in the shape of e.g. people-targeted policies and interventions to improve labour force skills (Ibid.).

Several other theories and researchers are relevant for bringing perspective to the topic of developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods and reflecting upon the concept of *social mix* both within the scope of this thesis or through a different focus point of research. For example, Robert Putnam’s theory of *Bonding and Bridging Social Capital* dividing social networks between people into either being based on similar interests, occupations, talents, etc. (*bonding*) or on very different characteristics (*bridging*) – where *bonding* strengthens access to resources within identifiable networks and *bridging* connects people across wider society – would be an interesting addition to

the understanding of the social relations and groupings that affect the social capital of vulnerable residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Chawa, 2017). Also, David Harvey's thoughts on e.g. what relations and institutions determine interest fields within research and how the social scientist is a part of the studied social phenomena could contribute to an understanding of why *social mix* is so highly promoted in urban development policies (Harvey, 1972). For this thesis, I have made the choice to focus on the structures affecting disadvantaged neighbourhoods and their residents and the academic arguments for and against the consequences these structures lead to, which is why I have limited the choice of theories to Wacquant's *territorial stigmatization* and Cheshire's critique that such policies often attack symptoms rather than structures even though several others would also be highly relevant to understanding the complexity of the topic.

Analytical Chapter

The analysis of this thesis is divided into two chapters which each focus on answering a working question. These two analytical chapters are followed by a discussion of the theme of ethnicity, which is evident in the articles of the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol but not a part of the analysis. The final conclusion answers the aim of this thesis as formulated in the introduction: To bring to light the effects of *social mix* as a tool to develop disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the consequences this policy strategy might encourage, and reflect upon possible alternatives to this development policy.

The Academic Arguments of Social Mix

The first part of the following analysis will present the main arguments and discussions of *social mix* in the articles of the review protocol in a synopsis, which includes both the critique, the advocating arguments, and a conclusion of how the concept of *social mix* is founded in academic research. In the second part of the chapter Wacquant's theory on *territorial stigmatisation* and Cheshire's critique of social mix policies mainly addressing the symptoms of inequity rather than the structures causing it, will provide a larger perspective to the findings presented in the synopsis. The chapter aims at answering the first working question of how the concept of *social mix* is founded in academic research and highlight the main arguments of the academic discussion on the topic.

Synopsis of Document Results from Protocol Review

The result of the review protocol represents the most relevant academic arguments, experiences, and discussions within the issue of *social mix* as a planning tool and an ideal in a Western European context. The articles refer to examples from various countries in Europe, e.g. Sweden, France, Italy, England, and Spain and also show how different the political systems and the framework for planning are. Still, the experiences of social mix are comparable and beneficial since the reasoning behind the planning concept and its effects are similar. The following synopsis focuses on highlighting the main academic arguments and reflections upon *social mix* presented in the articles from the Systematic Review Protocol document result.

Definitions and understandings of social mix

Besides the challenge presented by the articles having different ontological positions, there is a challenge in the articles being considered to contribute to the same discussion and research field given that their definitions of *social mix* vary a lot. Only a few articles define their particular understanding of social mix and this can be problematic when the measurement of the policies' success varies depending on the definition of *social mix*. For example, is *social mix* both defined as the mere coexistence of people from different social groups and as social interactions between different social groups – two definitions of interaction which have two very different formats. I have taken it at face value since all the articles refer to the same terms and ideals and claim to provide research within the same topic of *social mix*, although it can be argued to muddle the picture a little when aiming at revealing the true nature of social mix policies.

Several of the articles resume the general theoretical discussion upon the topic of *social mix*, which refers both to former and more present theoretical perceptions. One must conclude that the concept of *social mix* does not have a singular definition and interpretation and that social mix policy has changed over time dating back to the nineteenth century. As shown in the following paragraph, the understanding of *social mix* is quite vague and is often a result of the particular researcher's (or politician's) interpretation. The concept has been formulated as an ideal for the “good” society and as a tool to address a wide range of urban social issues. It has thus become a metaphor for “solving urban problems” (Tieskens & Musterd, 2013). Górczynska (2017) refers to Genestier when stating that the concept is both interpreted as a statistical result, the expression of an ideal, a regulatory principle, a utopian utterance, a myth, or as pure rhetoric. Korsu sums up a general perception of the prospects entailed in the concept when arguing that it is defined as:

“(...) a situation where people of different backgrounds and life histories, with different social, economic, cultural and demographic identities, live in close contact with each other and share the same urban spaces, ideally in the hope that this spatial proximity will lead to intense and peaceful inter-group relations.” (Korsu, 2016: p. 605)

Furthermore, Korsu states that *social mix* is primarily a political concept because the socially mixed city is associated with and argued through values such as inclusion, justice, fraternity, solidarity, and tolerance. Often, the academic and especially the political debate about *social mix*

focuses on ethnicity and income, but mix may also refer to differences in lifestyle and values (Livingston et al., 2010).

Social mix is often formulated as a counter-model to the segregated city and idealised as a city without ghettos. Korsu argues that the issues of segregated neighbourhoods are scientifically more complex to solve as spatial proximity does not necessarily lead to a united, fair, friendly, or tolerant urban community (Korsu, 2016). Effects of *social mix* are difficult to measure because it involves factors such as cross-group social interaction, mutual trust, tolerance, and social cohesion, and often the evidence of *social mix* has been reduced to a quantification of proximity between population groups (Ibid.). This quantification is exemplified through statistics showing percentages of different groups of residents in a neighbourhood. The percentage of residents belonging to specific social groups often defines if a neighbourhood is disadvantaged or not.

Positive effects of social mix

The supporting arguments emphasise that mixed communities create better opportunities in terms of quality of housing and social mobility for less affluent residents and for immigrants which are often heavily present in these neighbourhoods (Tieskens & Musterd, 2013). Crook et al. (2016) argues that deprivation in social housing can only be reversed in two ways: Either by allocating to less disadvantaged neighbourhoods or through creating mixed tenure types which meet a wider range of needs and favours the practice of creating social mix (attracting better-off households). Unfortunately, an elaboration of this statement is lacking in their article which could have brought light upon why they only see these two options. Górczyńska (2017) emphasises that positive outcomes of social mixing depend on where it is implemented. Only if low-income households are mixed with middle-income households will their income increase, while this is not true for low-income households in an upper-income neighbourhood. Social mix policies are thus only beneficial in low and middle-income areas. In general, throughout the articles it is argued that mixed neighbourhoods improve contact and interactions among residents and also facilitate integration as they focus on everyday practices and spaces, and establish role models (Koutrolidou, 2012; Crook et al., 2016). Mixing tenure types of a neighbourhood is also being used as a tool in tackling deprivation and improving the social structures of a neighbourhood and thus improve mobility for some of the most disadvantaged residents. Due to the tenure mix

these neighbourhoods might attract more resourceful residents who are interested in for example private ownership housing (Crook et al., 2016). The positive sides of social mix are often being measured in relation to the ability of creating profit; often private investors do not find properties in disadvantaged neighbourhoods attractive unless they also come with a plan of limiting the number of social tenancies. Furthermore, the replacement of disadvantaged residents with more economically resourceful residents is often justified due to the new residents bringing wealth into the community which the neighbourhood otherwise is clearly lacking to create positive development. This argumentation links to a perception of financial contribution being more valuable than other types of contributions as it benefits the local business and investor community (Manzi, 2010).

Negative effects of social mix

The arguments criticizing *social mix* are not only heavier in number but also more complex than the supporting arguments. Where the supporting argument can be summed up to mainly focus on interests of the private investors, types of ownership when developing a disadvantaged neighbourhood, and a hope for positive interaction between different populations groups, the discussion of who *social mix* is neglecting draws on more complex structures. Therefore, the following section is separated into two sub-sections based on the most common themes of critique present in the document result: Gentrification and Interaction.

Gentrification

The issue of gentrification plays a leading role in the critique of social mix policies as such urban restructuring can become a type of state-led gentrification and as these state-led policies often enforce structures which displace lower-income households from locations becoming more attractive (Tieskens & Musterd, 2013). An important implication of *social mix* is that such policy-making attracts middle-class households to disadvantaged neighbourhoods by providing more upscale housing. This leads to a displacement of the original residents as their dwellings are being demolished or becoming more expensive due to upgrading (Bricocoli & Cucca, 2016; Tieskens & Musterd, 2013). The original residents can only afford to move to similarly or more disadvantaged neighbourhoods and hence they do not benefit from the improvement of the

neighbourhood (Koutrolikou, 2012; Provan, 2017). Tieskens & Musterd (2013) refer to Lees arguing that moving middle-income households into low-income neighbourhoods mainly creates negative effects; displacement of low-income groups being the most significant one. Korsu (2016) adds that mixing communities also raises a dilemma as it conflicts with the purpose of most social housing systems to promote affordable housing for the households and inhabitants most in need. Bacqué et al. (2011) conclude through their field study that it appears as if these policies do not benefit the most vulnerable population groups, even though it is those who suffer as they are displaced from their neighbourhood and since they already have limited voice in the public debate. Even though the policies are often promoted as if they reject social and spatial segregation to protect the well-being of the poorer population groups, in the end it is the middle classes who are benefitting from the policies. The most vulnerable citizens are once again the losers in the urban development undertaken (Ibid.). Many cities hold a resistance to build more social housing in the middle and upper-class neighbourhoods as many residents of these neighbourhoods are satisfied with the social homogeneity and hostile to social housing. They perceive social housing as a disruption of this harmony as it will introduce “*unsuitable*” neighbours (Korsu, 2016: p. 601). This is not necessarily a prejudice without justification as social housing previously has led to neighbourhoods of poverty and social issues due to its aim of providing affordable housing to all. It is important to note that this does not state that social housing always results in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Korsu, 2016). The scepticism towards social housing is further exemplified by social mix policies rarely being planned for more affluent neighbourhoods (Koutrolikou, 2012).

Interaction as a misunderstood measurement of success

Repeatedly, the critics of *social mix* mention the lacking evidence of positive effects. Or more precisely put; point to the evidence contradicting the stated positive effects. The critics directly attack the positive argument’s main defence that *social mix* leads to a higher degree of interaction between population groups and thus to a more stable neighbourhood (Koutrolikou, 2012). For instance, Koutrolikou (2012) refers to Butler and Robson arguing that mixing across social groups is more evident in homogenous rather than heterogenous neighbourhoods and that spatial proximity does not necessarily result in social mixing. Davidson (2010) concludes from his quantitative measures of a field study in London that there is little interaction between different

groups both within a neighbourhood and with surrounding neighbourhoods. The interaction which does take place does not have a character of being “supportive” which is often argued to be the benefit of social mix: That disadvantaged residents get the resourceful residents as role models (Crook et al., 2016; Koutrolidou, 2012). Several of the articles argue that there is no clear evidence that increased interaction lead to greater social cohesion (and thus change for the disadvantaged residents) because the interaction between residents remain superficial. Several of the articles agree that one of the major and overlooked issues of *social mix* is that it often causes conflicts between different population groups rather than positive and understanding interactions (Bricocoli & Cucca, 2016; Davidson, 2010; Koutrolidou, 2012; Livingston et al, 2013; Markovisch, 2015). Van Gen et al. (2016) argues that these barriers between different population groups in a neighbourhood are being reinforced since different population groups identify differently with the neighbourhood. The individuals with higher income and educational level tend to define their territory much broader and thus have many activities outside the neighbourhood (Ibid.). Some theory (e.g. Putnam and Cheshire) argues that *social mix* may even reduce social cohesion in a neighbourhood, since a high level of heterogeneity in a neighbourhood can lead to *community social disorganisation* as it is difficult for the different groups to find commonalities. *Social mix* thus becomes a barrier to interaction and socially mixed neighbourhoods are unlikely to improve the life chances of its disadvantaged residents (Livingston et al. 2013). One of the challenges in creating transformation of the socio-economic structures in a neighbourhood through different types of mixing is that the neighbourhood - and social housing in general - continues to have a stigma which impacts the interaction between different groups of residents as well as the neighbourhoods’ attractiveness to private homeowners (Markovisch, 2015).

Collection of synopsis results

As explored in the above it becomes evident that the articles represent various approaches to social mix; some positive towards this ideal, others opposing, and most critical towards different aspects of the concepts and policies. The main conclusion of this synopsis is that the aim of creating mixed communities and the ideal pinned to *social mix* are in several ways problematic and do not necessarily support creating a more just, tolerant, or balanced city. Examples of structures of gentrification which this planning strategy enforces become more evident throughout the articles than examples of development improving social justice, and gentrification thus seems to be

the most severe negative consequence of social mix policies. Whether gentrification is perceived as a negative and unavoidable consequence of social mix policies depends on the specific article's definition and acknowledgement of gentrification processes. Through an analysis of articles in the review, processes of gentrification though appear to be inseparable from *social mix*. The articles in general agree that the prospect of *social mix* creating interactions between different population groups are problematic, since forcing different population groups together in the same neighbourhood causes barrier building and conflicts between population groups. Furthermore, it results in disadvantaged population groups losing access to supporting networks and targeted interventions.

Even though the majority of the articles are critical towards *social mix* there is no clear-cut evidence for or against *social mix*. Social mix policies might in certain cases generate positive socio-economic structures, but it is certain that implementation of these policies often also leads to several negative consequences which are not being outweighed by the positive outcomes. These varying arguments of *social mix* make it a difficult field to navigate in and to conclude for or against social mix.

Theoretical Perspectives on the Synopsis Results

The above synopsis defines gentrification and interaction as the two main implications in the articles of the review protocol. Furthermore, arguments advocating that social mix policies enforce social interaction and develop disadvantaged neighbourhoods to be more attractive are also presented. The next section will view these stated implications and advantages of *social mix* in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the perspective of Wacquant and Cheshire's viewpoints on stigmatization and addressing structures.

Reinforcing processes of gentrification

As mentioned in the synopsis, social mix policies resulting in processes of gentrification is the main concern when criticising its implementation in planning practices. Cheshire captures the criticism of *social mix* leading to gentrification by arguing that policies and politicians tend to attack symptoms instead of the structures creating disadvantaged neighbourhoods when replacing the aim of improving life conditions for individuals with the aim of improving the statistics

of a geographical area (Cheshire, 2007). By making the neighbourhoods more attractive to middle-class households and private investors the social mix policies are forcing the original residents to move out of the neighbourhood as the renovated dwellings often become too expensive for the original residents to afford (Bricocoli & Cucca, 2016; Tieskens & Musterd, 2013). Statistically, this leads to a decrease in socio-economic challenges in the neighbourhood but for the individual resident only the location of where he or she lives has changed and not the reason why he or she resides in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Looking at a larger geographical scale (regionally or nationally) the issues of disadvantaged people have not changed, they are just less geographically concentrated. Following Cheshire (2007), if the policies do not attack the underlying structures of poverty, the policies only contribute to a displacement of poorer people to neighbourhoods where they are limited from the interventions and supporting networks they rely on to be integrated in society. Bacqué et al. (2011) concluded similar regarding their case study as they experienced that social mix policies are not benefiting the most excluded population groups - these are only excluded even further from society. This despite the policies being promoted as if they serve the interests of the poorer population, and that the aim is to change the neighbourhoods for the better in order to improve the quality of life for the original residents. Instead, the middle classes are the winners of these policies, as they gain access to cheap or newly upgraded housing and residential neighbourhoods designed exactly to attract their kind (Ibid.).

According to Wacquant (2007), making these neighbourhoods attractive to different population groups and to private investors will result in creating a battlefield for a contest between different actors and interests which also adds to the continuing negative stigma lingering to the neighbourhood. This stigma also results in a dissolution of *place* since the locations where the residents used to feel safe and used to identify with are changing due to the entry of alien population groups, activities, businesses, and facilities (Ibid.). The original residents are simply not familiar with how to interact with these newly established amenities which are replacing the familiar facilities. The urban development in the wake of social mix policies thus creates barriers between population groups instead of functioning as common places (Livingston et al., 2013; Wacquant, 2007). In relation to the above it is relevant to mention Cheshire's argument of these disadvantaged neighbourhoods functioning as an "elevator" lifting disadvantaged people into society. The disadvantaged neighbourhoods often provide a geographical frame for many programmes and

interventions focusing on improving residents' social and economic mobility in society, e.g. regarding job market, education, parental ability, alternatives to crime, and language skills. On sight, these provide some residents with the surplus to move to more attractive locations and thus fulfil own life goals. These "elevated" residents are then replaced by other disadvantaged residents choosing the neighbourhood due to their income level, and over time they hopefully benefit from similar interventions as well (Cheshire, 2007). It is problematic if vulnerable residents are being displaced and the supportive networks (living with similar households and having access to targeted interventions) do not follow, as the individual is losing the main opportunity to increase own social and economic mobility. Instead of mixing tenure types being the driving force for social change and thus spreading disadvantaged individuals to a greater geographical area, it seems more important that individuals have supportive networks as well as access to targeted interventions to change their living standards (Bricocoli & Cucca, 2016; Davidson, 2010; Koutrolidou, 2012; Livingston et al, 2013; Markovisch, 2015).

The stigma as a hinderance to interaction

Following Wacquant's theory on *territorial stigmatization*, we understand that policies and alike are contributions to and even validations of existing stigma. When discussing *social mix*, policies addressing disadvantaged neighbourhoods also reinforce the perception of disadvantaged neighbourhoods as damaged areas that need to be fixed and thus support the stigma attached to these neighbourhoods. As Wacquant states, the discourses, which such policies are reproducing, are reinforcing the understanding of these neighbourhoods being dilapidated, dangerous, and filled with poor people - *a blemish of place* - and this might lead to socially harmful consequences when preserving the residents in certain identities (Wacquant, 2007). The policies claim to aim at transforming the socio-economic structures of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but as argued by Markovisch (2015) it is a challenge that the established stigma tend to stick to the neighbourhood for a longer period despite the attempt to change it. This negatively affects both the people residing the neighbourhood as well as the attractiveness to new potential private homeowners and business owners (Ibid.). Wacquant supports this argument and writes that discourses enforcing the stigma affect both how residents perceive themselves as well as how surrounding neighbours perceive residents of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods. It highly impacts the everyday life of the people living in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods by creating a feeling of shame and

they might experience a need to hide their address, avoid inviting visitors home, make excuses for why they live where they do, etc. when meeting the surrounding society (Wacquant, 2007). The differences between the disadvantaged residents of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the people living outside are increasing with the stigma; differences in quality of life, life chances, and power to make life choices. So, as people from the surrounding society are moving into the disadvantaged neighbourhood, these differences are not eliminated but instead become even more evident (Livingston et al., 2013; Van Gen et al., 2016). To separate your own identity from the stigma, one might invest in only few connections to the neighbourhood, both physically and mentally (Wacquant, 2007). Mentally by demonizing the downstairs neighbour, the immigrant families, or the youths hanging on the streets and thus applying the stigma and responsibility for the issues to someone who you do not identify with (Ibid.). Physically, by having the majority of one's networks and daily errands outside the neighbourhoods as of van Gent et al.'s (2016) example of individuals with higher income and educational level having many activities outside the neighbourhood and thus identify to the local neighbourhood differently than the original residents. *Social mix* potentially creates barriers to improve the life chances of residents because the disadvantaged residents to a higher degree withdraw to their private sphere (Livingston et al., 2013). Social mix policies are thus reinforcing the stigma it is claiming to fight. According to Wacquant, the residents, both original and new-comers, echo the stigma of their neighbourhood as defined by public officials, the commercial media, and other urban inhabitants (Wacquant, 2007): The new-comers by making visible that they do not solely identify with this nest of violence, poverty, and crime, and the original residents by participating in the structures reinforcing the stigma (Ibid.).

