'Ghetto' Ecologies in the Neoliberal City: From Citizen Power to Ritualised Resistance in Danish Non-Profit Housing

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Abstract

This thesis demonstrates how neoliberal urbanism has unrolled in the context of the Danish non-profit housing sector, using the case of Copenhagen neighbourhood Tingbjerg as a case study. Arguing that this process has significantly altered the relations of power within the neighbourhood, it further investigates the mode of resistance emerging locally as a response. Danish non-profit housing has been subject to the controversial 'ghetto plan', leading to the emergence of a national-scale movement against this stigmatising plan that, under the pretext of confronting integration problems, effectively results in the commodification of non-profit housing. Meanwhile, the case of local-scale resistance studied in this thesis is argued to constitute a form of 'ritualised mode of resistance' that while attempting to gain influence over the development of Tingbjerg, operates within the logic of the established order embodied in the ghetto plan. This indicates a socio-ecological configuration that is shifting from the institutionally secured citizen-power inherent to the tenant democracy of the non-profit housing sector, to a human-(urban)nature configuration characterised by top-down inclusivity measures. The thesis further aims toward bringing housing into Urban Political Ecology, arguing that the studied case may shed light on future just and sustainable socioecological configurations in cities.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Introduction

The Danish non-profit housing sector has been under attack for two decades (Larsen and Lund-Hansen, 2016). Created in the early 20th century as a part of the establishment of the Danish welfare state, the non-profit housing sector is based on a model for communal housing that prioritises the right to affordable housing over real estate profit. Moreover, as ownership is put in the hands of residents, the model is driven by a tenant democracy that allows them to actively decide over their urban environment. However, the attempt of several right-wing governments to appropriate the sector under the regular real estate market is threatening its existence. The latest of these attempts is the controversial 'ghetto plan' (Regeringen, 2018), that under the pretext of disassembling areas with a high concentration of non-profit housing referred to in the plan as 'ghettos' and in doing so enhance integration, effectively results in the commodification of non-profit housing. This does not only result in the loss of affordable housing but also the weakening of the tenant democracy, constituting one of the few existing housing configurations in which residents own and decide over their environment. In these changed circumstances in the Danish non-profit housing sector, what do residents do to continue to impact their neighbourhood? Using the Copenhagen neighbourhood Tingbjerg as a case, this thesis will investigate how residents resist and attempt to gain influence when faced with the dissolvement of the tenant democracy that used to constitute their democratic platform.

The commodification of the Danish non-profit housing sector coincides with a general neoliberalisation of cities – what Margit Mayer (2016) refers to as 'neoliberal urbanism'. This is an urbanism that views housing and cities not primarily as a unit of socioecological reproduction, fulfilling basic human needs, but as a commodity included in the reproduction of capital. While the city has always somewhat played a role in this reproduction (Harvey, 2008) neoliberal urbanism accounts for

an intensification of privatisation and speculation, creating cities with skyrocketing housing prices exacerbated by a deregulated real estate market. Furthermore, this neoliberalisation affects the democratic process behind the development of our cities. While Neoliberal Urbanism is a macroprocess with global consequences, it is important to understand the way in which it plays out on the local scale when confronted with local culture and regulatory framework. In other words, the process is embedded in particular local circumstances. This calls for a greater focus on local stories of the consequences of neoliberal urbanism if we are to understand the inner workings of contemporary capitalism and the resistance against it (Mayer, 2016; Brenner, et al., 2010). This thesis attempts to answer this call with an analysis of the collision between neoliberal urbanism and the Danish non-profit housing market and the mode of resistance this embedded version of neoliberal urbanism contains. In doing so, it attempts to shed light on how neoliberal urbanism affects the power relations in the sector, raising the question of who has the power to decide over urban environments. Arguing that neoliberal urbanism results in a weakened tenant democracy in the sector, this thesis' main purpose will be to shed light on how residents in Tingbjerg attempt to gain influence over the development of their neighbourhood in this context of a dissolved tenant democracy. While the development in the Danish non-profit housing sector has led to several local uprisings, I will limit my focus to one group of residents based in Tingbjerg who decided to unite, as they learned that the development of their neighbourhood would result in the demolition of their community garden and an extensive loss of green spaces in general. Hence, I will attempt to analyse how neoliberal urbanism has changed the relations of power in Tingbjerg and the implications of this development for the mode of resistance found in the neighbourhood.

What motivates this thesis is a normative assumption that housing should be understood as a socioecological unit allowing for the fulfilment of basic human needs (Lund Hansen, 2021). This follows the ideas of various urban scholars (Swyngedouw, 2011; Kaika, 2017; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2004), who argue that in order to fulfil these needs and create a just urban socioecological configuration, the power to shape an urban environment must be put in the hands of residents. This further brings the question of housing to the centre of Urban Political Ecology (UPE). Building on its focus on how socioecological processes are channelled into the production of urban landscapes (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2004), shaped by various relations of power, UPE is concerned with how to further emancipatory politics that allow for more just and sustainable socioecological configurations in cities. Hence, if housing is understood as a unit within which the engagement with our urban environments is regulated, structuring our human-(urban) nature relationships (Lund Hansen, 2021; Larsen, et al.,

2016), then including the housing issue should be an essential task in UPE.[1] One of the main purposes of this thesis is the attempt to contribute to this task. This further resonates with Huber's call (2019) for connecting the climate movement with an analysis of how to decommodify all aspects of society in order to build environmental mass politics. In this sense, the task should be to 'mobilize around environmentally beneficial policies that appeal to the material interests of the vast majority of the working class' that more than anyone suffer from the housing crisis created by a commodified real estate market in neoliberalised cities. In conclusion, the creation of a sustainable housing configuration should go hand in hand with a focus on social justice and tenant power, leading me to the following research questions:

1. In what way has neoliberal urbanism played out in the context of the Danish non-profit housing sector?

   - How has it altered the power relation between state, housing associations, residents, and private developers?

   - What mode of resistance has emerged against this embedded version of neoliberal urbanism?

2. How has neoliberal urbanism affected the socioecological relations in the Danish non-profit housing sector?

Structure of the thesis

The first chapter of the thesis will synthesise various ideas about the neoliberalisation of cities under a common framework of neoliberal urbanism. This framework constitutes various drivers of neoliberal urbanism, including the ideal of growth first, privatisation, upgrading of declining neighbourhoods, altered governance and ritual resistance. The chapter will further reflect on the various thoughts about how to overcome neoliberal urbanism. Then, in the second chapter, I will introduce the Danish non-profit housing sector, using secondary literature to explain how the above-described drivers of neoliberal urbanism have driven the development of the sector. This chapter will conclude that the neoliberalisation has fundamentally changed the power relations within the sector, resulting in a weakened tenant democracy. The second part of the thesis is based on data collected through participatory observation in Tingbjerg and document research. Hence, the third chapter of the thesis will explain the methods used for data collection, upon which the second part of my analysis is based. Chapter four will analyse how the group of residents attempt to resist and gain influence over the development of their neighbourhood. The chapter will then discuss this resident mobilisation in light

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[1] These relations can both be structured in the for-profit real estate market or, as in the case of this thesis, in non-profit housing associations that, as we will see, allows for a great degree of citizen control.

of neoliberal urbanism and the theoretical thoughts concerning how to overcome this process. It will conclude that while existing in a context of national-scale radical resistance demanding an end of the ghetto plan, my case represents a different strategy of gaining influence that rather navigates the existing political landscape, without attempting to change it. Rather than making demands confronting the structural reasons behind the developments they protest, this mode of resistance rather represents a 'ritual resistance', that could be argued to be a constituent part of neoliberal urbanism. The chapter will finally discuss the implications of my results for the future role of non-profit tenants in the political decision processes concerning their urban environments. I speculate that this will have implications for the socioecological relations in the area, as my results indicate that tenants have gone from enjoying a large degree of self-governance under the tenant democracy, to now being confined to a neoliberal understanding of participation in which power is handed down to tenants from policymakers and planners.