Cheshire argues that segregation of population groups happens in all cities and will happen even though we eliminate economic inequality. In such case, segregation will just be caused by social, cultural, political, etc. indicators instead (Cheshire, 2007). By this Cheshire does not mean that structures creating economic inequality should not be addressed but he emphasises that dissolving segregation and thus disadvantaged neighbourhoods might not be possible. Accepting the existence of some level of segregation and focusing on developing interventions that help disadvantaged individuals to a less disadvantaged situation suggests an alternative focus to creating social mix when developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Through this, the disadvantaged

neighbourhoods can become a strength in themselves as they provide the potential to “elevate” residents out of disadvantage (Ibid.).

Partial Conclusion

The above analysis suggests that it is crucial to separate ‘the individual’ from ‘the neighbourhood’, when discussing issues of disadvantaged neighbourhoods in order to limit the stigma that residents experience living there: We can talk about certain issues and challenges that are clearly more concentrated in certain geographical locations, but when talking about and meeting the residents, we need to be able to see the individual by his or her character instead of the issues we might already assume he or she represents. The above analysis points towards *social mix* often increasing the differences between population groups and thus creating barriers to interaction instead of fostering a mutual understanding. *Social mix* thus enforces the stigma connected to the neighbourhood and leads to an opposite result of the claimed intentions. Another main critique raised in the analysis is that *social mix* promotes the interests of the middle class and neglects the poorer population groups. This also carries an unfortunate reproduction of a structure neglecting the most disadvantaged citizens through displacements and gentrification. Furthermore, interventions and programmes directed the most vulnerable citizens seem to have a potential to change the mobility and thus life conditions of the individual, but such will not change the statistical status of the geographical area as other disadvantaged people replace the ones who have moved out of the neighbourhood due to increasing their own mobility. The analysis suggests that there might be a potential in accepting the disadvantaged neighbourhoods as disadvantaged and strengthen the neighbourhoods’ ability to function as “elevators” for disadvantaged residents rather than aiming at demolishing the disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

When designing policies to decrease the issues of disadvantaged neighbourhoods one must decide if the aim is to change the geographical concentration of poverty, crime, unemployment, etc., or to change the life conditions for the individual. Aiming at the first, social mix policies seem to be beneficial if wishing to change the geographical concentration of disadvantage and thus the statistics. Aiming at the latter, social mix policies tend to be a hinderance for creating a foundation for improving mobility and life conditions of vulnerable residents. Reviewing the synopsis, it becomes clear that there are significantly more measurable negative than positive

consequences to *social mix*. Cheshire (2007) supports this conclusion with his statement that the benefits gained through improvement of and access to local amenities in the wake of social mix policies, does not match the losses experienced.

Prospects of Social Mix in a Danish Context

This second chapter of the analysis attempts to develop the approach to *social mix* in a Danish context focusing on how it is presented in the Ghetto Initiative 2018 and elaborated on by professionals working with the development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Denmark. The professionals are Bent Madsen, the CEO of the national association of non-profit housing, BL, Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant in Landsbyggefonden, and Louise Aner, consultant in her own company Naboskaber and former employee in CFBU (Center for Boligsocial Udvikling). The chapter aims at answering the three sub-questions to the second working question; first by elaborating on the political framework determining the approach to development strategies, secondly by providing a larger perspective to the professionals' experiences of the development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and finally by reflecting upon alternative development approaches to *social mix* which addresses structures producing disadvantage.

A Politically Defined Vision

The framework in which practitioners, planners, and politicians formulate and discuss policy approaches to developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods, is primarily set by specific legislation such as the tenancy legislation for non-profit housing⁶ and zoning regulations as well as more general legislation such as constitution protected citizen rights. Secondly, agreements between various actors such as the agreement between the state and the non-profit housing sector of distribution of funds of Landsbyggefonden also need to be followed. A third factor defining the frame for developing actual policies on a topic is the present political situation. As adopting the final political visions is politically dependent, such policies often represent certain political positions. In the case of the Danish government's Ghetto Initiative 2018, the initiative is formulated by three liberal parties (Venstre, Liberal Alliance, and the Conservative People's Party) but the policy's success also depends on the support of other political parties (Information, 2018; Nielsen, 2018). The adopted political policy defines the overall aims and criteria of success for actors, such as Landsbyggefonden, working in fields affected by these initiatives. Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant in Landsbyggefonden, explains that the current overall goals (improving security and breaking negative social heritage) defining the social holistic plans for this four-year

⁶ In Danish: Almenlejeloven

period 2014-2018 are political decided and that it is the politicians' task to decide if the goals should be reformulated for the following period (Appendix 3). Flyverbom Nordgreen expresses that she is aware of potential approaches to issues related to disadvantaged neighbourhoods which are not at play at the moment as the political mandate prioritizes differently (Ibid.). Landsbyggefonden and Flyverbom Nordgreen in her job position works due to a political mandate and it would thus be difficult to approve social holistic plans which emphasised a completely different approach to the development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods - despite their professional experiences and views.

An actor as Landsbyggefonden is, however, not excluded from criticising or commenting on a current political initiative. Landsbyggefonden has given their consultations response to the Ghetto Initiative 2018 commenting on the most essential parts from their point of view and are thus trying to impact the final policy (Appendix 2; BL, 2018). Once the initiative is voted through, they need to accept the formulated content of for example limiting the percentage of non-profit housing in disadvantaged neighbourhoods to max. 40 per cent (Appendix 3; Regeringen, 2018). This can create a dilemma for employees at Landsbyggefonden as several of their experiences from the field and from the data they collect and analyse are in risk of being neglected due to contradictory political interests. Despite Bent Madsen, CEO at BL, expressing criticism of the Ghetto Initiative 2018's goal of reducing non-profit housing in disadvantaged neighbourhoods to max. 40 per cent and finding the reasoning behind the political goal false, his organisation might very well need to formulate strategies to fulfil this exact vision within few months (Appendix 2; BL, 2018). This dissonance between the politicians' visions, the professionals' experiences, and the academia's contributions might be reinforced by conclusions in academic research rarely being clear-cut and theory being ever-changing due to its interaction with social structures. This makes it difficult for politicians and practitioners to root their doings in well-founded theory (CDR, 2009). As mentioned in the theoretical chapter, David Harvey states that political interests and research phenomena are often defined by a limited group of people (often politicians and scientists themselves) and he expresses a concern that these people of power often serve own interests rather than general societal interests: "*Manipulation and control mean manipulation and control in the interest of a particular group in society rather than in the interests of society as a whole.*" (Harvey 1972: p. 2) Thus, are the phenomena which are investigated through sci-

ence not independent of the existing social relationships in society as these are products of exactly what they are designed to describe. In relation to the ontological position of this thesis, this statement confirms that the position and opinion of politicians and scientists highly affects the research conducted, which thus always will be a snapshot of the structures at play as well as formed by their preunderstanding of the phenomena (Harvey, 1972).

Another challenge working depending on a political mandate is that politicians wish to base their policies and arguments on easily communicated data which favours their position. Sometimes this focus on statistical evidence neglects relevant findings which are difficult to measure or prove within a field. Louise Aner, consultant at Naboskaber, explains that the measurable effects are used to guide what activities to implement as well as to defend the choices made. If the effect of certain initiatives can be documented, it is also easier to get political support to the intervention (Appendix 4). She emphasises that this focus on statistics and documentation can harm the extent of implementing valuable types of activities which effects are more difficult to measure – for example, local supportive and preventive work, mentorship activities, and role model effects – despite local employees clearly stating that these approaches and activities do have a positive effect for the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and their residents (Ibid.). The legitimation challenge of the softer housing-social activities constitutes a political challenge since it is not possible for the local employees to document the effects in a way which is useful to support political viewpoints (Appendix 3). This also constitutes a challenge for the individual employee working with these activities and interventions as their professional experiences and skills might contradict the political goals. This is concretely expressed by Flyverbom Nordgreen, who is aware of studies arguing that immigrants have better chances of successful integration, if living next to other well-integrated immigrants rather than ethnic Danes. Such studies make her doubt if the present political strategy which she is supporting through her work, is also the most efficient one (Ibid.). Simultaneously, she is also aware that if an alternative approach is not supported by the current political landscape, speculation in this regard is redundant since the trust must work accordingly to the political adopted policies (Ibid.).

When the Ghetto Initiative 2018 was to be launched, the government arranged a press conference in the listed ghetto Mjølnerparken in Copenhagen. The conference had a high level of security

and heavy media coverage due to the attendance of some of the most influential Danish political profiles (Brandt & Ingvorsen, 2018). Wacquant describes visits to stigmatized neighbourhoods as a way for persons of power, e.g. politicians, to promote their policies by using them as stages from where they can announce attempts to restore order and clean up the neighbourhoods (Wacquant, 2014). The press conference in Mjølnerparken launching the Ghetto Initiative 2018 is an exact example of this, as the initiative precisely focuses on putting an end to issues related to neighbourhoods such as Mjølnerparken once and for all (Regeringen, 2018). The press conference provoked a demonstration by local residents feeling attacked on their freedoms and citizen rights by the suggestions in the Ghetto Initiative 2018 (Brandt & Ingvorsen, 2018). The Ghetto Initiative 2018 is furthermore an example of what Wacquant describes as a stigmatization at a level of public policies which happens when a neighbourhood gets the label of being a “lawless zone” (here emphasised by the label ‘ghetto’). Wacquant states that this label makes it easier for authorities and persons of power to justify special measures deviating from both law and custom, which marginalizes local residents further (Wacquant, 2007). Special measures deviating from both law and custom are exemplified in the initiative by suggestions of e.g. prohibiting citizens on government aid to move to ghetto neighbourhoods and limiting residents living in these ghetto neighbourhoods from getting family reunification (Regeringen, 2018).

The vision of *social mix* in planning practices will often be a political vision, at least if the activities and initiatives need governmental funding or political approval. The Ghetto Initiative 2018 is for example based on a perception of mixed communities being something positive to strive for in order to make disadvantaged neighbourhoods attractive living spaces: “(...) *hereafter an urban development project will be initiated to restore and develop the area to an attractive neighbourhood with a mixed residential mix and which is integrated with surrounding society*” (Regeringen, 2018: p. 14). The initiative contains 22 concrete suggestions to achieve this. When actors as BL and Landsbyggefonden formulate future strategies, activities, and approaches to continue their work in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, these must comply with the adopted political vision demonstrated in an initiative such as the Ghetto Initiative 2018.

Practitioners' Experiences of Social Mix

Defining social mix

The three interviewed professionals have all been working with the development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods from a perspective of the non-profit housing sector. They are not directly nor solely working with the concept of *social mix* but are working within systems framed by a perception of *social mix* being an attractive goal. When asked to define *social mix* accordingly to their personal perception they all in first instance agree that it is a positive and important concept to strive for in society in general as well as in developing local neighbourhoods, despite them giving quite vague definitions of the concept (Appendix 2; Appendix 3; Appendix 4). As concluded in the previous chapter of analysis, the concept of *social mix* does not have a singular definition and the interpretations of the concept varies. This theoretical uncertainty of the concept also shines through in the interviews. The interviewees though come close to Tieskens and Musterd's (2013) definition of *social mix* being an ideal for the "good" society and a tool to address a range of urban social issues as well as Korsu (2016) linking *social mix* to a united, fair, friendly, and tolerant urban community.

Flyverbom Nordgreen states, that having mixed communities is a condition for having security and trust in a society and that inequality and segregation (meant as the opposite of mixed communities) in society also leads to a lower degree of experienced security (Appendix 3). Madsen explains that BL are constantly focusing on achieving a social mix in their non-profit housing neighbourhoods since they experience that monofunctional neighbourhoods are never very well-functioning. Madsen furthermore explains, that many of the issues that urban planning is dealing with in disadvantaged neighbourhoods today stems from previous planning visions of developing village-like neighbourhoods within existing society; neighbourhoods where the residents can live complete lives containing every need of a modern life: "*You'll never get hit by a car, you can do grocery shopping in the neighbourhood, and if you were to die, there is also a church for you - everything is there, right?*" (Bent Madsen, BL in Appendix 2: 00:01:44). Madsen believes that mixed communities provide a level of robustness and prevent the neighbourhoods from isolating themselves. If the neighbourhoods are isolating, the residents thus participate less in societal institutional and public offers such as the local public school and community life and segregation

is then increasing (Appendix 2). Segregation which also improves the understanding of the neighbourhoods being dilapidated, dangerous, and filled with poor people and thus reinforces a stigma onto these neighbourhoods. Aner, Naboskaber, however, also mentions an ambiguous meaning of the concept *social mix* which on one side entails values such as tolerance of differences in people and lifestyles as well as meeting fellow citizens, but on the other side also can be used to separate “good and bad” citizens as the concept can be used to set up certain criteria to fulfil as a citizen and thus push certain population groups around (Appendix 4). Presented in the previous chapter of analysis, Crook et al. (2016) and Koutrolidou (2012) argues that interaction between different population groups within a neighbourhood is limited and the “supportive” relations between population groups are seldomly emerging. Along the previous conclusion that mixing population groups might build barriers and create more evident differences between people, this lack of interaction ties into Aner’s concern that mixing population groups validates an understanding of a division of citizens contributing to and citizens consuming society.

When Madsen talks about positive effects of *social mix*, he refers to the example of the listed ghetto Gellerupparken in Aarhus where mixed tenure types and more business in the neighbourhood together with limiting the amount of non-profit housing will soon be consequences of a political development strategy based on social mix values (Appendix 2). This is an example of positive effects of *social mix* often being measured in relation to creating profit and making the neighbourhoods attractive to private investors because these bring capital into the neighbourhoods and limit the number of social tenancies. This profitable value often happens at the expense of other and softer types of values in the neighbourhood (Manzi, 2010). These investors and private businesses are what Wacquant (2007) labels *the industrial predators* who are competing of access to these spaces and are prioritised through social mix policies as they are expected to attract more economic resourceful visitors and residents. Thus, they bring economic development to the neighbourhood.

Achieving development in disadvantaged neighbourhoods

A key point that the three interviewees agree on regarding the development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, is that development plans for each neighbourhood need to be individual and tailored local circumstances. As previously mentioned an ambitious development plan has been

launched in the neighbourhood Gellerupparken in Aarhus, but the initiatives implemented here, of e.g. limiting non-profit housing to about 30 per cent, is not necessarily a durable strategy elsewhere (Appendix 2; Appendix 3). Landsbyggefonden puts a great honour into supporting locally tailored solutions rather than a “one size fits all”-solution. Besides analysing statistics and data when consulting a social holistic plan, they also value locally produced knowledge and find it important to take the views of local professionals – as the health care personnel, employees in the schools and after school activities – into account. Sometimes they meet a challenge as local professionals might unconsciously reproduce stigmas of certain population groups as their perceptions are also affected by certain myths and narratives (Appendix 3). This observation is confirmed by Wacquant’s argument that discourses - linked to geographical areas and thus representative of the character of these neighbourhoods - both stems from below through ordinary interactions of daily life as well as from above through e.g. political and bureaucratic fields (Wacquant, 2007). From above, the professionals reproduce these discourses or stigmas as employed by a power holder such as the municipality and thus represent the political and bureaucratic systems and their perception of the disadvantaged neighbourhood. The employees are also present in the local neighbourhood through their job position and engage in the local residents and the systems of the local community, why their reproduction of certain discourses and stigmas simultaneously stems from below. This, alongside the residents’ own echoing of discourses used by public officials, commercial media, etc. to describe their neighbourhood (Wacquant, 2014). The strengthening of this stigma reinforces the argument of the previous chapter of analysis that despite policies to improve the conditions of disadvantaged neighbourhood, the stigma lingers for a long time as well as it increases the differences between residents in the neighbourhood and citizens living elsewhere (Wacquant, 2007).

Challenges of as consequence of social mix

As described through the work of Cheshire as well as in the review synopsis in the first chapter of analysis, social mix policies tend to displace vulnerable residents from their homes and spread them to other and larger geographical areas. This concern is mentioned by the three interviewees of this thesis, even though it seemed as if Madsen and Flyverbom Nordgreen prior to the interview did not link *social mix* to the negative consequences mentioned by themselves. This only proves how strong the narrative and logic of this concept are and that there is a risk that it might

prevent us - amateurs as well as politicians and professionals - from discovering these negative structures which social mix policies aspire to produce.

As concluded in the previous chapter a main challenge of social mix policies is that they might change the statistics of a neighbourhood but do not address individual residents and their living conditions. This challenge is also central in the interviews and is exemplified through a concern that such policies cause the municipalities to not only lose track of where disadvantaged citizens live, but also to lose the platforms from which they reach these citizens: *“It gives the municipalities a challenge if the platform from which they can offer initiatives to citizens in need of support becomes more diffuse as the residents are mixed and spread - then we are moving the issues instead of solving them”* (Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, Landsbyggefonden in Appendix 3: 00:37:27). Madsen agrees, that spreading social issues to a larger geographical area does not improve much for the individual but only limits the issues’ visibility statistically and thus the political inducement for directing initiatives (Appendix 2). Aner furthermore explains, that the success of this depends on how the task is defined: If the task is to improve the state of the neighbourhoods a *social mix*-approach can be very successful, but if the task is to improve the circumstances for vulnerable citizens the approach is most likely not very effective (Appendix 4). As concluded in the first chapter of analysis one needs to define the criteria of success when designing such policies.

As a result of strategies to geographical spread - or mix - residents, the most disadvantaged residents tend to move into cheaper private rental housing as they no longer can afford non-profit housing (Appendix 3; Appendix 4; Jeppesen, 2018; DR, 2018). This prohibits the municipalities and the non-profit housing organisations from reaching the citizens and offering supportive programmes as well as being able to check conditions for e.g. the children of the household (Appendix 3). The present challenges might occur to vanish as these cannot be measured or dealt with through the established system, and a discussion of the entire design of the housing-social approach might be relevant if the welfare state should still be able to address disadvantaged individuals (Appendix 3; Appendix 4). This correlates with Cheshire’s (2007) example of the challenge of measuring success of such interventions as empowered households and residents in disadvantaged neighbourhood continues to be replaced by other disadvantaged households. Today,

the non-profit housing sector lifts a great part of handling disadvantaged citizens as many resides in their dwellings, but disadvantaged citizens living outside non-profit housing cannot achieve support through initiatives funded mainly by the sector (Appendix 4): “*I am worried that as these vulnerable families are being displaced [to other places than the non-profit housing sector], we will lose the supportive hand beneath them*” (Louise Aner, Naboskaber in Appendix 4: 00:14:24). As previously stated this displacement of the most disadvantaged citizens, not only from their homes but also from the supportive systems and interventions, is an effect of a gentrification process serving other interests than the one of the residents. Madsen, however, has a very important point which distinguishes the Danish social housing system from some others in that residents in the non-profit housing sector are entitled to a dwelling of similar standard and rent level in the same municipality if they are being moved out of their dwellings without any breach of contract (Appendix 2). In relation to the Ghetto Initiative 2018 the question is though if the government’s ambitious plan of by 2030 to have no listed ghettos is realistic if this right is to be respected (Mansø et al., 2018). The Ghetto Initiative 2018 furthermore suggests ways to make selling off non-profit housing dwellings to private investors a legit reason to cancel the contract with tenants (Regeringen, 2018).

Tools to Address Disadvantage

The third sub-question touches upon what other strategies might constitute alternatives to social mix policies when developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Aner mentions the absence of socio-economic interventions in the Ghetto Initiative 2018 which instead has a dominant focus on tearing down dwellings and restoring private ownership housing (Appendix 4; Regeringen, 2018). Working with social issues through the already established housing-social initiatives offers a different approach when aiming for a less segregated society. *Social mix* is not the only way to address issues related to disadvantaged neighbourhoods and segregation. Cheshire (2007) argues that in order to change the level of disadvantage in society and for the individual we need to attack structures instead of symptoms and to accept that segregation in some form are likely to always exist. He suggests attacking the economic structures creating inequality in income to strengthen the most disadvantaged individuals and thus the neighbourhoods they live in (Ibid.). Tearing down affordable housing to replace it with more expensive housing or commercial business are not likely to change these economic structures. Instead it reproduces them and marginal-

izes disadvantaged citizens even further by displacing them from affordable and quality housing and from the networks and social interventions which they rely on to improve own social mobility (Ibid.). Flyverbom Nordgreen explains, that one of the key tasks of the housing-social initiatives is to build trust and relations to the existing governmental system. Furthermore, the housing social interventions create a “government-free zone”, where residents who do not trust the governmental system can seek support and explanation of how the governmental system works (Appendix 3). The housing-social interventions primarily focus on improving the everyday conditions for the individual resident and are not necessarily strategies to create mixed communities. As all three interviewees confirm, the housing-social do have a positive impact on the development of both disadvantaged individuals and neighbourhoods - it might be slow, but it is there (Appendix 2; Appendix, 3; Appendix 4).

With the Ghetto Initiative 2018, the housing social interventions are not being cancelled but they are sure not being reinforced either. Throughout the years the housing-social interventions will be attenuated as the foundation which entitles their existence disappears due to the focus on changing statistics so “ghettos” in Denmark will be a past phenomenon. Both Aner and Flyverbom Nordgreen see a potential in expanding the housing-social intervention programmes to include disadvantaged residents living outside the non-profit housing sector as well (Appendix 3; Appendix 4). The task should hence not mainly be the non-profit housing sector’s responsibility. It is suggested that it might create a stable base for individuals to improve their living situation if the housing-social interventions are perceived as an investment in society which enables the disadvantaged citizens to improve their economic situation. This investment will lead to changing the economic structure creating inequality in this regard (Cheshire, 2007). Flyverbom Nordgreen though states that the effect of these interventions require that several development tools are thought together in a common strategy; this being social, physical, as well as political tools (Appendix 3). Aner points to the potential in this cross-sectional intervention to increase relations across the neighbourhood-border and thus help decrease segregation between the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and the remaining society (Appendix 4).

When planning for mixed communities both Madsen, Flyverbom Nordgreen, and Aner agree that it is important to create relations across the geographical border between the disadvantaged

neighbourhood and surrounding society and to avoid isolation of the neighbourhoods (Appendix, 2; Appendix 3; Appendix 4). This by creating activities and errands for the residents outside of their neighbourhood and for the residents in the surrounding neighbourhoods to visit the disadvantaged one:

“That they move across. This can be in various ways, e.g. joining sport activities, getting employed, getting an after-school job outside of the neighbourhood (...) – creating traffic in and out of the neighbourhood. This is attempted implemented to avoid isolated neighbourhoods and to secure that residents of these neighbourhoods experience being part of a greater society. The vision of social mix is implied in this.” (Louise Aner, Naboskaber in Appendix 4: 00:07:49)

Cheshire’s (2007) argument that disadvantaged neighbourhoods can function as an “elevator” into society, as these neighbourhoods are targets of tailored interventions to support the most socially and economically challenged residents is elaborated on by Flyverbom Nordgreen. She sees a potential in having a gathered geographical platform for disadvantaged residents to rehearse how to fulfil the requirements of the established society (Appendix 3). Aner supports this argument with an example of the listed ghetto Vollsmose in Odense, where it was attempted to define the neighbourhood as an “integration sluice”, recognising that the residents voluntarily moved away from the neighbourhood because they had become more empowered, and that Vollsmose provided a platform for doing so despite the level of disadvantage and issues being more or less constant (Appendix 4). This example of an “integration sluice” is the effect that Cheshire (2007) refers to when comparing disadvantaged neighbourhoods to busses with frequent exchange of residents. Flyverbom Nordgreen furthermore mentions her recognition of several studies arguing that integration of immigrants is not gained most effectively through mixing ethnicity in housing areas. Instead, having role models who has the same history as oneself and which whom one identifies and who has managed to establish themselves in the Danish society, provides networks to “sluice” others into the established society as well. She though states that it is important that there is still a mix of advantaged and disadvantaged citizens since some needs to act as role models (Appendix 3). Well-integrated citizens with a different ethnic background than Danish are most likely not isolated around themselves and their own kind but have relations into different parts of the Danish society through jobs, leisure time activities, children’s institu-

tions, etc. Therefore, they provide important knowledge about society to less integrated citizens (Ibid.). Working with the logic of seeing these homogenic communities as an investment in citizens instead of a threat to society, might contain a potential for both social and economic development in society (Ibid.).

The interviewees understanding of a middle path between segregation and *social mix* which reinforces the physical and social relations between the disadvantaged - and more segregated - neighbourhoods and the surrounding society is an aspect which Cheshire does not reflect upon in the article referred to in this thesis. Establishing errands in form of jobs, services, and attractions in- and outside the disadvantaged neighbourhoods for both residents living within the neighbourhood and residents from outside can contribute to breaking down the territorial stigma when introducing other facilities and activities and thus create a different discourse of the neighbourhoods (Appendix 2; Appendix 3; Appendix 4). This must also be in the interest of the residents within the disadvantaged neighbourhood as, following Wacquant (2007), the very stigma forces residents to tell alternative stories of e.g. where they live. So, a “local mix” across neighbourhood borders might help open the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and challenge the territorial stigma. One though must be careful of not changing the identity of the disadvantaged neighbourhood completely, since this will only lead to gentrification of the area and displacement of the original residents (Ibid.).

Partial Conclusion

These strategies and policies are to a high degree politically controlled and sometimes it might contradict with the experiences and professionalism of individual actors and employees. This suggests that political strategies are not always based as much on facts and empirical data as on visions and ideology. This can create a gap between political strategies and experiences of how certain interventions affect the actual situation.

The professionals interviewed for this thesis are all highly aware of the concept of *social mix* but their definitions of it are as vague as the definition in academic research presented in first chapter of analysis. They all more or less agree that *social mix* is a positive development goal, at the same time as they are aware of the harmful consequences that displacement of already vulnerable

citizens might have. They also state that segregation is the true threat to society and that homogenic disadvantaged neighbourhoods might have an important potential in constituting a platform from where supportive interventions and networks can reach disadvantaged citizen and improve their living conditions. This leads to a conclusion of homogenous neighbourhoods not being such a great threat to society as segregation is. Segregation is harmful because it isolates certain citizen groups from the remaining society and thus one can argue that a productive policy for development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods is a homogeneous neighbourhood with many physical and social relations to surrounding society.

The above analysis concludes that the housing-social programmes, handled primarily by the non-profit sector, already address important issues related to disadvantaged neighbourhoods and have a slow but stable success at this. This established system of supporting some of the most vulnerable citizens are at risk of being hampered due to the Ghetto Initiative 2018's aim of creating more mixed communities, instead of being expanded to include citizens not residing in the non-profit housing sector. Furthermore, the potential of the elevator effect and aiming at a middle path between segregation and *social mix* when formulating policies and strategies are emphasised. Altogether, an approach to *social mix* as presented in the Ghetto Initiative 2018 seems to only complicate the possibilities to support and reach disadvantaged citizens in Denmark as these citizens vanish from the statistics which are used to legitimize social interventions targeting these citizens.

Discussion Chapter

This discussion chapter aims at elaborating on the central theme of ethnicity which is present in the articles of the Systematic Review Protocol. The theme has been left out of the synopsis and the analysis due to a narrower focus of this thesis, but the theme of ethnicity is still highly present in relation to *social mix*. To be true to the empirical data gathered, I as a researcher owe to bring attention to this theme when investigating the main arguments related to *social mix*. The following discussion will concern the theme of ethnicity in relation to social mix policies, how it is presented in the articles of the Systematic Review Protocol and in the Ghetto Initiative 2018, and the implications and structures it encourages when developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Blaming Ethnicity

Differences in ethnicity and race are expressed concerns in several of the case studies of social mix policies which are presented in the first chapter of analysis. Some of the policies aim directly at mixing the ethnicity of a neighbourhood where others claim their focus is wider. Still, ethnicity is an element in all the articles; either in the description of the impact of the policies or mentioned by residents through interviews. For example, in Bacqué et al. (2011):

“New inhabitants primarily describe the neighbourhood through its ethnic diversity; when they are asked about their notion of social mix or are discussing the City Council’s social mix policies for the area [...] it is the racial dimension that they comment on first.” (p. 270)

The reason for criticizing mixing ethnicity varies depending on article. Some criticise that social mix policies are not resulting in the predicted mix of ethnicity and others criticise the aim of mixing ethnicity; as the disadvantaged neighbourhoods often are the most mixed in this regard or because *social mix* is viewed as an excuse to replace immigrants with white middle-class residents (Manzi, 2010; Livingston et al., 2013). Since the residents of these disadvantaged neighbourhoods often are both economically and socially challenged as well as have different ethnicities than the national one, they are often not only vulnerable residents but also marginalized citizens. It can be argued that if social mix policies focus on ethnicity as a problem in itself - separated from a consideration of the individual’s character and contribution – it legalises policies

reproducing unfortunate and historical power-structures of dominating and marginalised population groups.

In the Ghetto Initiative 2018 it is established from the very beginning that it is poorly-integrated immigrants who cause the segregated communities and that this constitutes a threat to the Danish society. Allow me to list a few quotes from the first chapter of the initiative which serves the purpose of presenting the issues which reason the concrete suggestions of the initiative:

“Through decades we have let too many refugees and reunited families into Denmark who have not been integrated with Danish society. They have been allowed to clump together in ghetto areas with no contact to the surrounding society.” (Regeringen, 2018: p. 5)

“We have a group of citizens who are not accepting the Danish norms and values. Where women are viewed as less valuable than men. Where social control and lacking equality set narrow frames for the free expression of the individual.” (Regeringen, 2018: p. 5)

“We will stop this development, where those living in segregated neighbourhoods are not meeting the regular Denmark. And where we in some areas see a behaviour which are in violation with the rights, commitments, and democratic liberal values of freedom which found or society.” (Regeringen, 2018: p. 7)

“It is a threat towards our modern society when freedom, democracy, equality, and tolerance are not accepted as essential values. When right and duty do not go hand in hand.” (Regeringen, 2018: p. 5)

The above quotes clearly link the issues of the “ghettos” to the immigrants and descendants living there, as well as this population group to a large degree is blamed for causing the issues of segregation as they themselves have failed to be integrated into Danish society. Investigating analyses done by professionals with insight in the field and experiences of how disadvantaged neighbourhoods are improving, it becomes evident that the issues of these neighbourhoods are exaggerated in the Ghetto Initiative 2018, which also fails to include disadvantaged population

groups other than citizens with a different ethnicity than Danish (Forandringsudvalget, 2018; Nygård, 2018; Pape, 2018; Appendix 3). The cultural differences of disadvantaged neighbourhoods are often exaggerated while claimed to be hostile to dominant national norms and this stigmatization continues to ignore the position of the marginalised citizens (Wacquant, 2014). The discourse in the Ghetto Initiative 2018 contributes to a weakening of vulnerable citizens' already limited power position in society. As Wacquant (2014) explains, the territorial stigma is closely tied to conditions of poverty, second-rate ethnicity, dilapidated housing, immorality, and crime, and is such a strong narrative that these neighbourhoods are being viewed as posing a threat to the very fabric of the nation. Both the stigmatizing characteristics of the people living in these neighbourhoods and the statement that they constitute a threat to the nation are all present in the quotes listed above using words and sentences like (Regeringen, 2018: pp. 5-7):

- “(...) *not been integrated with Danish society (...)*”
- “(...) *not accepting the Danish norms and values (...)*”
- “(...) *behaviour which are in violation with the rights, commitments, and democratic liberal values of freedom which found or society (...)*”
- “(...) *a threat towards our modern society when freedom, democracy, equality, and tolerance are not accepted*”

Furthermore, the labelling of these neighbourhoods as ‘ghettos’ is, according to Wacquant (2014), dramatizing the neighbourhood’s disintegration and enforces the perception of these neighbourhoods being “*vectors of social disintegration, fundamentally dissolute and irretrievably disorganised*” (p. 1274). In in 2013, in an interview to the Danish newspaper Politiken, Wacquant states the following regarding the Danish use of the word ‘ghetto’ and the ghetto list:

“It is insane to talk about ghettos in a welfare state as the Danish. Ghettos do not exist in Denmark. When the Danish government lists disadvantaged housing neighbourhoods and publish it annually it is not only an expression of a sick thinking, it is also an idiotic politic, which in the end will push socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods further into the mud. At last it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.” (Loïc Wacquant in Omar, 2013)

Ethnicity is often a theme at play when discussing *social mix* and official policies of social mix might encourage a link between issues of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and immigrants. In

Denmark this is legalized through for example defining a neighbourhood as a ghetto due to a criterion of the residents' ethnicity (Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2017a). This shows a logic which confirms that your very ethnicity makes you a "good" or "bad" citizen. The issue of *social mix* leading to gentrification processes are increased with the focus on ethnicity as an issue in itself, as gentrification becomes a valid strategy to replace non-Danish residents with ethnic Danes. In the second chapter of analysis, Flyverbom Nordgren, Landsbyggefonden, mentions studies showing that people often find role models who they identify with. It is argued to be difficult for an ethnic Dane with a complete different background and status in society to example as a role model for an immigrant (Appendix 3). This introduction of social mix policies as a tool to solve issues of disadvantaged neighbourhoods also legalizes and reproduces systematic colonial power-structures, where a white and wealthier population group acts as role model for the poorer – and often coloured – population group to teach them civil norms and lifestyles. The produced power structure might not be intended but the consequences of this logic constitute a very harmful effect of social mix policies, which we as society are responsible for. This not neglecting issues related to disadvantaged neighbourhoods or claiming that these should not be addressed - but when these are addressed, it is crucial to be conscious of the structures being encouraged and fed.

Conclusion Chapter

For or Against Social Mix

As argued in the first chapter of analysis, *social mix* is a hot topic but not a new vision for society as segregation of population groups has always existed in urban communities. Many of the values read into the concept - justice, tolerance, and balance - are also attractive for society today but as proved through the synopsis of the Systematic Review Protocol, there is no clear-cut evidence for or against *social mix*. This being said, the concept needs to be used critically when implemented in development policies. As shown, social mix policies have a significant risk of leading to gentrification processes, which displace vulnerable residents rather than reinforcing them, and to build instead of breaking down barriers for interaction between different population groups. This all leads to vulnerable citizens losing networks and access to targeted interventions which they rely upon to get a foothold in society. The discussion chapter touches upon the risk of these types of policies focusing on ethnicity as a characteristic of disadvantage, which contributes to a reproduction of a colonial power-structure which marginalises and discriminates citizens based on their ethnicity. This risk needs to be a central concern when designing developing strategies for disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Social mix policies might be beneficial in some neighbourhoods and cases, but the local circumstances need to be considered every time as well as whether the negative consequences will outweigh the positive.

When discussing issues and development strategies in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, it is important to separate the individual from the stigma of the neighbourhood. This is easier said than done, but the territorial stigma which represents a neighbourhood also weighs down its residents as they are embodying the stigma themselves partly due to the characteristics and narratives repeated by media, politicians, and residents from outside the neighbourhood. According to Wacquant, to challenge this territorial stigma power holders in society first need to change how they speak of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and their residents. This also leads to a consideration of who or what policies should target when designing development strategies for these neighbourhoods: Is the aim to change the statistics of the neighbourhood so it no longer appears to be disadvantaged, or is the aim to change the mobility and living conditions for the individual disadvantaged resident? Following Cheshire, it is a question of whether the policies address

symptoms or structures – the latter being most crucial to creating social change. Social mix policies often mainly change the statistics of a neighbourhood because it gentrifies the neighbourhood through displacement, so disadvantaged residents are moving out of the neighbourhood and thus spreading over a larger geographical area. This, however, does not change the total amount of disadvantage in society, which might be less visible but is constant or even increasing. This is also criticized by the interviewees of this thesis who worry that *social mix* hinders municipalities and support systems to reach the citizens in need and that more vulnerable citizens will be lost due to lacking platforms and systems to address them.