Theoretical framework

Urban Political Ecology

This thesis will be framed within Urban Political Ecology (UPE). UPE focuses on the intricate relation between political economic and ecological processes that together shape the landscape of the city (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2004). UPE has emerged from Political Ecology that is concerned with the way in which purely "natural" metabolic forces such as photosynthesis or gravity are socially mobilised for the benefit of certain interests. UPE, in turn, takes its starting point of analysis in urban ecologies that, following the view of Political Ecology, should be conceptualised as an intricate network of socioecological processes (ibid). UPE, then, is concerned with the political forces that have mobilised urban nature, in particular, and in doing so created the city. This is a process taking place on various scales, making it an essential task of UPE to reveal the interwovenness of global and local socioecological forces.

UPE scholarship thus tends to be focused on the relationship between physical forces, power relations, and labour that shape urban metabolisms; the politically charged discourses about human-nature relations that uphold power relations; and the neoliberalisation of urban environments that has resulted in the cities of 21st century capitalism (Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2011). Moreover, according to Swyngedouw and Heynen (2003), UPE as a project is central to emancipatory urban politics, as its conceptualisation of the city reveals the socioecological processes that together create highly uneven urban landscapes. While this thesis will touch upon all the above-mentioned elements it will first and foremost focus on the unequal urban landscapes created by the neoliberalisation of urban environments, focusing on urban inequality in terms of housing. In this sense, housing will be

understood as a unit within which urbanites' relation with nature is regulated, fulfilling basic socioecological needs (Lund Hansen, 2021; Larsen, et al., 2016). As can be seen in the case of Danish non-profit housing, the 'home' here is a unit structuring our engagement with urban environments, that in this context constitute an urban common (in contrary to the for-profit real estate market in which urban environments are divided between either individual private property of public spaces) (Larsen & Lund-Hansen, 2016). This is due to the various levels of decision-making in the tenant democracy that grants residents the institutional power to shape their urban environments that are collectively owned. Hence, the model answers the above call for the decommodification of the essential aspects of life (Huber, 2019), autonomous decision-making and citizen power in the imagining of both just and sustainable socioecological relations (Swyngedouw, 2011; Kaika, 2017; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2004).

In light of this understanding of 'the home', this thesis views it as an essential task to include the housing question in UPE. In short, having a deeper understanding of how various housing models regulate our interaction with urban environments can provide insights about how to create more just and sustainable socioecological configurations in the city. The Danish tenant democracy can in this way be understood as such a configuration that allows for a high level of interaction with one's urban environment. I will return to this understanding of the tenant democracy, but here follows and explanation of how Neoliberal Urbanism affects the socioecological relations of the city, elaborating on various drivers of this process. These drivers will then be used to analyse how neoliberal urbanism has affected the Danish non-profit housing sector.

Neoliberal Urbanism

The neoliberalisation of urban environments can be understood as a battlefield of what David Harvey calls 'accumulation by dispossession' (Mayer, 2016; Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2011), referring to a shift in capitalism away from expanded reproduction in which capitalism is reproduced through production and the exploitation of labour (Harvey 2003). In this new type of accumulation, surplus is rather created through the enforcement of property relations of rent, with a class of owners profiting from surplus created elsewhere without producing (Andreucci, et al., 2017). This opens new avenues of capital accumulation where the city is the centre of commodification and speculation, resulting in highly uneven urban environments.

Mayer (2016) refers to this neoliberalisation of urban environments as neoliberal urbanism – a process that has resulted in uprisings across the European continent the past two decades. Importantly, this indicates a political development taking place on various scales, with various forms of neoliberalisation taking different forms on the local level when colliding with certain regulatory landscapes (Peck &

8

Tickell, 2002). This, in turn, leads to divergent modes of resistance dependent on the way in which the process of neoliberalisation takes place. In the European context this has resulted in what Mayer refers to as a 'two-speed Europe' with resistance movements in Southern Europe experiencing larger and more intensive movements compared to the more limited mode of resistance in the North. Hence, the drastic neoliberalisation in Southern Europe has equally led to a drastic response, resulting in larger participation in strikes and demonstration and, in the Greek context, the emergence of neighbourhood solidarity initiatives.

Despite these regional and local differences, neoliberal urbanism is driven by similar political trends: the prioritisation of economic growth, post-political forms of governance where private investors and developers replace local democratically elected institutions, the privatisation of social services and public spaces, and finally, the upgrading of declining neighbourhoods. Below follows an elaboration on these trends that, it will be argued, are driving the neoliberalisation of the Danish non-profit housing sector. These trends further resonate with other accounts of the neoliberalisation of urban environments, namely the emerging body of thought on post-democracy and its corresponding mode of resistance referred to as 'ritual resistance' (Swyngedouw, 2011). These trends will be united under a common framework of neoliberal urbanism, containing these various drivers. I will end the section with a summary of the ideas about how to overcome neoliberal urbanism.

Growth first and privatisation

According to Mayer (2016) the neoliberal mantra of growth first has led to a series of policies meant for the maximisation of the urban growth machine, including the privatisation of public services and spaces that are increasingly turned into new avenues of capital accumulation by dispossession (Andreucci, et al., 2017). The expansion of accumulation into these fields have been enabled by government-supported privatisation, which has resulted in the enclosure of urban public spaces, infrastructure, and social housing. Mayer further points out that this privatisation creates urban landscapes that serve the purpose of constant value creation, the result of which are cities that largely cater to elite consumption while limiting the access to urban spaces and transportation. In other words, the privatisation allows for the commodification of areas of life such as housing, with urban infrastructure created to accommodate a consumer lifestyle. This constant prioritisation of growth contributes to urban segregation, creating a city that is only accessible for the few who can afford it.

Upgrading of declining neighbourhoods

Declining neighbourhoods have seized to solely represent the existence of social problems that must be dealt with to avoid urban unrest and conflict. Rather, they have become sites of potential development; neighbourhoods whose growth potential can be realised through projects aimed at

upgrading and regenerating, further driving neoliberal urbanism according to Mayer. This may be related to the importance of centrality in the neoliberal urban growth machine (Sassen, 2005), which would make the upgrading of central areas of social housing or previous industrial sites a popular policy for urban governments. There is simply – and quite literally – no space for low-income neighbourhoods in a city where wealth is intrinsically connected with centrality. While such upgrading projects may in some cases lead to the direct displacement of residents (Angotti, 2008)[2], it relies on the logic of the neighbourhood effect that assumes social mixing will result in the social upgrade of existing populations. However, such programmes tend to work as a vehicle of the opposite, as existing populations are replaced with new ones.

Post-political governance and ritual resistance

The shift towards urban development geared to maximal growth could be said to have permeated local governance (Mayer, 2016), as management based on supposedly more efficient business models has replaced previous Keynesian modes of governance characterised by long-term planning and the constant presence of local authorities. Governance has been outsourced to private companies that increasingly bypass local democratically elected institutions in the development of urban environments. In other words, development gets pushed through without having gone through a democratic process, as representative democracy is replaced by a multi-stakeholder approach involving selected segments of society in the development.