Alternative Approaches to Social Mix

The above analysis also links to a discussion of who makes decisions in the interest of whom. Public strategies and policies to develop disadvantaged neighbourhoods are politically determined. Social mix policies tend to displace the poorer population group which raises the question of whose interests are served. This is reinforced by the power holders visiting disadvantaged neighbourhoods to declare their rescue of the neighbourhood. A rescue that often leads to being most beneficial for the middle class and private investors and businesses. As political motives depend on a political mandate they might contradict academic findings as well as risk neglecting and contradicting professionals' experiences of how to develop disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Throughout this thesis several alternative approaches to *social mix* have been presented. The most significant being acknowledging the potential of disadvantaged neighbourhoods to function as an “elevator” which due to the targeted interventions and programmes in these neighbourhoods improves the mobility of the residents, who can then choose to move to different neighbourhoods and thus master their own life conditions. If aiming at addressing the individual's issues we should reinforce this competence of these neighbourhoods as well as set a lower limit for disadvantage instead of breaking this platform down in the attempt to make disadvantage and segregation disappear completely. Accepting some level of segregation instead of aiming at fighting it completely might be more successful, as Cheshire argues that segregation will always exist; if not due to economic inequality, then due to other parameters of status and differences. The interviewees of this thesis suggest that homogeneity is not an issue to the same extent as segregation is. Significant segregation in a society is argued to lead to a decrease in trust and

experienced security in society, which is not attractive. The interviewees suggest that there might be a potential in for example ethnic homogeneity as this provides identifiable role models for less integrated citizens. They point to focusing on improving the cross-border relations between different neighbourhoods rather than focusing on mixing the neighbourhood. Isolated and segregated neighbourhoods can be prevented if errands and attractions for different population groups are located throughout society.

The last alternative suggestion touched upon in this thesis, is less an alternative as it is an appeal to strengthen the housing-social interventions already established in the Danish system. Throughout the analysis arguments supporting that these interventions do empower and change the mobility of individual residents which also lead to a lift of society as a whole are made. There might be a potential to expand the housing-social interventions to also include tenure types which are not non-profit housing and to divide the social and financial responsibility on to more actors. Unfortunately, it seems as if social mix policies – as exemplified through the Ghetto Initiative 2018 – are attenuating the housing-social interventions' role in society, which will just create greater distance between already vulnerable citizens and the established society.

It is not the aim of this thesis to criticise having strategies and visions of strengthening the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods. However, it is very much the aim to criticise using the vision of creating better living conditions for the most disadvantaged as an argument for creating better conditions for already resourceful citizens – at the expense of exactly those most disadvantaged.

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Appendix 1: List and abstracts of articles from the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol

Document result of the Systematic Review Protocol

1.

Bacqué M. et al. (2011). Social Mix Policies in Paris: Discourses, Policies and Social Effects. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, [online] Vol. 35(2), 256-273.

Abstract:

Since the 1980s, the issue of social mix has become a public policy category in France. Enshrined in legislation, yet remaining controversial, it represents a major premise on which housing policies have been reconfigured. The concept of social mix is essentially based on who lives where, but it is also evoked in the context of urban renewal schemes for social housing estates, as well as in relation to new-build developments. A study of the bases of social mix policies conducted in Paris since 2001 in the context of the embourgeoisement of the capital shows the fundamental role of social housing stock. The City Council has become involved in policy decisions about both the location and the allocation of social housing. Particular attention has been paid to the middle classes in the name of the principle of 'balancing the population'. In order to measure the effects of the policy, this article relies on an analysis of two City of Paris schemes that have the stated intent of creating social mix. One of these schemes consists of redeveloping a working-class neighbourhood, Goutte d'Or, while the other involves the new acquisition of social housing in various more affluent neighbourhoods in the capital. This comparative study of the population shows that, whether in a neighbourhood poised for gentrification or in a more affluent neighbourhood, this policy has major effects on forms of local social cohesion, setting in motion individual trajectories and reshaping social and/or ethnic identities.

2.

Bricocoli, M. & Cucca, R. (2016). Social mix and housing policy: Local effects of a misleading rhetoric. The case of Milan. *Urban Studies*, [online] Vol. 53(1), 77-91.

Abstract:

The article focuses on different uses of the concept of social mix and on emerging criticalities of its use as a planning principle by discussing the results of empirical research on recent housing projects in Milan, Italy. Although the concept of social mix is generally represented as a tool to improve the living conditions of disadvantaged social groups, the praise for social mix in new housing projects may also be driven by the will of targeting the needs of specific medium-low income groups considered functional to urban growth, and by the increase of real estate values that it may provide. In urban contexts affected by a severe shortage of rental housing, social mix strategies may foster the exclusion of lowest-income groups from access to social housing and favour their segregation. Especially with reference to southern European cities, social mix risks becoming a catchword with paradoxical effects in local policy agendas and the topic of mixed communities becoming employed as a socio-political lever for developer-led, profit-making developments.

3.

Crook, T. et al. (2016). New housing association development and its potential to reduce concentrations of deprivation: An English case study. *Urban Studies*. Vol. 53(16), 3388-3404.

Abstract:

Social housing across Western Europe has become significantly more residualised as governments concentrate on helping vulnerable households. Many countries are trying to reduce the concentrations of deprivation by building for a wider range of households and tenures. In England

Appendix 1: List and abstracts of articles from the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol

this policy has two main strands: (1) including other tenures when regenerating areas originally built as mono-tenure social housing estates and (2) introducing social rented and low-cost homeownership into new private market developments through planning obligations. By examining where new social housing and low-cost home ownership homes have been built and who moves into them, this paper examines whether these policies achieve social mix and reduce spatial concentrations of deprivation. The evidence suggests that new housing association development has enabled some vulnerable households to live in areas which are not deprived, while some better-off households have moved into more deprived areas. But these trends have not been sufficient to stem increases in deprivation in the most deprived areas.

4.

Davidson, M. (2010). Love thy neighbour? Social mixing in London's gentrification frontiers. *Environment and Planning A*. Vol. 42, 524-544.

Abstract:

The issue of social mixing has recently moved to the forefront of gentrification debate. In part, this has been stimulated by neoliberal urban policies promoting 'social mix', research showing the inability of gentrified neighbourhoods to remain socially mixed and attempts to rethink the association between gentrification and displacement. This paper draws upon a mixed-methods study that examined levels of social mixing between gentrifying and incumbent communities in three neighbourhoods undergoing new-build gentrification in London, UK. Little evidence was found for substantial interactions between populations, and there were few shared perceptions of community. The author claims that the particular character of new-build gentrification has played an important role in generating this socially tectonic situation. Husserl's concept of the lifeworld and Bourdieu's thesis on the relative structuring of class identity are drawn upon to provide an explanatory framework.

5.

Górczyńska, M. (2017). Social and housing tenure mix in Paris intramuros, 1990–2010. *Housing Studies*. Vol. 32(4), 385-410.

Abstract:

This paper sheds light on the relationship between the social and tenure mix in Paris between 1990 and 2010. Using two quantitative methods (cluster analysis and entropy indices) it explores the relationship between the social and tenure mix at the microscale. Although no statistical correlation was found, other relationships were discovered. First, the social mix is a function of the general characteristics of the neighbourhood or district. Second, social upgrading and homogenization began in the 1990s, and the 'ideal' social mix was a temporary phase before upper socio-professional groups became overrepresented. The growing availability and diversification of social housing has neither created a greater social mix nor slowed down social upgrading, either in general or for social housing in particular. Finally, the fact that there are different categories of social housing landlords nuances the outcomes of policies

6.

Jackson, E. & Butler, T. (2015). Revisiting 'social tectonics': The middle classes and social mix in gentrifying neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*. Vol.52 (13), 2349-2369.

Abstract:

Studies of gentrification in London have shown that some groups of middle-class people have been

Appendix 1: List and abstracts of articles from the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol

attracted to poor and multi-ethnic areas of inner London in part because of their social and ethnic mix. However, the attraction has often not translated into everyday interaction. In an earlier account of gentrification in Brixton this de facto social segregation was typified as a process of 'social tectonics'. In this paper we compare two ethnically and socially mixed neighbourhoods, Peckham and Brixton, that at different times have represented the 'front line' of gentrification in London. We examine the extent to which the gentrification of Brixton in the late 1990s is being mirrored by the gentrification that is occurring today in Peckham – a similarly mixed and counter-cultural area of South London. Whilst we identify continuities between the gentrification process in these two areas separated by a decade of boom and recession, we suggest that the Peckham example demonstrates the need for a more developed approach to the issue of social mixing than that implied by the social tectonics metaphor. Specifically, we argue that there is a need to explain how the presence of classed and ethnic 'others' can be central to the formation of identities within some middle-class fractions in such enclaves in the inner city, and how attitudes and neighbourhood practices can change over time.

7.

Korsu, E. (2016). Building social mix by building social housing? An evaluation in the Paris, Lyon and Marseille Metropolitan Areas. *Housing Studies*. Vol. 31(5), 598-623.

Abstract:

In France, social housing is perceived as an instrument for promoting social mix. In particular, there is an expectation that introducing social housing into wealthy areas will bring in low-income households and lead to greater coexistence between lower and higher socio-economic groups. However, several factors tend to hinder the pro-mix effects of social housing: financial constraints that reduce the number of new buildings, especially in high-income neighbourhoods; Not in my backyard attitudes in wealthy areas; allocation practices by social landlords who seldom rent dwellings in expensive neighbourhoods to poor households. Previous experiments with social housing have often proved disappointing in their impact on social mix. What about today's experiments? Has the social housing built in recent times increased social mix? The empirical evaluation we carried out in Paris, Lyon and Marseille shows that recent social housing developments have stimulated social mix but the impact measured is very small.

8.

Koutrolikou, P. (2012). Spatialities of Ethnocultural Relations in Multicultural East London: Discourses of Interaction and Social Mix. *Urban Studies*. Vol. 49(10), 2049-2066.

Abstract:

Healey has described planning as managing a shared existence in space. In the context of multi cultural cities, this shared lived experience brings to the forefront the interdependence of the factors shaping urban life and intergroup relations. In the past decade, throughout Europe, urban policies for deprived areas became increasingly concerned with issues of segregation, community cohesion and social mix alongside addressing deprivation. Concerns about urban tensions further accentuated such tendencies. Implicitly or explicitly, such policies rely strongly on the influence of contact and the interaction of intergroup relations. However, the way that the associated theories have been incorporated into discussions and policies tends to focus on a fleeting interaction approach, with questionable outcomes. Through the lens of two London boroughs, this paper explores the spatial dimensions of 'living together' and the ways that social mix, interaction and multi cultural spaces affect intergroup relations.

9.

Appendix 1: List and abstracts of articles from the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol

Livingston M. et al. (2010). Neighbourhood attachment in deprived areas: evidence from the north of England. *J Hous and the Built Environ.* Vol. 25, 409-427.

Abstract:

Those living in deprived areas may have a greater reliance on the neighbourhood as a setting for social activity. However, the reduced quality of deprived neighbourhoods may make attachment in such places less likely. Other factors, like high turnover and social mix, may also act to reduce an individual's attachment in these neighbourhoods. Using qualitative methods, this study examines both emotional and functional attachment to deprived neighbourhoods, specifically considering the impact of high turnover and of social mix. Social mix is broadly defined, including but not limited to ethnic and tenure mix. Many respondents reported strong emotional attachments to their communities, with the presence of strong social networks and a sense of security the most important contributing factors. Functional attachments and attachments to the physical environment were weak or absent. High turnover in deprived areas was found to reduce place attachment by undermining social networks, lowering social interaction, and eroding trust and feelings of security. There was little evidence that social mix in any dimension reduced attachment significantly. However, high residential turnover and a rapidly changing (ethnic) mix in one area had led to increased anxieties and reduced attachments. The research shows that rather than systemic factors being dominant, place attachment in deprived areas is very context dependent (e. g. in terms of where the neighbourhood is located in relation to others). For an individual, also experiential, historical and personal factors are strong determinants of attachment.

10.

Livingston M. et al. (2013). Delivering Mixed Communities: The Relationship between Housing Tenure Mix and Social Mix in England's Neighbourhoods. *Housing Studies.* Vol. 28(7), 1056-1080.

Abstract:

For a number of years, housing and regeneration policy in Britain has focused on creating social mix through changing housing tenure mix, particularly in deprived social housing areas. Policies are founded on the perception that segregation of rich and poor is increasing, and this reinforces disadvantage. Little work has examined the degree of correspondence between social and tenure mix. We examine the relationship between these variables in English neighbourhoods, using occupational mix to measure social mix. We examine the regional differences in this relationship. We show neighbourhoods are generally more mixed in occupation than tenure. Tenure mix has a positive relationship with occupational mix, but the relationship is moderate and contrary to conventional wisdom; occupational mix and tenure mix increase with level of area deprivation. Regional analysis shows that tenure mix is higher in the tighter housing markets of London and the South. If policy is genuinely concerned with increasing social mix, attention needs to focus on affluent areas.

11.

Manzi, T. (2010). Promoting Responsibility, Shaping Behaviour: Housing Management, Mixed Communities and the Construction of Citizenship. *Housing Studies.* Vol. 25(1), 5-19.

Abstract:

This paper examines housing policies aimed at establishing mixed income communities. Based on stakeholder interviews and case study analysis in England and Scotland, the paper pays particular attention to the impact of interventions in housing management. The first part considers the policy context for mixed communities and considers the conceptual basis underlying contemporary housing management through discourses of culture and social control. The second part considers

Appendix 1: List and abstracts of articles from the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol

how this agenda has resulted in the adoption of intensive management strategies within mixed communities; illustrated in the development of allocation policies, initiatives designed to tackle anti-social behaviour, and proposals to develop sustainable communities. The main argument is that given that the concept of mixed communities is based on the premise of social housing failure, citizenship has been defined largely in response to private sector interests. This approach to management has been a contributory factor in the construction of social housing as a form of second-class citizenship.

12.

Markovisch, J. (2015). 'They Seem to Divide Us': Social Mix and Inclusion in Two Traditional Urbanist Communities. *Housing Studies*. Vol. 30(1), 139-168.

Abstract:

Mixed tenure communities have become an important element of UK housing policy in recent decades. Whilst valued by policy-makers for generating a range of benefits, particularly for residents living in social rented housing, the empirical literature suggests that tenure mixing is neither a sufficient nor a reliable remedy for addressing issues associated with concentrations of poverty, disadvantage and social exclusion. This paper reports on a doctoral research study that considered tenure mixing practices at two traditional urbanist communities in the UK: Poundbury, Dorchester, and New Gorbals, Glasgow. Conceptually, the paper uses Young's critiques of residential segregation and the integration ideal to evaluate the two communities. Methodologically, it draws on qualitative interviews with residents, planners and social housing providers. The research findings contradict many aspects of Young's ideal and highlight the complex and multidimensional nature of integration in practice. Reflecting on these findings, the paper identifies five housing policy and research priorities that might usefully be pursued in future work.

13.

Provan, B. (2017). Mixing Communities? Riots, Regeneration and Renewal on Problem Estates in France and England. *The Political Quarterly*. Vol. 88(3), 452-464.

Abstract:

Published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd Riots, social exclusion, and endless improvement programmes have been a feature of the poorest neighbourhoods in France and England for the last thirty-five years or more—particularly focused on large social housing estates. Programmes of improvement have followed similar paths in each country, with mixed success. This article sets out a short overview of these programmes in each country, then contrasts and compares the objectives, approaches, and outcomes. Each country has key elements of inter-agency working, local and resident participation and planning, large-scale building rehabilitation and demolition programmes, though the French system is more often based on specific local contracts between cities and the central departments. Similar evaluation outcome indicators and frameworks of 'floor' and 'gap' targets have been set, although evidence of success is limited and, particularly in France, there has been considerable criticism of the approach and framework. In parallel, however, the concept of 'mixed communities' has emerged as an alternative strategic approach—intuitively reasonable, politically popular, but lacking an evidence base and often ineffective in dealing with poverty.

14.

Tieskens, K. & Musterd, S. (2013). Displacement and urban restructuring in Amsterdam; following relocatees after demolition of social housing. *Urban Research & Practice*. Vol. 6(2), 194-210.

Appendix 1: List and abstracts of articles from the document result of the Systematic Review Protocol

Abstract:

Over the past decade, urban restructuring of segregated neighbourhoods has transformed many urban districts, in the Netherlands and elsewhere; middle class households have entered neighbourhoods which were previously inhabited by lower class. Some argue that this influx of middle class has happened at the expense of the displaced original population. We investigated this process of (forced) relocation from restructured neighbourhoods. In contrast with earlier studies, individual level data have been provided directly by one of the Amsterdam housing associations involved in this process. This offered the opportunity to analyse population data, not a sample, of all relocatees from four particular urban restructuring projects in Amsterdam. We investigated location preferences before relocation as well as actual residential location behaviour per household and relocatee type and compared characteristics of their old and new dwellings and neighbourhoods. One of the findings is that forced relocation often parallels preferences expressed by the displaced.

15.

Van Gent, W.P.C. et al. (2016). Surveying the Fault Lines in Social Tectonics; Neighbourhood Boundaries in a Socially-mixed Renewal Area. *Housing, Theory and Society*. Vol. 33(3), 247-267.

Abstract:

In recent decades, neighbourhood regeneration has often involved social mixing strategies, often through comprehensive renewal. By deconcentrating poverty and giving opportunities for social interaction, remaining residents are believed to benefit from middle-class presence. This study looks at a post-war neighbourhood in Amsterdam which has undergone comprehensive renewal. By making use of survey data in combination with GIS techniques, this study shows that perceptions are structured by physical characteristics, activity patterns and symbolic boundaries. These perceptions are highly dependent on social position. While some residents in renewal areas display inclusionary attitudes, there is also evidence of middle-class and lower class disaffiliation. Interestingly, these translate into different mental maps for both groups. The paper ends with a methodological reflection on using GIS-based boundary drawing in neighbourhood surveys to gauge fragmentation and place-based displacement.

16.

Weck, S. & Hanhörster, H. (2015). Seeking Urbanity or Seeking Diversity? Middle-class family households in a mixed neighbourhood in Germany. *J Hous and the Built Environ*. Vol. 30, 471-486.

Abstract:

Within the prominent debate on disaffiliation and coping strategies of middle-class households in mixed neighbourhoods, the paper aims to shed light on a less researched question: what are the characteristics of middle-class households that form inter-ethnic and inter-social networks in mixed communities in contrast to those that do not? Based on exploratory research in a German inner-city neighbourhood, we focus on differentiations within the middle class. We identify two most contrasting groups as regards social boundary crossing or social closure and analyse their different preferences, values and routines. Neighbourhood foci such as parent initiatives concerning childcare or schooling have a reinforcing role for either intra-group networks or boundary-crossing interactions. The findings are based on an analysis of narratives, daily routines and social networks of middle-class family households in a gentrifying neighbourhood.