This resonates with Swyngedouw's (2011) account of the democratic space created by neoliberalisation. With the emergence of post-politics (Paddison, 2009; Baeten, 2008; Rosol, et al., 2017), democracy has been confined to mere symbolic managerial governance that never questions the structures of the system itself. Questioning the neoliberal order is paradoxically branded as antidemocratic, indicating the replacement of free debate with measures to merely 'include' urban residents in the development of the city (Paddison, 2009; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). This post-democratic space is based on the assumption that consensus and compromise can be reached between many stakeholders, such as planners, developers, policy makers, and residents, coming together in public-private partnerships. Residents, in reality, are left outside any decision-making, as the framework of the conversation has already been decided in a top-down manner. This paralyses any actual democratic conversation, as questioning this system of consensus, paradoxically, is viewed

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[2] This could to a certain level be said to be the case in the Danish ghetto plan. As the plan requires neighbourhoods to bring down the share of non-profit housing to 40%, it will inevitably result in the displacement of residents as a result of this privatisation. Tingbjerg, however, is using the strategy of densifying the neighbourhood with private housing in order to avoid such a direct displacement. Hence, as will be described below, it may rather face a slower displacement as the neighbourhood will gradually be upgraded and populated with people of a higher socioeconomic level.

as a violent attack on democracy. Resistance is hence reduced to what Swyngedouw (2011) refers to as 'ritual' acts of resistance that fail to confront the core of the system. Rather, it contributes to the reproduction of the order, as resistance is in fact invited to participate in the democratic conversation, as long as it is confined to a discussion within agreed-upon objectives, such as a certain understanding of sustainability or participatory democracy, which we will see in the case of Tingbjerg. In this way, post-political governance and ritual resistance can be understood as another driver of neoliberal urbanism, as it contributes to the democratic justification of the process.

Overcoming neoliberal urbanism

According to Swyngedouw (ibid), overcoming this paralysis requires taking sides rather than accepting the premise of constant consensus, while refusing the invitation to participate in decision-making on the post-democratic terms. Further, it requires demands that go beyond the symbolic order of agreed upon objectives. Hence, demands should insist on a democratic conversation in which disagreement and dissensus is a premise and in which equality is immediately reconceptualised as a condition for democracy, rather than a measurable state to be reached in a utopian future through long-term urban policy prescriptions. This requires the imagining of political spaces that are equal in the sense that everyone participate on equal terms as partners that all have the possibility of creating a framework of discussion, rather than being included in a discussion that has been pre-decided. While Swyngedouw conceptualises the overcoming of a neoliberal order in rather abstract terms, an embodiment of his ideas may be found in Kaika's (2017) account of communities that refuse measures to increase resilience and inclusion. She highlights the Spanish Platform for Mortgage-Affected people (PAH) that went beyond the established order as it demanded housing be viewed as a human right, rather than a commodity, of which they were denied after the 2008 crisis. In addition to this refusal, the movement insisted on entering the conflict as equal partners, which was present in their strategy to delay housing evictions, provide legal counselling, and occupying empty bank-owned buildings (García-Lamarca & Kaika, 2016). Hence, in contrary to being included in a process designed in a top-down manner, they set their own terms of their participation.

As explained above, Mayer emphasises how local circumstances impact the ability of resistance to overcome neoliberal urbanism. Hence, in southern Europe, the immediate and drastic neoliberalisation resulted in stronger anti-austerity sentiments that urban social movements have managed to seize and build upon. This has been done in a way that goes beyond the liberal conception of democracy, insisting on more participatory democracy in the critique of the neoliberal regime, and in doing so setting their own terms of the conversation. Furthermore, this has been accompanied by strategies such as the Greek neighbourhood solidarity work, that hence both works as a way to build spaces of resistance and solve the problems created by neoliberal urbanism on their own terms. In

this way, like Swyngedouw and Kaika, Mayer emphasises the need for the creation of urban alternatives that go beyond the democracy of neoliberalised cities. Mayer additionally brings forth the need to 'scale up' such efforts. As neoliberal urbanism is a global, variegated process, it is hence necessary to react with an equally global effort that can both create local imaginaries and inter-urban alternatives. In short, neoliberal urbanism will prevail if no alliance between the variegated urban uprisings is created.

To sum up, I will use Mayer's characteristics of neoliberal urbanism – the intensive prioritisation of growth, privatisation, post-political forms of governance that, in turn, entail a ritual mode of resistance described by Swyngedouw – to demonstrate how neoliberal urbanism operates in the context of the Danish non-profit housing market. Hence, it will be argued that the drivers have altered the power relations within the sector. Meanwhile, the existing mode of resistance in the context of Tingbjerg arguably resembles a ritual mode of resistance.

The case

Non-profit housing in Denmark

This section will provide an introduction to the Danish non-profit housing market and analyse how neoliberal urbanism has impacted the sector. Using the accounts of Larsen and Lund-Hansen (2016), it will shed light on the institutional changes occurring nationally and how they have altered the power relations in the sector, followed by an analysis of how this has played out locally in Tingbjerg. The section will conclude that neoliberal urbanism has changed the relations of power in the sector in a way that has undermined the non-profit sectors democratic backbone – its tenant democracy – creating a greater distance between tenants and the decisions-making concerning their urban environments. Hence, the role of tenants has changed from being an active decision-maker to rather being included in a participatory approach to otherwise top-down urban planning.

The Danish non-profit housing sector emerged along with the creation of the Danish welfare state in first decade of the 20th century (ibid). Seeing as the sector is not financed entirely by the state but rather owned by its tenants, it constitutes a compromise between the socialist idea of 'social housing' and the liberalist principle of private property. In this way, the sector does not constitute a state-financed social service, seeing that all non-profit housing is owned and manged by 'housing associations', that, in turn, are owned by tenants. Nor does the sector work under the logic of the mainstream real estate market, as housing cannot be sold by tenants for profit. The political structure of each housing association is constituted by various levels of tenant representation, ensuring that the management of the associations' assets are overseen in a democratic manner. Each non-profit

housing area constitutes a branch of a housing association, whose tenants can elect a local, representative board (*afdelinsbestyrelse*) (Danmarks Almene Boliger, 2019). The boards from each branch together form a common board known as the representation (repræsentantskabet). This is the highest authority (*Øverste myndighed* in the chart below) that finally elect the board of the central organisation (*Organisationsbestyrelse*). Hence, the non-profit housing sector constitutes a model of living that enables residents to engage with and decide over their urban environment due to the democratic institutions that are the foundation of the sector. This model, however, is under pressure from various forces that push for the neoliberalisation of the sector. This neoliberalisation has taken the shape of various measures that all aim toward the commodification of the sector, with the consequence of curtailing the sector's democratic tenant-driven backbone. Larsen and Lund-Hansen (2016) provide an account of three events – referred to as strikes against the sector – that have cleared the way for such a commodification. These three strikes culminated with the ghetto plan that was passed in 2018, which could be said to constitute the latest strike against the non-profit housing sector.
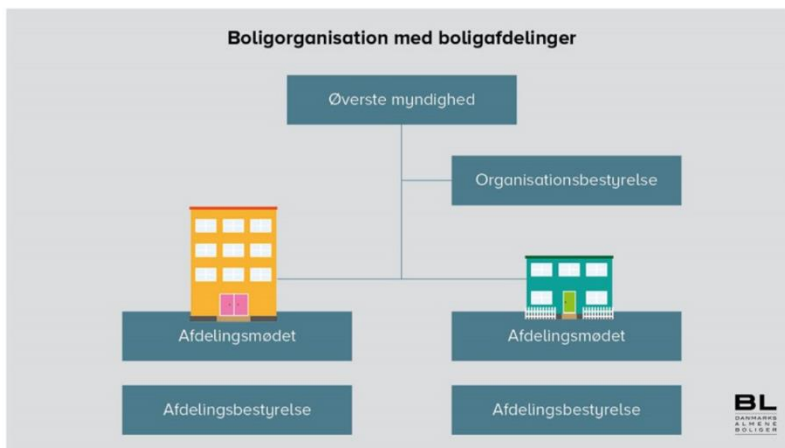
Figure 1 Political structure of non-profit housing associations. Source: Danmarks Almene Boliger