Interview Guide

1. Short introduction of my thesis and my self.
2. In BL's goal strategy 2014-2018 (*Målsætningsprogram 2014-2018*) and in BL's public reply (*hørings svar*) you state on page 14: "A mixed combination of tenants is an essential element in the handling of the socio-economic development task¹".
 - a. Could you elaborate on this? What is 'social mix' in this sense, and why is it "essential"?
 - b. What is your motivation/background for recommending 'social mix'?
 - c. Who needs to be mixed with whom?
 - d. Who gets the most advantage of 'social mix'?
 - e. Who gets the least advantage of 'social mix'?
3. The targeted interventions and programmes in disadvantaged areas mainly focus on strengthening the individual and thus contribute to general society. Still, the "elevator effect" is very criticised by e.g. the Municipality of Copenhagen in their development plans.
 - a. What is your perspective on these neighbourhoods functioning as a "positive catalysator" for disadvantaged residents?
4. If the neighbourhoods become mixed, the disadvantaged residents are spread, and the area loses its official status as "disadvantaged" and thus the finances for local targeted programmes and interventions.
 - a. How are disadvantaged residents helped/supported to a less disadvantaged situation and to become "good citizens" if these programmes are not accessible?
 - b. How is 'social mix' not leading to a more elitist city, e.g. in Copenhagen where there is an enormous pressure on the housing market?
5. Alternatives to 'social mix'.
 - a. Isn't it just a basic condition in a society with economic inequality, that some geographic areas are more disadvantaged than others?
 - b. Wouldn't it be more beneficial to focus on strengthening the disadvantaged neighbourhoods rather than demolish them? (cf. the Government's new "ghetto suggestion")

¹ Translated from Danish: "*En blandet beboersammensætning er et afgørende element i løsningen af den boligsociale opgave.*"

Appendix 2: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Bent Madsen, CEO, BL

Transcript of Interview

Date: Thursday, April 12th 2018

Duration: 32 minutes

I: Interviewer

BM: Bent Madsen, CEO, BL

00:00:15

I: Jeg interviewer dig som direktør for BL og som medlem i Realdanias Forandringsudvalg, hvilket du jo er i kraft af din indsigt i boligsociale udfordringer og udvikling af udsatte byområder. Jeg skriver speciale om Blandet By-konceptet og betydningen af det i udsatte byområder. Indtil videre har jeg været igennem en større undersøgelse af europæisk forskning på området, som indeholder forskellige case studies og erfaringer.

00:00:57

BM: Har du også læst 'Fra Ghetto til Blandet By'?

I: Den har jeg også skimmet og læst det, jeg synes var godt. Nu prøver jeg så at sætte den forskning, jeg har læst, ind i en dansk kontekst og se på, hvordan vi bruger det i Danmark, og jeg tænker, at det er noget du støder på i din arbejdshverdag?

BM: Dét må man sige!

00:01:18

I: I BL's Målsætningsprogram 2014-2018, det står også i jeres hørings svar til ghettoudspillet, står: *"En blandet beboersammensætning er et afgørende element i løsningen af den boligsociale opgave."*

Vil du uddybe det citat? Hvorfor er det afgørende, og hvad betyder en "blandet beboersammensætning"?

BM: Altså det sidste først: Det er en socialt blandet beboersammensætning, og det er dét, vi sætter fokus på hele tiden, altså at få det sociale mix. Grundtesen i forhold til det er, at der er ikke nogen funktionelle områder, der fungerer særlig godt. Hvis du kigger på, hvordan vi har bygget i de sidste mange år, er det jo i virkeligheden [småstyksstørrelser]. Det er 30-40 boliger, og er jo ikke sådan kæmpe områder ad gangen. Selve den byplanlægning, der ligger bag de udsatte områder, er typisk en gammel byplanlægning med kæmpe områder. Hvis du kigger tilbage i arkiverne, finder du jo dokumenter fra Gellerup og Vollsmose, som bare er de fedeste områder fra ende til anden: Du bliver aldrig kørt over af en bil, du kan handle i området, og hvis du skulle gå hen og dø, har vi også en kirke – alt er der, ikke? Sådan var det bare tænkt, og det er dét, vi står med nu og skal rydde op i. Der er det virkelig med den blandede by; den giver en hel anden grad af robusthed. Og der er helt sikkert også noget rollemodel og noget klassekammerateffekt i en eller anden grad i det.

00:03:11

I: Nu siger du "robusthed", hvad er det for en slags robusthed?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Bent Madsen, CEO, BL

BM: Jeg mener, robusthed i forhold til et område, hvor man både har lidt erhverv og lidt - det er jo en del af vores [rolle], at vi løfter den boligsociale opgave. Der hvor vi ser, at et område lukker sig om sig selv, det er jo, når vi har mange udenfor arbejdsmarkedet, så sker det også, at ungerne ikke deltager så meget i foreningslivet, der er mindre [opbakning] omkring den lokale skole og sådan noget. Det er jo alle tingene hele vejen rundt om det sociale, og der oplever vi, at de områder - vi har 7000 områder at tage af - hvor der er en "blanding", altså bor flere forskellige... Altså der er jo mange, der løser de boligsociale opgaver, hvis du kigger på statistikken, så er de fleste i de områderne på overførselsindkomst, men det er altså også godt med nogen i arbejde. Men det er rigtig fint, at de løser den boligsociale opgave...

00:04:25

I: Og en blandet beboersammensætning er med til at øge...?

BM: Det [at løfte den boligsociale opgave] er en blandet beboersammensætning med til at øge. Vi ser det også aldersmæssigt. Hvis du kigger på en stor montagebolig, der er under renovering, så laver man nogle lejligheder mere tilgængelige. Så tænker nogen, at handicappede er en svag gruppe, men det er de jo ikke nødvendigvis. Hvis du sætter dem ind i et boligområde, bliver det jo blandet beboersammensætning. Så det med at du både har ung og gammel og folk på og uden for arbejdsmarkedet, og hele det mix der - det giver en styrke. Så nogen som man ellers i kraft af egne fordomme ville sige, de er da en svaghed, de kan sagtens være en styrke, fx det at have flere handicappede i et boligområde.

00:05:25

I: Så når I skriver en "blandet beboersammensætning", så er det både i forhold til social kapital med baggrund, uddannelse osv., men også på indkomst?

BM: Ja, det [indkomst] er i høj grad det, vi måler det sociale på. Hvis du er på arbejdsmarkedet, har du en højere indkomst, end hvis du ikke er på arbejdsmarkedet. Så har du en sund indkomstspredning [i et område], så har du også en god del, der er på arbejdsmarkedet.

00:06:02

I: Så det er ikke primært målt på etnicitet?

BM: Nej, det er socialt blandede boligområder. Og du kan se, det vi har på udlejningsregler, er - og skal være - vurderet på, om du er i beskæftigelse eller ej, fx fleksibel udlejning. Kriterierne går på din samfundsdeltagelse på forskellige måde, er børn og unge i uddannelse, osv.

00:06:34

I: Hvad er motivationen for at "blande"? Hvad er det, I håber på sker, når man "blander"?

BM: Det vi ser i praksis, fx på et område som Gellerup. Det er lidt storskala ikke, men der ender vi på 30 % almene boliger, når vi er færdige med det her kæmpe projekt. Der kommer erhverv [...], der kommer en vej lige igennem og 1000 kommunale arbejdspladser. De ledige arealer, efter vi har

Appendix 2: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Bent Madsen, CEO, BL

banket noget ned, bliver brugt til fx sådan en stor hub for start up-virksomheder og midlertidig arkitektur. Der er alt muligt! Der er developere, der køber jord, så de kan bygge ejerboliger og alle mulige andre ting derude. Med hele den blanding lander vi på 30 % almene boliger, når vi er færdige. Og den udvikling, hvor Gellerup lukkede sig om sig selv og var sådant et område, hvor man var lidt tynget på mange måder, der kan vi allerede se en udvikling med alle de nye ting, der sker: der er nye typer mennesker, der bor i området, og folk der har ærinder. Det er meget vigtigt for os, at folk [der ikke bor der] har ærinder inde i områderne. Fx laver kommunen et vandland [...], og alle de folk, der skal i det fedeste vandland, skal nu til Gellerup. Det er vigtigt, for så har du et sted at gå hen derude, altså et ærinde.

00:08:47

I: Så det der med at trække beboere fra den omkringliggende by ind i bydelen?

BM: Ja, og så skal du også sørge for, at de der bor inde i området, har ærinder uden for området. Og allerede nu, har dette skabt en fuldstændig fundamental forandring i området.

00:09:05

I: Så I bygger det på, at I ser en effekt af det, så snart I gør det [implementerer blandet by]?

00:10:19

I: Du taler om blandet by som om, der er rigtig mange vindere, men hvis du skulle nævne nogle, der taber ved at skabe blandede bydele eller implementere Blandet By, hvem ville det så være?

BM: Jeg har rigtig svært ved at se nogle tabere, fordi vi smider jo ikke folk ud af deres boliger. Når vi for eksempel river boliger ned, så sker der jo det, at der bliver boliger ledige andre steder, og du kan ønske, hvor du vil genhuses. Måske vil du genhuses i kvarteret, og der sker jo ikke det, at de beboere som måske vurderes stigmatiserende for området, bliver sendt til den anden ende af byen. Der er jo sikkert nogle, der tænker, at det gode gamle Gellerup var det bedste. Alle former for transformation og forandringer skaber utryghed, hvorfor det handler om at få forberedt det her sindssygt godt. Og vi har jo også beboerdemokratiet, så synes [beboerne], at det er for meget, stemmer de jo nej.

00:11:30

I: Men når man stiler efter de her 30 % almene boliger i Gellerup efter den her udviklingsplan er fuldført, hvad så med de beboere, der boede i boliger, der nu er blevet til ejerboliger eller er blevet solgt fra – er de blevet genhuset eller hvordan?

BM: Ja, der er jo en turn-around i sådant et område. Der er jo hele tiden folk, der flytter, så der er jo noget med, at du kan genhuse i et område, der er så stort.

00:11:59

I: I hvert fald når man gør det over en lang årrække eller?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Bent Madsen, CEO, BL

BM: Eller der kommer en masse andet til: fjerner du almene boliger, kommer der jo private boliger og erhverv, som jo også tæller med som bolig.

00:12:28

I: Jeg kan afsløre, at de europæiske studier om Blandet By er ret kritiske over for begrebet, da det ofte bliver et ord uden indhold, som man måske ikke har tænkt så meget over og derfor ofte ender i en gentrificeringsproces mere end en udviklingsproces for de svageste [beboere]. Og når man kigger på de boligsociale indsatser, der er i de udsatte byområder, fx helhedsplanerne, så er aktiviteterne fokuseret på at hjælpe individet og derigennem styrker man fællesskabet. [...] Alligevel er den her elevatoreffekt [...] stærkt kritiseret, fx i Københavns Kommunes planer...

(BM forklarer om antal kr., der bruges på boligsociale opgaver og antal mandskab i kommunerne.)

00:17:57

BM: [...] De boligsociale indsatser rettes typisk mod børn og unge, fordi man gerne vil bryde social arv og fordi, det sjældent er folk på 55 eller 28, der står nede på gadehjørnet og skaber utryghed.

00:18:20

I: Men den her elevatoreffekt, som [investeringer i boligsociale indsatser] jo resulterer i, er ret kritiseret. Kan du se et potentiale i at bruge de her udsatte områder positivt i stedet for at kritisere elevatoreffekten?

BM: Hvem kritiserer det?

I: København Kommune har fx som mål at mindske elevatoreffekten og i stedet holde beboerne i området, altså de der...

00:18:58

BM: Hvis jeg skal sige noget... Har du læst Glazier? Jack Glazier skriver om ghettoudvikling i USA og kigger på racismes rolle i den forbindelse. Så længe racisme omringer en ghetto, indeholder ghettoen stadig alle socialklasser, da ingen må flytte ud, fx fordi de er jøder eller sorte. Det betyder, at lægen og den ufaglærte bor side om side, derfor har du en social opstigning – pga. det sociale mix – og når du så har elevatoreffekten, hvor folk flytter ud til andre områder, så forsvinder racismen og jøder eller sorte får mulighed for at købe noget uden for ghettoen. Så forsvinder alle de [ressource-]stærke fra ghettoen, og fra at være en etnisk ghetto, får vi nu en social ghetto. Og så ryger mobiliteten i den ghetto. Hvad er alternativet til elevatoreffekten? Det er jo, at du skal holde på folk.

00:20:45

I: Og det er jo strategien fra fx Københavns Kommune.

BM: Men tænker man det til ende, det med at holde på folk: Hvis man ser på Københavns Kommunes udlejningspolitik i udsatte områder, har det så virket noget særligt? [Tesen] er, at hvis vi giver en velfungerende borger en bolig i et udsat område, så går der to minutter, så flytter personen ud. Men det er faktisk ikke det, der sker [...] – de bliver der! Dem der får bolig gennem fleksibel udlejning, de bliver i området, så på den måde virker noget af elevatoreffekten: At den kan

Appendix 2: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Bent Madsen, CEO, BL

være med til at skabe et blandet område. I Danmark kan vi måle effekten, fordi vi kan følge borgerne på CPR.nr.

00:22:11

I: Er det ikke bare et grundvilkår, når vi har et samfund med økonomisk ulighed, at nogle områder vil være mere udsatte end andre?

BM: Jo, det er det samme som, hvis man gik ind på et hospital og så mange syge mennesker og derfra konkluderede, at det må være et udsat sted at være. Den boligsociale sektor forudsætter, at der er mennesker, der ikke har det indkomstmæssigt godt. Det er jo også derfor, vi har den sektor, for at huse dem, der ikke har det så godt.

00:22:45

I: Og det er også derfor, at der er alle de indsatser i de områder. Der er bor en vis procentdel, som man mener har brug for hjælp, og derfor etablerer man indsatser, som er med til at styrke og løfte folk og skabe mobilitet for dem. Så udsatte boligområder er ikke nødvendigvis en dårlig ting?

BM: Nej, man kan sagtens se en stordriftsfordel i at have nogle fælles udfordringer samlet og derved kunne løse dem på en mere effektiv måde.

00:23:19

I: Men hvorfor er den blandede beboersammensætning så et mål?

BM: Fordi hvis du har et blandet område, fx i Mjølnerparken, så når det bliver for ensidigt, så modvirker det den mobilitet, som der ellers kunne være i området - fordi at området lukker sig om sig selv. Men du har ret i, spørger man om målet er, at den almene sektor fuldstændig skal ligne det omkringliggende samfund, så kommer det ikke til at ske. Vor Herre til hest, den almene sektor løser nogle fuldstændig specielle opgaver. Det ville være det samme som at sige, at målet for et ældreboligområde skal være, at der er folk i alle aldre. Nej, for der skal være ældreboliger.

00:24:05

BM: Se her, det er vigtigt (BM viser grafer). Der er rigtig mange børn i ghettoerne og mange af dem er [af anden] etnisk [herkomst], og mange af indsatserne er rettet mod disse. Vi måler i høj grad på karakter (9. klasses afgangskarakter i dansk og matematik) for at finde ud af, hvad der skal til for at folk kan bryde den sociale arv. Det er en fed benchmark: Vi har altid haft den, den er ikke påvirket af vores indsatser [...], og den giver mulighed for uddannelse efter folkeskolen. Vi kigger på, om du får uddannelse og efterfølgende beskæftigelse, og vi kan se, at meget afgøres af denne karakter. [...] Kigger vi på resultatet, er antallet af unge i ghettoområder, der får karakteren 4 eller over steget helt vildt, og det giver en enorm øget social mobilitet. Jeg er derfor ret optimistisk i forhold til udviklingen (i ghettoerne), for jeg kan jo se sammenlignet med vores europæiske og nordiske organisationer, så er vi way foran.

00:27:30

Appendix 2: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Bent Madsen, CEO, BL

I: Nu startede du selv med at sige Gellerup og 30 % almene boliger; men hvis man blander byen og spreder de udsatte borgere ud over et større areal, så mister området også sin titel som udsat, og så mister de også adgangen til finansiering af boligsociale indsatser. Og hvordan samler vi så op på de udsatte borgere? Hvordan gennemskuer vi, hvor de er, og hvad deres udfordringer er?

BM: Du har fuldstændig ret. Det er et af vores kritikpunkter i vores hørings svar til ghetto-udspillet med det planøkonomiske krav om max. 40 % almene boliger i et område. Det tal er taget ud af Gellerup, 30 % plus lidt til, det kan alle. Men det er helt galt: 30 % i Gellerup er fundet ud fra lokale overvejelser, og der vil stadig være boligsocial helhedsplan i Gellerup. Det [regeringens forslag om at skære antal almene boliger ned til max. 40 % i udsatte boligområder] er lidt som at bekæmpe forurening ved at hælde det i havet, og tro, at det forsvinder. Det vil komme tilbage på et tidspunkt. Det er det samme, når man spreder sociale problemer, så vi ikke kan få øje på dem i statistikken. Men for det enkelte individ er problemet lige så stort.

00:29:00

BM: Det er det samme med de eksempler, hvor man flytter et barn fra en segregeret skole til en ikke-segregeret skole, og så sidder man så der og ved, man er præmie-social-problemet. De andre har børnefødselsdag og store biler, og du påtager dig den sociale forventning, der ligger til dig som "præmieperkeren" i klassen: ham der ikke kan finde ud af noget, ham der er blevet sat ind i klassen bare fordi, han kommer fra et segregeret område. Så selvom personen er både dygtig og ambitiøs, påtager [han sig] den identitet, som bliver [ham] pålagt af de andre.

00:30:20

I: Så du mener ikke, at målet om en blandet by kommer til at skabe en mere elitær by, fordi man er med til at øge boligpriserne i udsatte områder og sprede de sociale problemer ud?

BM: Nej, men der er to ender i den her sag. Den ene er, hvor du virkelig har et område, der lukker sig om sig selv, og i den anden er det hele fuldstændig blandet rundt. Det er jo ikke der, vi er eller skal hen, vi går bare i en retning mod det her [blandet]. Vi går absolut ikke ind for 40 % eller sådan noget – det kan være, der er områder, hvor der slet ikke skal være en blandet beboersammensætning eller ejerformer, for der passer det ikke ind. Men i Gellerup passer de der 30 %, og andre steder vil det være [en anden procent].

00:31:15

I: Så en plan som ghetto-udspillet som bare lægger en gængs procentsats ud...

BM: Det er alt for planøkonomisk!

I: Det skal være lokale hensyn, der afgør...

BM: Ja, helt sikkert. Det skal være lokale hensyn og fornuftige byplanlæggere, der finder ud af hvad der skal til hvor.