Clearing the way for commodification

According to Larsen and Lund Hansen, the first strike against the non-profit housing sector involved controlling and restraining its economic activities, which was carried out with the appropriation of the National Building Fund (*Landsbyggefonden*, LBF) in 2002. LBF is the collective savings of non-profit housing tenants, used for maintenance and renovation of its buildings and neighbourhoods. Under the pretext of 'activating' the fund, this manoeuvre represents a point in which national government interferes with the activities of the non-profit housing sector in a top-down manner, controlling the savings of its tenants and in doing so undermining the sector's institutional platform. The second strike came with a law passed in 2004 that aimed at strengthening private property rights in the sector by enabling the conversion of branches to for-profit housing. Seeing as non-profit housing is not owned

by the state but rather by housing associations run by tenants, the law made it possible to sell non-profit housing, though only if tenants agreed to this plan. Hence, as pointed out by Larsen and Lund-Hansen, it is paradoxically the private nature of non-profit housing that ultimately protected it from commodification by the state. However, the law did provide the institutional foundation for commodification since tenants could push for converting their housing to for-profit commodities if they so desired.

The third strike represents the interference of national government in the political structure within the non-profit housing sector, undermining the democratic institutions upon which the sector is built. This was done with the introduction of New Public Management meant to strengthen the communication between housing associations and local state. Importantly, the implementation of this management appears to be successful due to an internal conflict between the central organisation of housing associations and the tenants and boards of the local branches. Ultimately, the former came out on top of this conflict, as power was moved away from local branches, giving central boards the power to pass large scale modernisation plans on the local level (Danmarks Lejerforeninger, 2008). This indicates an overall centralisation of the sector that made it harder for local branches and its tenants to oversee the development of their urban environment. In conclusion, the new management created an alliance between central boards and local state while undermining the sector's tenant democracy. While the tenant democracy has not been disintegrated completely – the central board is also made up of elected tenants – it does indicate the centralisation of power within the sector.

The latest attack on Danish non-profit housing began on the first day of 2018 when the former prime minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen appointed non-profit housing neighbourhoods a matter of national political top-priority in a New Year's speech (Statsministeriet, 2018). Referring to these neighbourhoods as 'ghettos' abetting parallel societies isolated from Danish law and values, it became the starting point of a series of undertakings that under the pretext of solving problems of integration cleared the way for commodification in the non-profit housing sector. The law that enabled the implementation of these undertakings was passed in November 2018 and included, among others, a requirement of non-profit housing neighbourhoods to bring down the share of non-profit housing to 40% (Regeringen, 2018). This means a total change of the physical as well as social fabric of these neighbourhoods, as the requirements could only be fulfilled by either building new housing and densifying the neighbourhood, or by converting existing buildings to for-profit housing. The housing associations were responsible for implementing the physical development necessary to fulfil the reduction of non-profit housing, enabling private developers to invest in the neighbourhood. The implementation requires development plans on a large scale. Moreover, with the introduction of New Public Management in the sector, these plans for non-profit housing reduction are solely put in the

hands of the central administration of the housing associations, leaving the local boards outside this development. The developments would be financed by the National Building Fond that was activated in 2002, and are thus financed by the collective savings of tenant who are effectively paying for what, in some cases, may result in their own displacement. Finally, the law grants the state the right to take matters into own hands if housing associations fail to implement the required changes before 2030.

Introducing the stakeholders

Figure 2 Tingbjerg from above. Source: Copenhagen Municipality

Upon passing the ghetto plan in November 2018, Tingbjerg had been characterised as a severe ghetto for more than four years. With this label, the associations of the neighbourhood, fsb and SAB, were required within half a year to provide the Ministry of Transport and Housing with a development plan for how the area's share of non-profit housing could be brought down to a maximum of 40% (Regeringen, 2018). This plan was finished and approved on the 10th of September 2019 (fsb; SAB; Copenhagen Municipality;, 2019), stating that the reduction of non-profit housing is planned to be

achieved with an intense densification strategy, resulting in the erection of more than 1000 private houses on what is today large green areas.

Figure 3 The plan to densify Tingbjerg. The black squares represent the housing that will be erected on what is now green spaces. Source: fsb, SAB, NREP

It is interesting to note, however, that the plan to introduce private housing in Tingbjerg predates the passing of the ghetto plan in November 2018. This is evident in urban development plan for Tingbjerg published in 2015 (fsb, et al., 2015), that took the first steps to achieve more variation in the area's existing housing forms. Lining up a set of principles to achieve such variation, the plan works as a reference point for future development in Tingbjerg. Three years later in January 2018, fsb and SAB entered a partnership with the development company NREP, initiating the process of selling non-profit land to the company (SAB/KAB; fsb; NREP;, 2018). This culminated in a detailed plan for private housing October the same year. As the requirement of a non-profit housing reduction was sealed with the passing of the ghetto plan a month later, the introduction of private for-profit housing in Tingbjerg had already been underway for 3 years. The plans to develop the area are now in a final phase, in which Copenhagen municipality has suggested a change to the existing zoning in the neighbourhood (Copenhagen Municipality, 2021). This change is necessary for the implementation of the development plan, seeing as it will make a major interference with the area's physical landscape. The suggested zoning went through a hearing period in which the public had the opportunity to submit their opinion about the plans (Copenhagen Municipality, 2021). In this way, three main plans arguably highlight the recent development in Tingbjerg: the 2018 development plan, the 2019 plan for non-

profit housing reduction, and the 2021 suggested zoning. As the timelines below show, the plans highlight the powerful stakeholder in the neighbourhood: housing associations, developers, local state, and national government. The colours indicate various levels of participation, with purple representing top-down inclusivity measures and red representing the stakeholders having the power to make formal decisions.

| SAB, fsb, and NREP initiate a partnership with the purpose of selling land to the latter. | → | Tingbjerg tenants, including the local board, are included in the development plan through participatory workshops and walking tours. | → | Tingbjerg Development Plan was signed and published by the partnership |

Figure 4 Tingbjerg Development Plan, 2018.

| Copenhagen municipality, SAB, and fsb send in their plan for reducing the areas share of non-profit housing to 40% | → | The plan is approved by the Ministry of Housing and Transportation |
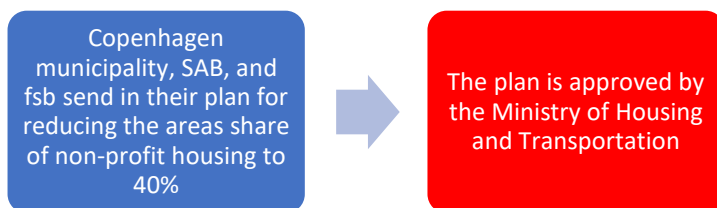
Figure 5 Development for non-profit housing reduction, 2019

| Local government makes suggestion for new zoning | → | Public hearing is initiated | → | Local government makes final decision about the suggested zoning |