00:31:33

I: Generelt så ser I, at det at blande beboersammensætning er et positivt tiltag?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Bent Madsen, CEO, BL

BM: Det må man sige. Ellers skulle man gøre sig til talsmand for det modsatte, og det ikke det vores erfaringer siger: At en segregeret by er det fornuftigste. Det ville jo være konsekvensen af at mene det modsatte, og det gør vi ikke.

Interview ends at 00:32:00

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

Interview Guide

1. Short introduction of my thesis and myself.
2. Social holistic plans – what they can?
 - a. What is the overall purpose and wanted effect?
 - b. Which activities and interventions are good/important for achieving this?
 - c. What are the common features and differences for these? Who are the target group?
3. The elevator-effect – problem or solution?
 - a. Do you agree with e.g. Municipality of Copenhagen that the effect should be limited?
 - b. What are the negative effects/factors related to the effect?
 - c. What are the positive effects/factors related to the effect?
4. Mixed communities/*social mix* – your experiences in contributing to *social mix*
 - a. What is your view on *social mix*? Should it be encouraged?
 - b. Is *social mix* integrated in the considerations related to your work with social holistic plans?
 - c. What effects do you experience in relation to aiming for *social mix* – or the lack of *social mix*?
5. Disadvantaged neighbourhoods – what is central for creating development?
 - a. What are the most important factors when developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods?
 - b. Are there any general mechanisms/elements which are important in every case?
 - c. Or does each neighbourhood require specialized methods/activities/interventions?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

Transcript of Interview

Date: Thursday, April 25th 2018

Duration: 48 minutes

I: Interviewer

AFN: Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden

00:01:49

I: Jeg skriver speciale om begrebet "blandet by", som jeg er stødt på gennem min studietid og også da jeg var i praktik ved Almene Boliger (Københavns Kommune), da jeg var i praktik der. Det er et begreb, der bruges på mange planer og i mange sammenhænge og nu også politisk, men som jo også en fundering i noget teori og akademisk arbejde. Så jeg har kigget på europæisk forsknings case-studies og erfaringer med "blandet by" i Europa, og hvad de siger for og imod, og prøver nu at sætte det i en dansk kontekst.

00:02:24

I: Og du sidder jo bl.a. og er med til at rådgive og godkende boligsociale helhedsplaner. Er du kun med på dem i København eller er det hele landet?

AFN: Det er hele landet. Vi sidder 6 medarbejdere i alt, og vi sagsbehandler alle de ansøgninger, vi får ind, som vi forventer udmønter sig i ca. 70 helhedsplaner på landsplan. Så det dækker alt fra Thisted til Indre Nørrebro. Vi er i stort set alle de områder, som er nævnt på regeringens ghettoliste, men vi arbejder jo ikke med regeringens ghetto-begreb og administrerer heller ikke efter det. Vi når bredere ud, men er også i de områder, der udpeges..

I: Ja, ghettoområderne er selvfølgelig også udsatte boligområder. Og du har jo så en bred geografisk erfaring med de her planer?

AFN: Det må man sige - vi er totalt landsdækkende.

[...]

00:03:28

I: Men lad mig starte med at spørge til de boligsociale helhedsplaner; hvad er det de kan, og hvad er det overordnede mål for LBF?

AFN: De overordnede mål for de boligsociale indsatser defineres jo af de boligaftaler, der ligger for de 4-årige puljer, vi har, så det er politisk definerede mål, vi arbejder med inden for de boligsociale indsatser. De mål vi har nu er tryghed og at bryde den negative sociale arv. Det har vi brudt ned i 4 indsatser; ved tryghed skelner vi mellem det kriminalpræventive, fx målrettet bestemte ungegrupperinger, der skaber utryghed, og så en bredere trygheds- og trivselsindsats, som mere handler om den oplevede tryghed. Det er ikke altid, mængden af kriminalitet og graden af utryghed hænger sammen. Tryghed kan handle om mange andre ting end kriminalitet, det kan være naboskab og mangel på samme, generationsmøder, mange ældre, der møder unge, der måske har

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

en anden måde at være i gaderummet på, det kan være psykisk syge og alle mulige andre ting [...]. Social arv har vi så brudt ned i en tidlig forebyggende indsats, som [styrkelse af] forældreansvar, og så en uddannelses- og beskæftigelsesindsats som kan rumme voksne, men har primært fokus på de unge. Så vi har ligesom prøvet at lave en fokusering i denne her bevillingsperiode, der handler om at det [unge] generation skal have nogle bedre chancer end de ældre har haft. Dermed ikke sagt, at det ikke kan være steder, hvor man sådan set også arbejder med voksnes tilknytning til arbejdsmarkedet. De ting kan jo godt spille sammen.

00:05:27

I: Og også når man går fra ung til voksen...

AFN: Ja, men også den kultur, der er i familien, kan smitte positivt af på børnene; at de voksne går på arbejde eller har en eller anden form for aktivitet uden for hjemmet. Det er målene. Så spørger du også hvad [helhedsplanerne] kan. Det som det boligsociale i høj grad kan, det er at forebygge: At få fat i beboerne, så snart der vises tidlige tegn på en eller anden form for frafald i uddannelsessystemet, fravær i skolen, begyndende [kontakt] til kriminelle miljøer, osv. Der kan de boligsociale indsatser noget, fordi de er i områderne og tæt på den dagligdag, kan de se nogle problematikker tidligt. Der er også en anden styrke, der handler om, at man har et helhedsblik på familien og ikke kun ser på skoleverden og beskæftigelsessituationen. Udgangspunktet er den dagligdag familien har. På den måde kan denne tværfaglighed og helhedsorientering komme i spil i boligsociale indsatser, da det ofte er et samspil mellem en lang række faktorer, der gør tingene svære for en familie.

00:06:47

AFN: Så er der hele funktionen i at brobygge. Helhedsplanerne kan understøtte de tiltag kommunerne arbejder med, om det så er fravær i skolen, manglende deltagelse af forældregruppen i skoleregi eller børn uden tilknytning til fritidstilbud, der er problemet. Der er en lang række faktorer... Det kan også være familier, der er bekymrede for at komme i dialog med myndighederne, som man langsomt kan få skabt en relation til og få bygget bro til nogle af de eksisterende tilbud i kommunerne. Så en meget stor rolle i det boligsociale er at få etableret relationer og tillid til borgere, som ikke kommer til kommunens tilbud af sig selv.

En fjerde faktor som det boligsociale kan, det er at skabe en "myndighedsfri" zone, og derfor er der flere, der "tør" komme i dialog med helhedsplanerne, hvis de har en eller anden frygt for myndighederne. Det kan både være familier med dansk oprindelse, som er bange for, at børnene bliver tvangsfjernet eller indvandrerfamilier, der kommer fra andre samfund, hvor tilliden til myndigheder er lavere, og de derfor ikke tænker, at kommunen vil en det godt. Der kan man langsomt få brudt forestillinger og myter ned om, hvad det er offentlige myndigheder vil, og langsomt få sat ansigt på myndighederne og kommunikeret, at de ikke er så farlige.

00:08:20

I: Så lidt en safe zone for de, som er skeptiske over for myndighederne?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

AFN: Ja, og der er det vigtigt, at man ikke bare skaber paralleltilbud. Det er jo en faldgrube i det boligsociale; at man kommer til at etablere paralleltilbud til det kommunale. Det har vi meget fokus på, at det ikke er det det handler om. Det handler om langsomt at få bygget relationer op samt erkendelse af og tillid til, i familierne, at de ville have gavn af at få noget støtte, og så hjælpe dem til at finde de rette støttepersoner. Det må aldrig blive paralleltilbud, hvor man gror fast i nogle "gratis" og myndighedsfri tilbud. Det har der tidligere være en tendens til: man har lavet klubber for de unge, for så blev de holdt af gaden, og alle var i princippet glade. Men det blev kontraproduktivt ift. at få dem ind i eksisterende klubtilbud og foreninger.

00:09:19

I: Det [boligsociale] skulle gerne være en vej ind til det etablerede samfund?

AFN: Ja, brobygningen er helt essentiel for at kunne bruge den særlige position man har som myndighedsfri zone produktivt frem for begrænsende. En femte faktor er, at man også bruger det boligsociale som en eller anden form for træningsplatform, hvor de forskellige målgrupper kan "øve" sig på at agere i "normalsamfundets" principper. Både når vi snakker om lommepengejobs, hvor unge, der måske ikke er helt skarpe på, hvad det egentlig er en arbejdsgiver forventer. Der øver man praksisnær læring, hvor man øver sig lidt på noget, som er tæt på, hvordan det egentlig er fx at varetage et job, og hvor man har noget særlig støtte i den periode. Så du finder ud af, hvordan man opretter NemID, hvordan gør man klar til at arbejdsgiveren kan udbetale løn, træning i CV-skrivning, osv. Det samme gør man inden for foreningslivet, hvor der er en eller anden form for kravlegård i det boligsociale, hvor fx fædregrupper eller andre kan øve sig i langsomt at blive mere formaliserede og til sidst selv kunne stifte en forening. Så igen, der er en forebyggende indsats, som jo gerne skal kapacitetsopbygge både borgere og grupper til at navigere blandt de almindelige samfundsnormer.

00:11:30

I: De mål du snakker om, de er for en 4-årig periode, og så bliver de genformuleret eller...?

AFN: Det er jo så op til vores politikere, om de vil genformulere målene eller ej. I sidste bevillingsperiode havde vi 7 principper, og i denne valgte vi så at reducere til 4 indsatser, da der var tydelige tegn på tematiske målsætninger, der kaldte på en fokuseret indsats. Det tredje mål, som jeg ikke nævnte i starten, er et mål om entydig ledelse. Det har en anden karakter [end de to andre], det er mere et organisatorisk mål. Det udmønter vi ved at kræve, at en bestyrelse nedsættes i helhedsplanerne fra direktionen i kommunen og boligorganisationerne, som har ansvaret for at lede indsatsen og sikre at der er mandat i de to vigtigste organisationer ift de aftaler man har indgået, og hvad man skal samarbejde om. [...]

00:13:07

I: Det er et mål uden om borgeren, men kommer borgeren til gode, men man arbejder med nogle medarbejdere i stedet..

AFN: Det er et organisatorisk mål, men det skulle jo gerne give en bedre indsats, som borgeren også kan mærke. Et fokus for disse bestyrelser er, at de ikke kun kigger på det boligsociale og aktiviteter i helhedsplanen, men også arbejder med, hvordan man får kommunens kernerdrift i spil i disse

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

områder, er der måske brug at formulere en strategi [...] for, hvor vi skal hen med et udsat område. Så der kan jo komme en række meget virkningsfulde processer ud at samle de her mennesker om de udsatte områder. Det er vores ønske og håb for de her bestyrelser; at de ikke kun kigger nedad inden for rammerne af en bevilling, men også begynder at udvikle tanker og snitflader, identificerer behov man ikke tidligere har været opmærksom på, for at få en større sammenhæng [med omkringliggende samfund] og et større strategisk løft at det udsatte boligområde. Både i form af politikker og strategier, men også i form af en bedre koordinering mellem det fysiske, renoveringer og aftaler ifm boliganvisning, og derved skabe et organ, der kan skabe sammenhæng mellem alle de redskaber, der er helt essentielle for fx at kunne skabe en blandet by. Det kan det boligsociale nemlig ikke. Så et organ der kan skabe et bredt koordineret og langvarigt løft af disse udsatte boligområder.

00:15:04

I: Når jeg lige hører din forklaring tænker, at der ikke er så meget fokus på Blandet By, men fokus på den udsatte borger og dem, der har brug for lidt ekstra vejledning, og ikke selv har ressourcerne til at igangsætte noget. Og det er jo ikke særlig "blandet"..

AFN: Nej, det boligsociale handler meget om at løfte de beboere, der nu engang er i området. Selvfølgelig, havde vi enorm succes og kunne løfte 50% af de arbejdsløse, ville det jo medføre en blandet by. Men så hurtigt går det ikke. Det boligsociale er ikke en effektiv indsats til at skabe en anden beboersammensætning.

00:15:50

I: Skal den være effektiv - er det et mål?

AFN: Næ, hvis man vil blande beboersammensætningen, skal man have en lang række redskaber i brug: renoveringer, anvisningsaftaler, udlejningsaftaler, osv. Det boligsociale kan kapacitetsopbygge boligområdet og de beboere, der bor der. Det kan betyde at folk, der kommer i beskæftigelse eller tættere på et arbejde, vælge at flytte.

00:16:31

I: Den berømte elevator-effekt...

AFN: Der er stadig en diskussion, også i forskningsmiljøerne, om elevator-effekten er der eller ej, og i hvor stor udstrækning. Men der er enighed, går jeg ud fra, at det er nogle af de mekanismer, der sættes i spil, når man kommer i beskæftigelse; at man træffer andre valg bolig mæssigt.

00:16:58

I: Elevator-effekten nævnes både som en udfordring og en gave alt efter hvor man står, men denne effekt refereres der gennemgående til, i Danmark og internationalt: Når man investerer i nogle indsatser målrettet resourcesvage borger for at styrke dem, så er det en hyppig udvikling, at de på et tidspunkt flytter ud i noget, de selv kan vælge.

AFN: Det gør vi jo alle sammen - får man mulighed for at avancere, flytter man jo til noget mere attraktivt. Så det er en helt almindelig mekanisme. Taberen i det er boligområdet: det gavner ikke boligområdet og er en ærgerlig tendens for disse, men for beboeren er det et naturligt valg og kan

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbygefonden (LBF)

være et led i en [god] udvikling. Det kommer an på hvem "klienten" er; er det beboeren eller byområdet? Er det boligområdet, der adresseres, så er det en uheldig mekanisme [at ressourcestærke folk flytter], som giver en række udfordringer, fx et legitimitetsproblem for dem, der arbejder med indsatserne både lokalt og centralt [LBF]. Vi ikke kan vise, at det virker, hvis hver gang, der er succeser, så forsvinder disse succeser ud af området, og der kommer nye [borgere] til med samme behov.

00:18:39

I: Vil du sige, at det så primært er et politisk problem - fordi det er svært statistisk at vise en udvikling?

AFN: I og med at det kan være et legitimitetsproblem, da det er svært at dokumentere, bliver det også et politisk problem. Det er ét element af det, men det er også et problem for boligområdet, for der er også behov for at ressourcervage og ressourcestærke bliver blandet lidt bedre. Det tror jeg, at vi får et mere velfungerende og mere trygt samfund af, men det er jo i virkeligheden et planspørgsmål. Det handler jo om også at få bygget blandede byer i fremtiden, hvor ejerformer er mikset, for det tror jeg giver nogle sunde kvarterer i byer, når vi mødes på kryds og tværs. Det forplanter sig også i vores skoler, osv...

00:19:50

I: Så er du enig i, at denne her elevatoreffekt skal begrænses, for at undgå at have områder der er...

AFN: [...]Det er klart, at det ville være smukt, hvis nogle rykkede sig, og man formåede at tiltrække nogle ressourcestærke til området, fordi man havde fået arbejdet med de fordomme og imageproblemer der er. Ofte er der jo tale om boliger med en god boligstandard. Udenlandske delegationer, der er ude og se de områder, der er på ghettolisten, står jo undrende og spørger: "Is this the ghetto?" - det kan de slet ikke relatere til. Så der er et potentiale i at fastholde nogle stærke borgere i de her områder.

00:20:44

I: Ja, der er en kvalitet, som kan udnyttes...

AFN: Men hvis visionen er at skabe blandede byer, så tror jeg, at man skal have andre redskaber i spil. Fx fortætning i områder med store åbne græsplæner, i de byer med pres på boligmarkedet skal man arbejde med udlejningsredskaber [fleksibel udlejning] - men det kan man jo ikke bruge uden for de større byer, for det kræver en venteliste for at kunne sortere blandt beboere. Der må man finde andre måder at arbejde med beboersammensætning, og der tror jeg, at de fysiske redskaber er langt mere virkningsfulde. Den boligsociale indsats vil altid arbejde med de beboere og institutioner, der er. Har vi så at gøre med en skole, hvor 70% har anden etnisk baggrund, så lad os styrke skolen sikre, at der er en stærk ledelse, som ser ressourcerne i denne bruger- og forældregruppe. På den måde er det mind-set, der præger det boligsociale, langt mere, at vi skal investere i de her borgere.

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

00:22:23

I: Så det boligsociale tager udgangspunkt i den situation, der er, men har ikke nødvendigvis som overordnet mål, at skulle skabe blandede byer?

AFN: Kun i samspil med alle de andre redskaber, og vi tager imod med kyshånd, når de ansøgninger vi modtager, er tænkt i sammenhæng med disse, fx i Gellerup, Aalborg Øst. Altså at den boligsociale indsats tænkes ind i en samlet strategi.

00:22:55

I: Alstå som en fysisk helhedsplan...

AFN: Ja, og også i en større udvikling som fortætning eller nedrivning. Det er jo helt individuelt fra område til område, hvad der er behov for.

00:23:24

I: Er der nogle indsatser, aktiviteter, problemer, der går igen i alle de boligsociale helhedsplaner eller er det vidt forskelligt?

AFN: Mange af vores indsatsområder er relevante i alle områderne [med boligsociale helhedsplaner]. Der er næsten altid behov for en form for tidlig indsats omhandlende daginstitutionstilknytning eller at få fat i de udsatte familier tidligt, når børnene er på førskoleniveau. Der er også altid behov at understøtte skole, uddannelse og beskæftigelse. Der er også altid behov for at arbejde med naboskab i en eller anden forstand, men tryghed varierer noget mere. Om der er manglende tryghed eller fuld tryghed er meget forskelligt. Den kriminalpræventive indsats varierer også i høj grad. I udkantsområderne, handler problematikkerne om massiv social armod, men ikke om kriminalitet eller udfordringer med at føle sig tryk i boligområdet.

00:23:42

I: Det er ellers det billede man får, når man læser i medierne om udsatte byområder. Altså at kriminaliteten er et stort problem.

AFN: Ja, men det er det langt fra i alle områderne. Der er noget geografisk i det; ofte i mindre boligområder i udkanten er uddannelsesniveau og arbejdsmarkedstilknytning lav, men der er faktisk ikke problemer med at føle sig tryk eller unge, der kommer ud i noget [kriminalitet]. Det handler mere om, at beboerne simpelthen ikke får fodfæste i det uddannelsessystem, der gerne skulle bringe dem i beskæftigelse senere hen. Når vi snakker Blandet By og fysiske greb, så er det helt individuelt; hvad der virker i Gellerup, virker ikke nødvendigvis i en lille kommune med en helt anden [situation].