Figure 6 Suggested zoning, 2021

The plans to develop Tingbjerg could be connected to the above-described attempt to decouple the tenant democracy in the sector; an attempt that was realised through the introduction of New Public Management. Hence, the plan from 2015 is aimed towards 'strengthening the collaboration between the non-profit housing sector and Copenhagen municipality' (fsb, et al., 2015) . While the plans mark

a significant interference with the urban environment of Tingbjerg, allowing for a larger presence of private companies and a change in its physical development that actively attempts to attract residents of a higher socioeconomic status, it is a plan carried out and approved by the central board of 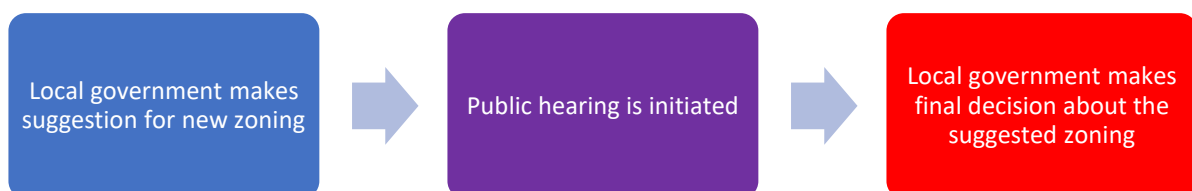fsb and SAB and Copenhagen Municipality. Tenants and local board were hence included in this process using various participatory approaches, such as workshops, informative exhibitions, and walking tours (SAB/KAB; fsb; NREP;, 2018).

Growth first – commodification is inevitable

It is important to keep in mind that the modus operandi of neoliberal urbanism is the idea of putting growth before anything else; non-profit housing goes directly against this basic logic for obvious reasons and will inevitably stand in the way of the ideal of private property and free market (Mayer 2016). Hence, as mentioned above, privatisation has in many cases been a central feature of neoliberal urbanism. Privatisation, however, is arguably not present in the process of neoliberalisation in the Danish non-profit housing sector, seeing as the sector is constituted by private housing associations owned by tenants (Larsen & Lund-Hansen, 2016). Neoliberal urbanism in this context is driven by the goal of appropriating the sector under the mainstream for-profit real estate market; it is a *commodification* rather than a *privatisation*. Interestingly, as noted above, the private character of the sector has somewhat shielded it from rapid privatisation in contrast to the municipally owned housing in Sweden and Norway (Bengtsson, et al., 2013) and the purely state-owned social housing in the UK (Larsen, et al., 2016). As the state did not own the housing and was hence prevented from immediately privatising it, the commodification of the Danish non-profit housing sector has played out in other ways; by appropriating the sectors savings, gradually disintegrating its democratic backbone, and finally passing the ghetto law. Hence, under pretext of solving integration problems, this final strike results in the commodification of the sector by selling off either housing or, as is the case in Tingbjerg, land for private housing.

In conclusion, commodification has altered the power relations within the non-profit housing sector in favour of national state. Hence, it interfered with the sector's economic and legal matters, as it appropriated the National Building Fund and created the possibility for each housing branch to sell their assets for profit. Then, it interfered with the sectors governance through the introduction of New Public Management, which gave local state more power to interfere with the non-profit housing sector. This also affected the sector's internal governance, as it centralised the power of the tenant democracy, making it harder for individual branches and their local boards to decide over matters concerning their local urban environments. This centralised power was further enhanced with the passing of the ghetto plan, as each housing association was made responsible for the implementation of non-profit housing reduction. Hence, as can be seen in the urban development plans for Tingbjerg,

local branches have to a large extent been bypassed in the decision-making concerning these plans, apart from the effort to 'include' their point of view in the plans. In this way, in the course of commodifying the sector, the power relations within it have been altered.

Urban upgrading of ghettos

It could further be argued that the commodification of the Danish non-profit housing sector has been driven by the strategy to upgrade what is considered a "decaying" district with development potential, which, in turn, is a way for capital to find new avenues of reproduction. Hence, non-profit housing areas are not purely considered neighbourhoods with affordable housing, rather, they are collectively stigmatised as 'ghettos'. These are areas breeding social problems whose physical environment as well as their populations need to be upgraded. Such an upgrade constitutes the attraction of residents of a higher socioeconomic level that are assumed to increase the value of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the strategy works under the logic of the neighbourhood effect, as current residents are expected to rise to a higher socioeconomic status. Hence, as formulated in the development plan for Tingbjerg (SAB/KAB; fsb; NREP;, 2018), the neighbourhood is known as a vulnerable neighbourhood due to its isolation from the rest of Copenhagen; the solution to which is to "develop Tingbjerg from being a vulnerable neighbourhood into being an attractive area with mixed housing forms and families".

This strategy of urban upgrading has various implications for the relations of power in the sector. First, the upgrading requires housing associations to sell either land or housing to private developers, on whom they depend for living up to the requirement of the non-profit housing reduction. This provides private developers with the ability to impact the way in which non-profit housing areas are planned, as is the case with the development company NREP in Tingbjerg. Consequently, the interest of profit could overshadow the interest of tenants, as non-profit housing areas are being 'upgraded'. With NREP acting as a main architect in the planning of Tingbjerg, it could also be argued to constitute a privatised governance, in which private companies to a greater extent oversee development projects, bypassing democratic institutions.

Additionally, as pointed out by Mayer, the strategy to upgrade vulnerable neighbourhoods tends to have the consequence of resident displacement, which in the context of the ghetto plan becomes a direct result of commodifying non-profit housing. In the context of Tingbjerg, direct displacement has been avoided due to the densification strategy. Instead, the concern of the neighbourhood rather seems to be a certain displacement from the area's urban environment as a whole. Hence, the densification will not only result in the loss of the green spaces that characterise the neighbourhood, but the area's upgrade will further lead to a changed population. In this way, the upgrading strategy

does have an impact on the relations of power in the neighbourhood, as new residents will buy housing and land that previously belonged to fsb and SAB. This will result in a neighbourhood that changes from being under the full control of non-profit housing associations to also including residents living in private housing. While the areas' public spaces and gardens will remain under the ownership of fsb and SAB, a 'neighbourhood association' has been created to ensure that both residents living in non-profit housing and private housing have access to the spaces (Lynggaard, 2021). The decision-making concerning both non-profit housing and the areas' public spaces will take place in this union. While the union is meant to create a common democratic platform, uniting all residents of the neighbourhood, some tenants are concerned that an us-them mentality will dominate the future interaction between residents (Mazor & Tidsvilde, 2020).

While urban upgrading may result in the displacement of current residents, it is important to point out that the strategy may entail the 'incorporation of selected impoverished groups' (Mayer, 2016), which indeed has been the case in Tingbjerg. As mentioned above, an effort has been made to include the point of view of current residents in the decisions concerning the development of the neighbourhood. However, such an inclusion could be understood in the light of Swyngedouw's (2011) discussion about post-political democracy. As noted above, while residents have been included and listened to in the process of decision-making, the urban development plan for Tingbjerg has been created and finally signed by SAB, fsb, and NREP. As is pointed out in the introduction to the plan, 'SAB and fsb have in partnership with NREP, and in dialogue with the local boards, residents, and employees, created Tingbjerg Urban development plan' (SAB/KAB; fsb; NREP;, 2018). In this sense, the plan has been created by the *partnership* between the central boards of housing associations and NREP while local boards and residents have merely been *included in a dialogue*. Two points can be made in this regard. First, the plan is formulated as the result of a process involving several stakeholders, expressing that a comprise has been reached between all the parties included in this process. Second, there is a rather large difference between taking part of a democratic conversation as a partner versus being included in a dialogue, as the former not only has the power to make a final approval, but also creates the framework of the dialogue in the first place. I will go deeper into this difference in the discussion.