00:25:43

I: Så I sidder og vurderer lokale forhold hver gang?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

AFN: Ja, og det er en ret stor dyd for os. Der er ikke en 'one size fits all', men lokalt skræddersyede indsats, som selvfølgelig skal lægge sig inden for de målsætninger, der er sat. [...] Vi har meget data og statistik, men vi efterspørger også lokal viden. En ting er hvad statistikkerne kan sige, men vi skal også have fagpersoner fra marken i spil: En dialog med sundhedsplejerske, klubpersonale, osv. Men menneskers opfattelser af nogle ting, kan også være baseret på forestillinger og myter, så vi forsøger at få så objektiv information om, hvad udfordringerne er. Nogle gange kan man desværre støde på, at de fagprofessionelle er med til at stigmatisere nogle borgere ubevidst og reproducere et stigma. Så vi skal kigge på, hvad vi faktisk kan se, der er på spil i det her område.

00:27:47

I: I kan vel også bruge jeres udefra-position til at afsløre nogle myter?

AFN: Vi skal vide, at den lokale viden er super vigtig, men at den også kan være præget af nogle bestemte fortællinger.

00:28:03

I: Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at snakke lidt mere om Blandet By. Når du siger Blandet By, hvad betyder det så for dig?

AFN: Det er en forudsætning for tryghed og tillid. Det gælder på samfundsplan, at jo højere ulighed man har, jo lavere tryghedsniveau har man også. Meget polarisering eller segregering i et boligområde, giver basis for utryghed.

00:28:55

I: Så det er på et samfundsplan, at man skal blande og ikke kun lokalt?

AFN: Det er det store perspektiv på, hvorfor man skal blande i det hele taget. At møde hinanden på kryds og tværs af sociale lag, giver et mere trygt samfund. Når vi kigger lokalt på de udsatte områder - du spørger, hvorfor det er vigtigt, at de bliver blandet eller...?

00:29:26

I: Bare hvad der ligger i det, når du bruger det begreb fx i dit arbejde.

AFN: Så er det den helt klassiske med, at mennesker med forskellige indkomstniveauer, uddannelsesniveauer og beskæftigelsestilknnytning kan bo side om side. Men helt personligt kan jeg godt være i tvivl om blanding i sig selv er løsningen.

00:29:53

I: Hvad får dig til at tvivle?

AFN: Studier, indenfor flygtningeområder, viser, at nytilkomne flygtninge har langt større chance for at komme i beskæftigelse, hvis de flytter tæt på nogle tidligere flygtninge med samme herkomst, som er i beskæftigelse. Det har en langt større effekt, hvis de kommer ind i nogle ressourcestærke egne netværk fremfor at flytte ind ved siden af en ressourcestærk "dig og mig" [etnisk danske].

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

00:30:29

I: Så det med at møde nogen, der har brudt gennem den samme mur, som man selv står overfor?

AFN: Ja, som har det samme udgangspunkt og samme sproglige identifikation og viden, så man kan støtte og hjælpe hinanden i nogle netværk inden for dette etniske miljø. Men altså "blandet", det er jo en politisk målsætning, som vi [LBF] arbejder under, og vi mener både på etnicitet og socialt.

00:31:04

I: Etnicitet er i hvert fald et emne i Ghetttoudspillet og er svært at ignorere.

AFN: Det må man sige. Men jeg tænker, at det vigtigste er et socialt mix, for der kan ligge nogle produktive kræfter i de etniske miljøer, hvis de netop er socialt mixet. Altså det nytter ikke at have en gruppe af samme etniske herkomst, hvor alle står uden for arbejdsmarkedet. De kommer ikke til at kunne støtte hinanden [positivt], men hvis du får mikset "stærke" og "svage" kan det være en stærk kraft. Det er vi ikke så gode til at udnytte i Danmark - nu taler jeg som privatperson og ikke som LBF - men det har jeg set fx i Canada, at man ikke er bange for stærke etniske netværk, og at der var et integrationspotentiale at udnytte ved at tillade fx somaliske grupper at gruppere sig. Det er som om det ikke er legitimt i Danmark, her er vi bange for, at de lukker sig om sig selv. Det er også en risiko, men jeg tror, at man går glip af en integrationsmotor.

00:32:20

I: Og det er jo det, du siger om det sociale mix: De ressourcestærke somaliere er jo ikke lukket om sig selv...

AFN: Nej, de er jo integreret og har en plads på arbejdsmarkedet.

I: Så hvis de somaliere kunne være rollemodeller for andre somaliere, der er mere uden for samfundet, ville det virke præventivt ift. grupperinger, der lukker sig om sig selv?

AFN: Ja, men det er ikke det mandat LBF arbejder under.

I: Nej, det er ikke den logik, der hersker politisk.

AFN: Så det er min private mening og min mening som antropolog, at der er muligheder i det her, som kunne udnyttes.

00:33:10

I: En af de problematikker jeg støder på ifm blandet by, det er det med, at når man blander en bydel tiltrækker man ofte nogle nye borgere, der flytter ind på bekostning af dem, der allerede bor der, og som så skal flytte et andet sted hen. Derfor bliver det svært at måle statistisk, hvor de her borgere, der har brug for støtte egentlig er. Det er nemmere, når de er grupperet; så kan man se, hvor de er og analysere de behov, de har. Tænker du også, at det er en risiko i Danmark?

AFN: Bestemt. Og jeg tænker, at vi faktisk allerede ser nogle alarmerende tendenser. Fx at de meget svage i udkantskommunerne har en tendens til at flytte i privatudlejning. Der er jeg bekymret for, hvordan kommunerne vil nå de her borgere før, de "forsvinder". Hvis borgerne rykker i det privat

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

udlejede, altså Låsby Svendsens¹ skimmelsvampsbefængte boliger - for at sætte det på spidsen - så bliver det sværere for kommunerne at have en platform for at nå de her borgere med tilbud. Så jeg kan sagtens se, at der er fordele ved at identificere [og lokalisere] de udsatte borgere, og derfra kunne styrke den kernerdrift kommunerne står for; klubber, skole, daginstitutioner, osv. Så bliver vi nødt til erkende, at vi har en gruppe svage borgere, og at vi må opbygge nogle stærke netværk lokalt. Det [at de ressourcetsvage borgere bor i alment] giver kommunerne en platform for at arbejde med deres borgere, som de mister, hvis de flytter ud i noget andet. Nogle borgere kan falde ud [af støttesystemerne] som en implikation af at blande.

00:35:33

I: Man mister vel også bevillingsgrundlaget? Pengene til boligsociale indsatser er oftest bundet op på, at man kan måle en vis procentdel borgere, der er udsatte i et bestemt område.

AFN: Jo, men det skal ikke være et incitament til at fastholde beboere i området; altså at man får penge så længe man kan holde folk i en skidt situation. [...] Det er ikke et problem, vi oplever. Nogle beboerdemokratier stemmer også nej til at få LBF-midler, da de ikke ønsker det stigma på deres boligområde. Så som udgangspunkt er det ikke attraktivt at få vores midler, men det kan være en nødvendighed. [...]

00:37:27

AFN: Men det giver kommunerne en udfordring, fordi den platform, hvor de kan tilbyde indsatser til borgere, der har særlig brug for særlig støtte, bliver mere diffus, hvis man blander og spreder beboerne - så flytter man jo egentlig problemerne og løser dem ikke. Du løser måske problemerne for boligområder og for dettes attraktionsværdi og til sidst for boligorganisationen, som jo gerne vil have attraktive boligområder og lange ventelister, men kommunerne har stadig borgerne, men deres muligheder for at håndtere disse [borgere] bliver mere diffus.

00:38:12

I: Kommunerne har vel stadig et ansvar overfor disse borgere?

AFN: Ja, præcis, og der ville det måske være klogere som kommune, som fx Københavns Kommune har gjort, at lave positiv særbehandling af de udsatte byområder: Lad os investere mere i disse områder, for det kan betale sig på den lange bane, for der skabes bedre livschancer for børn og unge ved fx at styrke de skoler, der har brug for lidt ekstra indspark. Hele den investeringslogik er desværre lidt fraværende, og det handler i stedet om at sprede og sanktionere. Jeg tror, der er et stort samfundsøkonomisk potentiale i en investeringslogik.

00:39:06

I: Så det nogle af risiciene ved "Blandet By"; at kommunerne mister overblikket over, hvor de ressourcetsvage borgere er og også måske det politiske grundlag for at investere penge i boligsociale indsatser, da problemet ikke længere synes så stort?

¹ Danish tradesman primarily known for renting out ramshackled estates to people on governmental aid.

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

AFN: Ja, det bliver sværere at lokalisere og stiller også boligorganisationerne i en ny situation. Så er den boligsociale opgave i princippet spredt ud på alle deres boligafdelinger [i stedet for få, da de ressourcetsvage borgere er spredt] mere tyndt. Hvis man skal lykkes med den dagsorden, så skal man også gentænke måden at gå til boligsocialt arbejde på. Det er ikke nødvendigvis dårligere, men det bliver noget helt andet. Du kan ikke længere arbejde med få [geografiske] områder og med at bygge kapacitet op i disse gennem fx institutioner. Så er vi i stedet ude i nogle mere diffuse og andre aktører. [...]

00:40:20

I: De private udlejere er jo pt. fritaget [fra den boligsociale opgave].

AFN: Ja, det er de, så det kræver en ny måde at tænke det [boligsociale] på og arbejde med det på. Hvilke aktører man skal have på banen hvor, bliver mere diffust.

00:40:36

I: Når I laver boligsociale helhedsplaner, så måler I også kun på de almene afdelinger? I opdager ikke, hvis der ligger en privat udlejet boligblok med samme udfordringer lige ved siden af?

AFN: Nej, men det er noget, vi gerne vil undersøge, og vi er ved at sætte en undersøgelse i gang og kigge på, hvad der sker med de udsatte borgere på tværs af ejerformer over en 30-årig periode: Hvor flytter de hen og rundt.

00:41:05

I: Man kan jo forestille sig, at ligesom der er almene afdelinger, der er velfungerende og meget attraktive, så er der også privat udlejning, som falder ind under kategorien 'udsat boligområde'.

AFN: Vi tror endda, det er stigende i udkanten, da disse boliger bliver udlejet med så ringe boligstandarder, at huslejen er lavere end i det almene. Derudover kan de her nomadefamilier², der bevidst prøver at undgå myndighederne, gemme sig lidt mere i det private.

00:41:49

I: Fordi så meget af det almene alligevel er koblet op på kommunerne, selvom de er deres egen sektor?

AFN: Ja, lige præcis. Vi holder jo fast i at tilbyde gode, sunde og tidssvarende boliger til alle indkomstgrupper, og det betyder jo at huslejen er højere end i et virkelig tarveligt og slidt privat hus eller lejlighed.

[...]

² Families who speculate in moving from municipality to municipality to limit the official records of critical elements in their living situation, e.g. with the purpose of avoiding having one's children forcibly removed by a municipality.

Appendix 3: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, consultant, Landsbyggefonden (LBF)

00:44:07

I: De boligsociale helhedsplaner bliver godkendt for en 4-årig periode. Hvor meget kan man nå at rykke på denne tid? De fleste bliver fornyet, ikke?

AFN: Jo, det gør de. Jeg tænker, at det kommer an på samfundsudviklingen, hvorvidt man kan nå de mål, der er sat. Altså får vi større ulighed, hvor mange falder ud, ydelsernes størrelse, udviklingen af arbejdsmarkedet - hvis arbejdspladser falder bort - altså det binder an til nogle langt større samfundsmæssige strukturer og mekanismer, som er påvirket ikke kun af nationale forhold, men også globale. Derudover handler det om, hvor hårdhændet man går til det - fx hvis målet om nedskæring til maks. 40 % almene boliger i de her 16 "ghettoområder" fra Ghettoudspillet skal nås.

00:45:51

I: Men I ser en positiv udvikling, når der er en boligsocial helhedsplan i et område? Måske er det en langsom udvikling med tilbageskridt også, men generelt er det en forbedring?

AFN: Vi ser en fremgang og en reduktion af udsatte områder - så længe man bruger konsekvente målingskriterier, og ikke ændrer dem hele tiden. Især i de store byer, fx København. Det handler ikke kun om den boligsociale indsats, men et samspil mellem mange redskaber. I København har de her udlejningsredskaber [fleksibel udlejning] virket effektivt.

00:46:39

I: Så over tid kan man altså måle en effekt af de langvarige og vedvarende indsatser?

AFN: Ja, men det kræver, at alle redskaberne tænkes sammen, og at man også har en politisk og strategisk overbygning, altså at man får tænkt tingene på tværs.

Interview ends at 00:48:00

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

Interview Guide

1. Short introduction of my thesis and myself.
2. Social holistic plans – what they can?
 - a. What is the overall purpose and wanted effect?
 - b. Which activities and interventions are good/important for achieving this?
 - c. What are the common features and differences for these? Who are the target group?
3. The elevator-effect – problem or solution?
 - a. Do you agree with e.g. Municipality of Copenhagen that the effect should be limited?
 - b. What are the negative effects/factors related to the effect?
 - c. What are the positive effects/factors related to the effect?
4. Mixed communities/*social mix* – your experiences in contributing to *social mix*
 - a. What is your view on *social mix*? Should it be encouraged?
 - b. Is *social mix* integrated in the considerations related to your work with social holistic plans?
 - c. What effects do you experience in relation to aiming for *social mix* – or the lack of *social mix*?
5. Disadvantaged neighbourhoods – what is central for creating development?
 - a. What are the most important factors when developing disadvantaged neighbourhoods?
 - b. Are there any general mechanisms/elements which are important in every case?
 - c. Or does each neighbourhood require specialized methods/activities/interventions?

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

Transcript of Interview

Date: Thursday, April 25th 2018

Duration: 35 minutes

I: Interviewer

LA: Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber - former employee at CFBU

00:00:02

I: Jeg skriver speciale om begrebet "blandet by", som jeg er stødt på gennem min studietid, og også da jeg var i praktik ved Almene Boliger (Københavns Kommune). Det er et begreb, der bruges på mange planer og i mange sammenhænge og nu også politisk, men som jo også en funderer i noget teori og akademisk arbejde. Så jeg har kigget på europæisk forsknings case-studies og erfaringer med "blandet by" i Europa, og hvad de siger for og imod, og prøver nu at sætte det i en dansk kontekst.

Du har en fortid i Center for Boligsocial Udvikling (CFBU) og har siddet med mange af de aktiviteter, der skal styrke den boligsocial indsats. Sådant som jeg har forstået det, opfordres de boligsociale helhedsplaner til primært at bruge aktiviteter beskrevet i CFBU's aktivitetskatalog?

LA: Ja, det kan man godt sige. I den pulje, der snart er færdig med at blive delt ud til helhedsplaner (2014-2018), var et krav, at hovedparten af de aktiviteter, der skulle gives midler til, skulle være såkaldte evidensbaserede. På den baggrund lavede CFBU det omtalte katalog, og så er det lidt blevet sådan, at man [helhedsplanerne] vælger fra det. Man kan nok ikke sige, at man *kun* må vælge herfra, men det er lidt en guide for, hvad der er okay at sætte i gang.

00:02:37

I: Og så skal de [aktiviteterne] selvfølgelig tilpasses de lokale omstændigheder [...]. Jeg vil gerne høre, hvad dine erfaringer er med de aktiviteter. Der er jo ret mange aktiviteter, når man kigger i kataloget - har de nogle fællestræk eller er det mere fokus på, at de skulle nå bredt?

LA: Nu er du lidt inde på, hvad der karakteriserer det boligsociale arbejde. Der er forskellige typer af aktiviteter, og man sige, at der er et skel mellem dem, ved at nogle er individorienterede, og så er der nogle, der er mere område- og gruppeorienterede. I de senere år er man rykket lidt mere over i de individorienterede end tidligere, i og med at det klassiske boligsociale lokalsamfundsarbejde har været meget fokuseret på at skabe gode lokale miljøer, trivsel og fællesskaber. Man er blevet opmærksom på, at nogle af de boligsociale indsatser også kan arbejde med noget af det, som ligger tættere på kommunens opgaver: at få folk i beskæftigelse, forbedre folks skolegang, styrke fritidsjob, osv. Så en lille smule mere individorienterede [aktiviteter] og måske også lidt mere af de her mere klassiske myndighedsopgaver, hvor de boligsociale indsatser kan være med til at understøtte dem [kommunens myndighedsopgaver]. [...] Der er også forskel på, hvor detaljeret de her aktiviteter er beskrevet; altså nogle, hvor det er en bestemt fremgangsmåde og andre, hvor det mere er en samskabelse med beboerne. Så der er også en variation i, hvor meget det er empowerment-/samskabelsesorienteret, og hvor meget det er tættere på en slags myndighedsarbejde, hvor det er en type aktiviteter, som er foruddefineret og som sættes i gang *for*

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

målgruppen og knap så meget *med* målgruppen. [...] Der er også fra LBF's (Landsbyggefonden) side blevet stillet flere krav til at styrke samarbejdet. Så der er kommet mere opmærksomhed på den del af det boligsociale arbejde (de individorienterede og kommunistøttende aktiviteter).

00:05:49

I: Når man sidder [i CFBU] og skal afprøve og formulere de her aktiviteter, har man så det her Blandet By-mål in mente, og hvilke overordnede mål arbejder man efter?

LA: Jeg synes ikke, at det [Blandet By] fylder sindssygt meget, når man taler boligsociale indsatser. Det er mere om, hvad målet er med det. Er det målet at ændre beboersammensætningen eller at styrke beboerne i området i forvejen. Et eller andet sted så er det jo begge dele, for man håber jo både på at løfte boligområdet, men også at tiltrække andre [typer] beboere. LBF's formål i de boligsociale indsatser er jo på mange måder også at gøre områderne mere attraktive for et bredere udsnit af befolkningen. Men når man er helt nede i de der boligsociale aktiviteter, så handler det primært om, hvad vi kan gøre for de enkelte beboere, der bor der i forvejen. Derudover handler det også om at skabe møder: Både mellem forskellige beboergrupper i områderne, men også at få trukket nogle beboere ud af områderne og få skabt medborgerskab, connection, til det omgivende samfund, så det ikke bliver nogle små lukkede samfund.

00:07:49

I: Når du siger, at et mål er at få trukket beboerne ud af områderne, hvad mener du så? At de skal flytte eller skal have aktiviteter og relationer uden for boligområdet?

LA: At de *bevæger* sig ud af området. Og det kan være på mange forskellige måder, fx at komme ind i idrætslivet, komme i beskæftigelse, få et fritidsjob uden for boligområdet - det her med, at skabe trafik ud og ind af området. Det forsøger man at arbejde med, for at undgå de der lukkede enheder og så de, der bor i områderne, oplever at være en del af et større samfund. Så i det ligger der nok noget om det her [mål om] Blandet By.