In conclusion, the neoliberalisation of the Danish non-profit housing sector has changed the relations of power in a way that creates a greater distance between tenants and decisions made concerning their urban environment. As can be seen in Tingbjerg, this development has been underway for more than a decade and is now culminating with the development plans created to achieve a reduction of the share of non-profit housing in the neighbourhood. The process of decision-making upon which the plan is based can hence be characterised as an attempt to reach consensus between a wide range of

stakeholders, with residents taking part of this process by virtue of an ideal to include 'selected impoverished groups' in the process.

National-scale mobilisation

Knowing how neoliberal urbanism has changed the relations of power in the sector, I will now turn to the question of what mode of resistance that can be found in this case. This analysis is the result of fieldwork carried out in Tingbjerg in which the process of a group of residents attempting to influence the development of their neighbourhood has been followed. Before turning to this analysis, and for the sake of providing context, it is important to point out that my case should be understood as a part of a variegated movement within the Danish non-profit housing sector, containing various modes of resistance that in some way or another react against the ghetto plan (Fabian & Lund-Hansen, 2020; Almen Modstand, 2021). Interestingly, the movement may be considered one of the most progressive, recent urban movement in Denmark, which, among others, is evident due to the fact that it is driven by marginalised people of colour with migrant background. The absence of this group of urban residents with migrant background in other movements in Northern Europe is considered a political disadvantage by political activists, according to Mayer (2016). Meanwhile, the anti-neoliberal demands and resistance against racism is a powerful combination that has resulted in uprisings in cities across Sweden. The response in the Danish context has been similarly intensive with the movement Common Resistance (*Almen Modstand*) emerging as a response to the ghetto plan, with demonstrations in several cities. In addition to its anti-stigmatising message, the demands of Common Resistance further represent an agenda going beyond the structured logic behind the ghetto plan; more specifically, it questions the democratic process of the passing of this plan with four central demands: influence on decision making, a democratic process, an end to the selling of and speculation in non-profit housing, the elimination of the ghetto list and its criteria (Fabian & Lund-Hansen, 2020). This represents an agenda that goes beyond the symbolic order of neoliberal urbanism, as it insists on an end to the commodification of non-profit housing and a truly democratic development of the city rather than the top-down development characterising the development of the ghetto plan. Hence, these claims can be said to go beyond the foundational symbolic order driving the commodification of the sector, as they are based on the assumption that tenants have the right to become an equal partner in the development of their neighbourhood.

In conclusion, neoliberal urbanism embedded in the local context of negative immigrant-sentiments combined with urban development strategies alienating what is considered ghettos in the Danish as well as Swedish context, has led to strong mode of resistance. The attack on the non-profit housing sector has arguably created one of the largest and most progressive urban movements in Denmark in the past two decades. This context could hence be understood as circumstances on a national scale

within the non-profit housing sector that may permit a mode of resistance locally in Tingbjerg that was focused on 'scaling up' and create ties to the overall movement and in the same way create demands going beyond the symbolic order of the ghetto plan. Before going deeper into this question, the methods used in this data collection will be discussed in the following section.

Methodology

Qualitative case study

As demonstrated above, the Danish non-profit housing sector has been subject to a process of neoliberalisation the past two decades, the consequence of which has been a shift in the power relations surrounding decision-making concerning urban environments. In these changed relations of power, in which especially the local branches have lost power, how do residents attempt to gain influence in the development of their neighbourhood? I have attempted to answer this question, conducting a qualitative case study in which, 'a specific case is examined, often with the intent of examining an issue with the case illustrating the complexity of the issue' (Creswell, 2007: 93). Thus, I followed the process of a group of residents, attempting to prevent the demolition of their community garden, which led to a mobilisation of residents and the establishment of the association The Community Gardens Tingbjerg, 2021 (*Foreningen Fælleshaverne Tingbjerg af 2021*). Seeing as I gained access to this particular group after spending 4 months working in the neighbourhood community centre, it was possible to obtain an insider-understanding of their process of mobilisation and gaining influence. In this way, it is not my intention to provide a saturated account, covering all the modes of resistance existing in Tingbjerg. It is rather to tell the story of this particular group's resistance against the forces of neoliberal urbanism, viewing it as one instance in a variegated movement, which can contribute to the accumulated local stories that all in one way or another bring into light the workings of neoliberalisation and how this affects the relation between urban residents and their local environments. Hence, this follows the idea of the above quote by Creswell, as this specific case can contribute to illustrating the complexity of the human-urban nature relations affected by neoliberal urbanism.

The thesis is further inspired by Burawoy's Extended Case Method (ECM) that 'deploys participant observation to locate everyday life in its extralocal and historical context' (Burawoy 1998: 4). In this way, participant observation is the cornerstone of my methods, while the selected case is understood in relation to the larger context of neoliberal urbanism. A mix method approach characteristic of the case study (Creswell, 2007) has further been used to understand this interaction in its political and historical context. The ECM is based on a reflexive scientific model that highlights the intersubjectivity between researcher and the subject of research. In this respect, intervention in the field is viewed as

a virtue to be pursued, as it reveals fundamental aspects of the subject reality. This approach has further informed my research process, as I interacted with residents and contributed to their project.

Fieldwork and access

The research design is based on fieldwork carried out in the Copenhagen neighbourhood Tingbjerg from August 2020 to June 2021. Tingbjerg was chosen for various reasons. First, it is one of the neighbourhoods considered a 'severe ghetto', which, following the ghetto plan (Regeringen, 2018), required it to present a long-term plan for the reduction of its share of non-profit housing. This means that the neighbourhood is undergoing a rapid urban transformation even compared to other non-profit housing areas on the government's ghetto list, which could make for an interesting study about human-(urban)nature relations. Second, Tingbjerg is an active neighbourhood characterised by the presence of a wide range of social activities and neighbourhood associations, which gave me the impression that it was an area with a relatively strong neighbourhood identity. I gained access to the field through one of the associations that owns a large share of the neighbourhood's housing, fsb, that connected me to one of its projects in the neighbourhood: a community centre- and garden that was run by tenants and staff from the housing association. I spent the majority of the field work working in this community centre, participating in activities such as garden days and community dinners while helping with communication tasks and the development of the project. After spending 6 months in the Tingbjerg, I was introduced to the above-mentioned group of residents. Following their process is the fundament of this thesis.

Limitations

Seeing as the thesis first and foremost relies on fieldnotes collected through participant observation (described below), some limitations are related to this method, including the challenge of recording conversations accurately while participating in an activity (Creswell, 2007: 139). Hence, in attempting to recall a situation or a conversation after it took place, there is a larger risk of mixing observations with personal reflections. Keeping a protocol that distinguishes between the two was hence a way to avoid this. It was my intention to include interviews as a supplement to participant observation, which, however, turned out to be a challenge due to what seemed to be either reluctance or lack of time on part of the participants. Instead, I chose to rely more on document analysis to support and ensure the accuracy of the observations made during field visits.

It is further important to point out that the thesis is based on a single case and my results as such cannot be used for any generalisation about resistance in the Danish non-profit housing sector. In this context, it is worth invoking Burawoy's understanding of generalisation as 'extending one case to another'. In this sense, as my results below reveal, my case centres around the theme of housing as a socioecological unit, making it relevant to relate the group I followed with the case of the tenant

democracy. My case of tenants attempting to preserve their community garden should be understood in relation to another case – the case of a tenant democracy crumbling. This in turn pushes residents to find other ways of gaining influence over their neighbourhood. In short, the two cases are somewhat connected, as the dissolvement of one socioecological unit results in the emergence of another. Moreover, and as noted above, the thesis should rather be considered a contribution to the many stories of the consequences of neoliberal urbanism and the embedded resistance against it. This may reveal important insights about the overcoming of neoliberal urbanism. Furthermore, it may contribute to understanding the benefits of the Danish non-profit housing model, which is relevant for the task of identifying fairer urban socioecological configurations. In connection to this, it is important to point out that my case represents the earliest stage of community mobilisation, limiting my ability to make any conclusion about future implications for the neighbourhood. While the statutes defining the group's activities and strategies in Tingbjerg have been used to reflect on future engagement, it is important to keep it in mind when drawing any conclusions from my findings.

Ethical considerations

The thesis is based on fieldwork carried out for 6 months in Tingbjerg, the purpose of which was to identify themes and issues that concerned the residents I met during this time. Moreover, the fieldwork was based on voluntary work in the neighbourhood, which was a way for me to contribute and give back to the community. The strategy to begin working in the neighbourhood from an early point was further meant to ensure that my research would be relevant to the people I met. In other words, it allowed me to collect data in a collaborative, rather than an extractive manner (Piven, 2010). When that is said, the lock-down due to the Covid19 pandemic obstructed this process, as several activities were closed during this period. In addition to these practical limits of activities being shut down, my desire to establish trusting relationships with residents somewhat conflicted with an overall atmosphere of crisis and anxiety. This situation was intensified, as stories about higher infection rates in ghetto areas received attention in the media, with Tingbjerg in particular being mentioned several times. Respecting this sensitive situation was hence my first priority. Reflecting on the process, however, the circumstances may have affected the extent to which my research was executed in a collaborative manner, as it was my intention to do action research. When that is said, the thesis remains a culmination of the time spent in Tingbjerg and the research focus was chosen based on the concerns I encountered among residents. While I have attempted to approach the process of the case participants in a critical manner, the final intention of the thesis is to contribute to the research in support of the non-profit housing model and the creation of an environmentally just city in general.

Research methods

Participant observation

Participant observation was carried out in the community centre- and garden in Tingbjerg, starting in August 2020, which allowed me to get to know residents in the neighbourhood. I was involved in the project in various ways, ranging from participating in activities such as garden days and communal dinners to simply hanging out and chatting with residents. Moreover, I decided to contribute to the development of the project with various communication tasks, which became a natural task as I was already documenting my experience with written accounts and photos.

The basis of my final research focus was defined as a response to one major event that seemed to concern most residents one way or the other: the decision to densify Tingbjerg with private housing, which would cause the loss of green spaces. Hence, while I first entered the field with relatively few preconceived ideas, participant observation informed the finally decided research focus. The decision to use a densification strategy received major attention in Tingbjerg as a whole. Importantly, it would result in the demolition of the community garden, which drove a group of residents to create the association The Community Gardens Tingbjerg, 2021. I spent the remaining part of my fieldwork attending meetings with this group, while helping them with tasks such as summarising the meetings, keeping track of decisions, and mapping. In the course of roughly 2 months, 6 meetings were attended, in which the group decided on strategies and discussed goals for the future of the group. In addition to this, a significant part of the group's interaction took place outside the meetings, collecting signatures, calling residents, and informing about their course. The field notes written in this process consist both of relatively informal jottings and more detailed notes summarising ideas, decisions, and discussions observed during the meetings. I further used these notes to create more 'formal' meeting summaries that were posted on the groups drive, open for everyone to edit. The field notes were collected in one protocol inspired by Creswell (2007: 137), distinguishing between descriptive and reflective notes. These protocols can be found in the appendix and are one of the main data sources used in the analysis.

Document research

Document analysis will supplement the data collected through participant observation and will be used to complement my results (Bowen, 2012). The documents supplementing data collected through participant observation will consist of the formal summaries from the group's meetings, the statutes of the association, and the consultation response the group submitted for the hearing about the new zoning in Tingbjerg. Hence, participating in meetings provided the opportunity to collect these documents, that, in turn, all relate to the process of the group. The documents can supplement the

analysis, as they contain valuable information about the strategies and arguments used by the group. Further, they can contribute to highlighting the group's demands and, importantly, the discussions and considerations that shaped these demands. The table below provides a short description of each document. It also gives each document a reference that will be used in the analysis.

Table 1 Documents used for analysis

Type of document	Reference	Description of document
Association statutes	A	Contains the statutes drafted by the group as a part of the establishment of their association
Consultation response	B	Contains the group's arguments delivered in the hearing, as to why the suggested zoning should secure the protection of the community garden
Meeting Summaries		Contains the summaries made for each meeting, uploaded to the group's drive
- **25/02/21**	C	
- **13/03/21**	D	
- **11/04/21**	E	
- **25/04/21**	F	

Analysis

As pointed out by Creswell, analysis in qualitative research is process, alternating between collecting data, summarising and categorising, interpreting and using theory (Creswell, 2007). In this sense, analysing was a continuous process during the 9 months I spent in Tingbjerg. The initial analysis was an iterative process of identifying concerns expressed by residents, patterns, and themes, which became the basis of my final research design. The most important themes identified in this initial period were related to resident participation in urban planning and the role of the community centre- and garden in this; top-down urban development; and the role of institutions in urban governance. In choosing my final research design, these themes were further connected with theoretical concepts,

related to neoliberalisation of cities and emancipatory politics. In this way, while the research is the culmination of an initially iterative process of observing, participating, recording data and identifying themes, my final research focus is to a great extent informed by a theoretical perspective – that of the drivers of neoliberal urbanism. As pointed out in the theory section, these drivers are embedded in local circumstances, making neoliberal urbanism a macroprocess with an abundance of local versions and responses. This flexible feature of the theoretical framework makes an inductive analysis necessary in order to identify the local circumstances that are confronted with neoliberal urbanism. Hence, the first round of coding was done in an inductive manner, allowing for the emergence of themes related to how residents mobilise themselves. As these themes provided a rich understanding of the inner working of my case in their own worth, contradictions could further be identified when making connections to the theoretical framework. In other words, the mobilising residents is a complex process; while the theoretical framework can work as a lens through which we can understand this case, contradictions occur, which has been attempted to be incorporated in the final analysis.

Findings and discussion

This section will present my findings related to the question of what mode of resistance has emerged as a response to the neoliberalisation of the Danish non-profit housing market, using the case of a group of residents that as they realised that the planned development for their neighbourhood would result in the demolition of their community garden used a range of strategies to prevent this from happening. This mobilisation of residents occurred during a public hearing that was a part of the decision process preceding the passing of the plan to change the existing zoning in Tingbjerg. The suggested zoning would enable the implementation of the above-described plan to densify Tingbjerg and thus fulfil the goal of reducing the areas share of non-profit housing to 40%. While the hearing gave all interested stakeholders the opportunity to give their opinion about the suggested zoning, a final decision would be made by the local state without actually being obliged to act on the comments made during the hearing. With an initial purpose of delivering a consultation response (*høringssvar*), the group of residents eventually decided to organise themselves by establishing an association.