00:08:26

I: Ghattoudspillet fokuserer på, at man skal have flyttet nogle eksisterende beboere ud af boligområdet for at give plads til en anden type beboere, men du peger på, at man også kan "blande" ved at skabe flere ærinder og relationer på tværs af sådan en bydelsgrænse

LA: Ja, og det kan både handle om, at der er nogle, der "tør" eller får mulighed for at bevæge sig ud af området, og at få skabt aktiviteter og funktioner i området, som kan tiltrække andre [udenfor området]. Men de boligsociale helhedsplaner indeholder ikke fysiske tiltag, så her handler det mere om at etablere aktiviteter, der er attraktive.

00:09:21

I: Og så ligger den boligsociale helhedsplan ofte inden for tidsperioden af fysiske helhedsplaner.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

LA: Ja, der er ofte også fysiske indsatser samtidig. Der er imidlertid nogle udfordringer i, at de midler, der bliver givet fra LBF, jo er lejernes midler, hvilket har givet nogle udfordringer ift., hvem målgruppen [for indsatserne] er. Det har været sådan, at det er dem, der bor i boligområdet [i det almene], der er målgruppen, og at man ikke kan lave aktiviteter for folk uden for denne målgruppe. Det kan være en udfordring ift at skabe en blandet by. Det ved jeg, at nogle områder har kæmpet med, fordi de gerne ville åbne op, så deres aktiviteter henvendte sig til en bredere målgruppe, men det er et dilemma, hvorvidt LBF skal betale for aktiviteter, hvor borgere uden for [den almene sektor] deltager.

00:10:24

I: Er det også et behov, du har stiftet bekendtskab med, altså ikke kun at målrette mod det almene udsatte boligområde?

LA: Jeg forstår godt præmissen, at man ikke skal investere en masse penge i noget, som er uden for målgruppen, men samtidig kan jeg se et kæmpe potentiale i aktiviteter, der formår at skabe møder, bevægelse og mobilitet. Det kan være hæmmende for området, hvis man tænker det alt for [geografisk] afgrænset.

00:11:00

I: Der er vel nogle mennesker på "den anden side", der også ville have gavn af...

LA: Ja, og for at undgå, at områderne bliver til lukkede parallelsamfund, så er det jo vigtigt at få grænserne blødt op og skabe møder og aktiviteter på tværs af grænsen mellem boligområde og byområde.

00:11:36

I: Mht. til den her elevatoreffekt: Man kan jo ikke komme uden om, at de her boligsociale indsatser og aktiviteter er med til at gøre, at nogle beboere får mere magt over egen livssituation og derfor også vælger at flytte ud af området. Er det en effekt, som du ser som et problem eller som et givet faktum?

LA: Det [elevatoreffekten] behøver ikke nødvendigvis være et stort problem. Jeg synes, det kommer an på størrelsen af boligområderne. Hvis det er meget store [områder], hvor man har en stor gruppe beboere udenfor arbejdsmarkedet og det bredere samfund, så synes jeg, det er et problem, at der ikke opstår [de førnævnte] møder, og at de som får en fod ind på arbejdsmarkedet rykker ud. Så kan det godt blive en anden kultur, der [dominerer] disse områder. Men hvis det er mindre områder, så synes jeg, det er vigtigere at fokusere på de her bevægelser; at åbne områderne op og ikke bekymrer sig så forfærdeligt meget om hvem der bor der, og hvem der ikke gør. Så det kommer an på størrelse og omfang, men de små enheder ville jeg ikke være så bekymrede for, så længe man tænker på at [åbne området] op.

00:13:14

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

I: Elevatoreffekten er vel også en effekt af, at der er nogle indsatser, der rent faktisk virker?

LA: Lige præcis, og det kan godt være nemmere at lave boligsocialt arbejde og få fat i de udsatte grupper, hvis vi ved, hvor de bor henne. [...] I Odense prøvede de jo på et tidspunkt at kalde Vollsmose for en 'integrationsluse' i erkendelsen af, at beboerne jo flyttede videre, men at man ikke kunne ændre på Vollsmose som sådan, og problemerne vedblev at være nogenlunde de samme. Til gengæld kan man lave en helt masse tiltag i Vollsmose sådan, at der er nogle, der kommer igennem "maskinen" og ud på den anden side. Den tankegang kan man godt bruge [...].

00:14:24

I: Kan du være bekymret, når vi kigger på Blandet By-begrebet, sådan som det er lagt ud i Ghattoudspillet; at det resulterer i en udflytning og udbytning af de resourcesvage? Kan du være bange for, at vi mister grebet om dem, der har brug for indsatserne?

LA: Det er et godt spørgsmål... Mest er jeg bange for hele tankegangen med, at man flytter rundt [på folk], og at man glemmer, at der skal være boliger til folk med behov. Hele den almene sektor er også sat i verden for at huse dem, der ikke selv kan skaffe sig en bolig. Det er jeg allermost bekymret for [at vi glemmer]. Jeg kan derudover være bekymret for, at når man flytter de her sårbare familier rundt, om der så vil være den samme hånd under dem, hvis de bor alle mulige andre steder [end det almene].

00:15:40

I: Jeg har talt med Anna Flyverbom Nordgreen, som nævner en bekymring ift, hvis de udsatte beboere ender i privat udlejning, så mister man viden, om hvor de er, og hvad der sker med dem. Måske især i forhold til de her [nomade¹-]familier, der flytter fra kommune til kommune. Hvis ikke de bor i det almene, kan det være svært at følge op på dem.

LA: Fuldstændigt. Jeg har lige lavet et projekt i Lolland Kommune med fokus på privat udlejning, fordi vi så et problem i, at der bare ikke er den samme hånd under den private udlejningssektor som i den almene. Der er ikke boligsociale indsatser, og derfor er der en større risiko for, at de [udsatte borgere] ikke bliver set.

00:16:45

I: Så måske skal vi i fremtiden redefinere, hvad det er boligsocialt betyder, hvor pengene skal komme fra og hvem målgruppen skal være? [...]

LA: Det kunne være spændende at tænke boligsociale indsatser også ift den private udlejningssektor. Det er helt oplagt, især i yderområderne, hvor problematikken med udsatte borgere i privat udlejning er stigende. Den kombi, synes jeg, er lidt giftig.

¹ Families who speculate in moving from municipality to municipality to limit the official records of critical elements in their living situation, e.g. with the purpose of avoiding having one's children forcibly removed by a municipality.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

00:17:30

I: Nu har du jo en del indsigt i CFBU's arbejde og anbefalinger - har du læse Ghettoudspillet?

LA: Ja, men ikke så nøje som jeg burde.

I: Det er der sikkert rig mulighed for endnu, men hvad er dine umiddelbare tanker om det?

LA: Sådan helt overordnet [...], så er der nogle gode tanker i noget af det, men der er meget fokus på straf og meget lidt på det sociale arbejde. Der er ikke den anerkendelse af det boligsociale arbejde, som jeg synes, der burde være. Man kan diskutere om det boligsociale arbejde, skal have det ansvar, som det er at putte dem ind i en sådan strategi - altså det er et stort ansvar at lægge på boligorganisationerne at skulle løfte de her udfordringer gennem boligsociale indsatser [...] - hele det her forebyggende sociale arbejde fylder slet ikke så meget som det burde [i Ghettoudspillet]. [...] Det ville jo være det, der ville virke og give de her boligområder særlige fordele, en særlig styrket indsats ift skoler, daginstitutioner, sportsaktiviteter. Man skulle sætte ind der, i stedet for at gøre det vanskeligere. Det [sidste], synes jeg sker med den strategi, der er formuleret nu.

00:19:08

I: Det er din erfaring, at det er de her vedvarende, langvarige boligsociale indsatser, der giver en positiv udvikling i områderne?

LA: Ja, men de boligsociale indsatser kan ikke løfte det alene og skabe stærke boligområder, men de kan gøre noget for de beboere, der bor i områderne. Det, at der er boligsociale medarbejdere [lokalt] og et stærkt samarbejde med kommunen, så hånden bliver holdt under de udsatte borgere i form af en styrket indsats. De [udsatte beboere] får måske en relation til en "voksen" boligsocial medarbejder, som de ellers ikke ville have haft; nogen de har tillid til og kan få hjælp ved ift et fritidsjob, skolen, eller hvis de er på vej ud af en kriminel løbebane. Det er der, vi skal gribe ind. Der er jo ingen tvivl om, at der udfordringer i de her områder, og der er også områder, hvor der ikke er mange rollemodeller for de unge, da der ikke er mange voksne, der går på arbejde. Samfundet skulle hjælpe dem i stedet for at løfte pegefingeren; altså skabe gode rollemodeller og lidt træde ind i en "forælderrolle" og hjælpe på den måde.

00:20:38

I: Altså ved at skabe en vej ind til systemet?

LA: Ja.

00:20:43

I: Noget af det teori, jeg har gennemgået, foreslår, at i stedet for et mål om at nedbryde ghettområder, så burde vi i stedet acceptere, at der er nogle områder, som er mere udsatte end andre og så arbejde med en nedre grænse for udsathed. Hvad tænker du om det?

LA: Det lyder fornuftigt - altså det relaterer til størrelsen på de her områder. Hvis der er en stor udsat beboergruppe, er der nogle særlige udfordringer i det, og i nogle områder bliver man nødt til at lave fysiske tiltag fx at rive ned, men vi skal ikke være bekymrede for alle områder på den måde. Det handler mere om at styrke områderne i stedet for at ændre, hvem der bor der [...].

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

00:20:50

I: Synes du, at Blandet By er et godt overordnet mål for samfundet? Klinger det positivt hos dig, alt efter hvad du lægger i begrebet.

LA: Ja, det er jo lige det. Det kommer an på, hvad man lægger i det, Blandet By kan betyde rummelighed og plads til forskellighed, og at vi møder hinanden på tværs af, hvem vi er. Og hvis det er dét, kan jeg godt lide det. Men hvis det bliver brugt til at skubbe nogen ud og til at udpege hvem, der er gode borgere og hvem, der er knap så gode. Så klinger det ikke så rart.

00:22:41

I: Hvordan tænker du, at det blive brugt i Danmark i dag - eller der hvor du er stødt på det?

LA: Jeg er måske ikke stødt så meget på det... Men fx ift Ghettoudsoillet, så er det jo den sidste betydning af det [der formuleres]. Altså en negativ påtale af bestemte grupper. Og der er [begrebet] ikke så positivt.

00:23:13

I: Blandet By bliver ofte omtalt som en måde at skabe møder mellem folk på, og der er lidt uenighed om, hvad denne forskellighed består af; er det etnicitet eller..

LA: Københavns Kommune bruger det også, ikke? Der tænker jeg [begrebet] mere positivt, så der er nok forskellige diskurser om det.

[...]

00:24:02

I: Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at høre lidt om, hvad du laver nu, i din virksomhed Naboskaber? Bruger du nogle af de erfaringer, du har gjort dig?

LA: Jeg arbejder stadig med at evaluere boligsociale indsatser for LBF. Det bruger jeg en stor del af min tid på. Lige nu er jeg igang med en evaluering, som VIVE² har igangsat, om den pulje, der hedder 2010-2014-midlerne. Dvs. de helhedsplaner, der er lige ved at være afsluttet nu. Der har vi arbejdet med 14 caseområder, som vi har besøgt og den evalueringsmetode, som blev igangsat for en del år siden, ligger tæt op ad den her evidensbaserede tilgang, som også ligger bag lanceringen af det føromtalt CFBU-katalog. Der kigger vi på de enkelte aktiviteter og måler effekterne af dem, fx hvad er effekterne af en fritidsjobindsats, hvad indeholder den boligsociale arbejds metode, hvordan er organisering omkring aktiviteterne, osv.

00:25:26

I: Jeg går ud fra, at det er 14 cases, der er spredt ud geografisk over hele landet - kan I se en effekt af de her indsatser og aktiviteter, er det målbart?

² Danish center for research and analysis. A merging of the former SFI and KORA.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

LA: Nej, det er super svært at måle effekterne. Det eneste vi indtil videre har fundet effekter på, er arbejdet med at skabe lommepege- og fritidsjob. Der kan vi se, i de områder, der har haft disse indsatser, at flere har fritidsjob blandt unge og også året efter beholder fritidsjobbet. Vi kan se i andre analyser, at det [at have et fritidsjob] har rigtig stor betydning for på længere sigt at komme ind på arbejdsmarkedet og også holde motivationen ift. skolegang, og sådan nogle ting. Så har vi kunnet se med aktiviteterne omkring Bydelsmødre, at dem, der er bydelsmødre i højere grad kommer i uddannelse. Når vi undersøger dem på beskæftigelse, er de det tilsyneladende ikke (i beskæftigelse), men vælger i stedet uddannelsesvejen. Det er det, vi indtil videre har fundet konkret, altså som er registerbaseret effekter. Derudover har vi så også talt med en masse mennesker og har derigennem indhentet nogle mere "bløde" resultater. Vi har også lavet en spørgeskemaundersøgelse af dem, der arbejder sammen med det boligsociale indsatser fra kommunernes side. De peger på noget interessant, nemlig at de kommunale medarbejdere mener, at det boligsociale arbejde er med til at styrke det forebyggende tværfaglige og tværsektionelle arbejde omkring borgere i udsatte byområder. Så en boligsocial indsats, der er tæt på beboerne i lokalområdet og samtidig har et tæt samarbejde med kommunen og dens aktører, er med til at styrke det lokale arbejde med at få fat i målgruppen og kunne gribe hurtigt ind ved behov. Det er også det, jeg mener; at det her latente netværk omkring borgerne, der kan få fat på dem inden, deres problemer vokser sig alt for store, det er det, der rykker i mine øjne. Og det kan være svært at måle effekten af den slags tiltag, fordi det er noget, vi først kan se på meget lang sigt, årtier, så på en måde må man også bare tro på det: At hvis dét er oplevelsen både blandt kommunale og boligsociale medarbejdere og blandt beboerne selv, der fortæller, at de drager nytte af de her typer aktiviteter, så er det godt nok for mig.

00:28:09

I: Har du en oplevelse af, at fordi det er så svært at måle, og fordi der er så få kvantitative resultater, så kan det være svært at sælge politisk, eller det er utilfredsstillende politisk set?

LA: Helt klart - og det er jo forståeligt. Det ville være fantastisk, hvis vi bare kunne sige, at hvis vi sætter en fritidsindsats eller en bydelsmødreindsats i gang på en bestemt måde, så wupti er der 10 flere i beskæftigelse. Den [målbare effekt] er jo en måde at guide os til, hvilke indsatser, der virker og at forsvare, at vi bruger netop disse, så jeg kan sagtens sætte mig ind, at det ville være dejligt [hvis vi kunne måle på den måde]. Men hvis vi kun kan bruge indsatser, som kan måles på den måde, så mister vi bare en masse anden slags arbejde, som ikke kan måles, men som har en værdi; altså understøttende, forebyggende relationsarbejde, rollemodel og mentorarbejde - altså som er ret "blødt", men som jeg har erfaret gør en kæmpe forskel. Samtidig kan jeg høre fra de kommunale parter, der er helt ude i det udførende led, at de her indsatser gør en forskel. Det er ret stærkt, at de også oplever det, og at det ikke kun er medarbejderne i de boligsociale helhedsplaner.

00:29:44

I: Jeg tænker også, at nogle af de her resultater og udviklinger også er ret skrøbelige over for en del uforudsigelige strukturer; hvis boligmarkedet pludselig ændrer sig, der er finanskrise, eller andet som kan gøre det svært at forudsige menneskers situationer og behov.

Appendix 4: Interview Guide and Transcript of Interview with Louise Aner, consultant, Naboskaber (former employee at CFBU)

LA: Og derfor er vi også nødt til at have en vis fleksibilitet i arbejdet, og det er en af de styrker i det boligsociale, som vi skal værne om, at det kan være mere håndholdt - det er også noget af det de kommunale medarbejdere siger, at det er fantastisk at have en samarbejdspartner, der ikke kun har de samme fire klart definerede redskaber at tilbyde, men at de boligsociale i højere grad kan sige, at nu må vi lige se, hvad beboeren har behov for og tilpasse indsatsen over tid og på den måde tilpasse indsatsen noget mere. Det giver en helt anden type indsats, og det er de kommunale parter glade for at samarbejde med,

00:31:10

I: Du nævnte, at nogle af de effekter i kan måle er på fritidsjob og lommepengejob, og det er jo aktiviteter, der primært henvender sig til unge. Jeg kan forstå, at de helhedsplaner, der er sat i søen nu, har hovedfokus på de unge. Tænker du, at det er det rigtige sted at sætte ind eller er der potentialer andre grupper?

LA: Det har vi diskuteret en del [i projektgruppen], fordi... Jo, på mange måder er det den rigtige gruppe at sætte ind over for, fordi vi her kan gøre en forskel og midlerne bliver brugt rigtig godt der, fordi man gør en forskel for unge, der har betydning for hele deres liv. Det er sværere at få en traumatiseret flygtning ud på arbejdsmarkedet - enten skal der rigtig meget til, eller også kan man måske slet ikke. Men jeg tænker, at man kunne da godt have øje for at arbejde med den ældre gruppe og nogle andre mål. Der er jo blevet meget fokuseret på beskæftigelse og uddannelse, men måske var der også andre mål der var vigtige. Man kunne måske arbejde mere med trivsel og hverdagsmestring; nogle andre typer af mål som også har betydning for sundhed... - altså man ville sikkert sagtens kunne måle en samfundsøkonomisk fordel ved det, fordi trivsel har betydning for helbred og sundhed, men også for hvilken forældre man er.

00:32:57

I: Ja, de har jo også børn, dem vi taler om.

LA: Ja, præcis. Men jeg tror, at grunden til, at man har valgt den unge gruppe, er fordi det er svært at få fx en beskæftigelseseffekt i den voksne målgruppe. Måske kan de [voksne] komme tættere på, få det bedre og blive bedre til at rumme at søge job, men det er en lang rejse, og det er ikke altid, de kommer derhen. Måske skal man ikke altid have som mål at fikse de boligsociale problemer, måske kan man lære folk at leve med dem og håndtere dem i stedet, så folk kan mestre deres hverdag og håndtere de sociale udfordringer, de nu engang har, og som vi ikke bare kan fikse. Det er jo en helt anden måde at tænke på, for vi har så en anden type mål end beskæftigelse. Og det tror jeg, har en betydning, fx for deres børn, at forældrene har lært at håndtere de ting, de har med i bagagen. Så jeg kunne godt tænke mig, at man arbejdede med det også, og have mere fokus på en anden type værdier og mål. Men det er svært, fordi det er svært at måle på - men igen, hvis man skal kunne måle alt, så mister man den type borgere.

Interview ends at 00:35:00