Figure 7 Garden meeting

Figure 8 Information meeting

As noted above, this case of local resistance in Tingbjerg exists in the political context of resistance against not solely the commodification of non-profit housing, but also the inherent xenophobia and stigma of the ghetto plan. In this way, while the group in Tingbjerg initially came together to prevent the garden demolition, this effort to gain influence on the development plan had the potential to scale up and create ties to the wider movement in the non-profit housing sector. In light of this potential, the following sections will shed light on how this group of residents in Tingbjerg attempt to gain influence over their neighbourhood. This analysis will be guided by the theoretical framework of neoliberal urbanism, including the above-presented ideas about the overcoming of this process. These ideas can be summed up to the themes of scaling up, taking sides, refusing to be included, and making demands that go beyond the symbolic order of the ghetto plan (Mayer, 2016; Swyngedouw, 2011; Kaika, 2017). These themes will be explored by analysing the alliances, demands, and strategies used by the group to mobilise residents and gain influence over the neighbourhood. As we will see, my findings indicate that while existing in the circumstances of a nation-wide mobilisation in the non-profit housing sector that is calling for the end of the commodification of the sector, my case constitutes a mode of resistance that attempts to navigate the political landscape of neoliberal urbanism rather than changing it. In this sense, it may resemble what Swyngedouw (2011) refers to as ritual acts of resistance that while trying to put itself in a position of power, reproduces an order by accepting the invitation to be included in a democracy in which politics are confined to a symbolic discussion about agreed upon objectives. Hence, it is a resistance characteristic of the post-political mode of governance driving neoliberal urbanism, raising the question of whether the Tingbjerg-based resistance, along with its way of engaging with the environment, should be understood as another symptom of the neoliberalisation the neighbourhood has undergone.

This will be followed by a discussion about the implications of this mode for the socioecological configuration in the neighbourhood. As argued above, neoliberal urbanism has changed the Danish non-profit housing sector in a way that weakened its tenant democracy, creating a socioecological configuration in which tenants have less power over their lived-in environment. The results of my findings hence raise the question of whether the tenant democracy has been replaced by a mode of gaining influence in which tenant rights are not institutionally secured, but rather pushes residents to get whatever say they can by mobilising and participating in measured such as the hearing. This bears witness to a type of post-political urban development characterised by participatory democracy that while attempting to include urban residents in the development of the city, fails to provide them with any formal power. In this socioecological configuration, residents take part in the democracy by means of inclusion, rather than acting as partners setting their own terms.

Mode of resistance in Tingbjerg

Alliances

As noted above, resistance in the Danish non-profit housing sector is characterised by going against not only commodification but also the underlying stigmatisation and xenophobia of the ghetto plan. In this way, the resistance has to a great extent been driven by an alliance between marginalised non-profit tenants at risk of being dispossessed from their homes, including tenants with immigrant background – a group that according to Mayer has otherwise been absent in Northern European resistance. While the focus of the Tingbjerg-based resistance was largely on preventing the demolition of their community garden, strengthening the ties to garden users with immigrant background was arguably an important aspect of the process of mobilisation. This was apparent in the first meeting as language differences were addressed as a major challenge that could potentially exclude users of the garden from getting involved due to a constant dialogue in Danish (See Appendix; document C). Making sure that translators were present in all meetings should hence ensure a wide mobilisation, representative of an immigrant-dominated urban space. As the mobilisation is driven by non-profit tenants of which a large part has immigrant-background, it arguably represents a mode of resistance that corresponds to neoliberal urbanism embedded in a political context of the xenophobia that can be found in the ghetto plan. With that said, anti-xenophobia is not a part of the group's agenda, which could otherwise have allowed for the creation of ties with the groups that had this programme.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the tenants creating the association from an early point distanced themselves from Common Resistance, which was criticised for using a rhetoric that was too harsh (See appendix). This was viewed as a strategy that was counterproductive to their intention of saving their community garden, indicating a strategy that, first and foremost centres around the

29

immediate goal of saving the community garden, with the radical demands of Common Resistance viewed as an obstacle to this goal. Moreover, while the importance of having alliances was discussed early in the process, these could rather be understood as alliances that could help the cause due to their professional skills as either planners or scholars. Such alliances could also help with aspects of the work, such as creating a media strategy or spread awareness of the cause on relevant platforms (see appendix). This local focus on Tingbjerg was further apparent in the general meeting, in which it was discussed who could become members of the association. The discussion concerned the issue of on the one hand not undermining the focus on residents by including too many outside alliances, and on the other hand not excluding relevant contacts that could 'kick in the right doors'. This was eventually solved with a suggestion to include sympathisers who could become members without having the right to vote in political matters in the union (Document A and F).

The case of resistance in Tingbjerg should be understood as part of a political context in which commodification is embedded in anti-immigration discourse, which could be argued to entail a mode of resistance characterised by the large presence of tenants with immigrant background. While this group is central in my case, the group does not make any demands concerning this stigmatisation associated with the ghetto plan. Hence, while the immigrant-dominated resistance can be a political advantage according to Mayer, allowing for the creation of inter-urban ties between – in this case – non-profit housing tenants in a common effort against the xenophobia of the ghetto plan, the resistance in Tingbjerg is rather focused on gaining influence on a local scale. This focus is likewise apparent in the way in which the group makes other alliances that are first and foremost a strategy to forward the interests of the group, including sympathisers that may help the cause. This focus on furthering the interests of garden users rather than scaling up is crystalised in the group's distancing from Common Resistance. Viewing the demands and rhetoric of Common Resistance as counterproductive to their cause indicates a strategy of furthering their interests within the existing political landscape. Joining Common Resistance with more radical demands would simply not get them very far in the short term. This choice of not confronting the underlying inequalities of the existing political landscape could be understood as a set of demand that refrain from going beyond the existing order, which will further be explored below.

Demands

The group in Tinbjerg first came together with a single demand of preserving their community garden that was threatened with demolition resulting from the development plans for the area (See appendix; document B). This demand was made during the hearing about the suggested zoning for the neighbourhood. Leading up to this hearing, the group had organised themselves in the above-mentioned association, which allowed them to make their demand on behalf of all members in the

association. Furthermore, the association was created with the purpose of continuing to further the interests of its members in Tingbjerg. In this sense, what started with a single demand of preserving their community garden evolved into a long-term effort to gain influence on the development of their neighbourhood. This process of reacting to a single event, which then turns into a wider political mobilisation has been seen elsewhere; noteworthy examples are the demonstration in Istanbul against the demolition of the Gezi Park (Lelandais, 2016), which spread to other cities across Turkey, and Angotti's (2008) account of neighbours coming together in New York City against the threat of being displaced due to gentrification, leading to the creation of progressive community-based planning that has defined urban development in NYC up to this day.

While the process of the group has only been followed during its initial mobilisation leading up to the final hearing about the suggested zoning for Tingbjerg, this process reveals certain aspects of the group's future engagement. This engagement is in the statutes for the association formulated as an effort to strengthen community and integration in Tingbjerg through the community garden and creating activities that increase the use of urban green spaces (Document A). Furthermore, the association is highlighted as a platform enabling a democratic conversation about activities in and the use of urban green spaces in Tingbjerg. While these aspects do not constitute specific demands as such, they do reveal the underlining values that the association attempt to further: neighbourhood community, integration, engagement with and activities in urban green spaces, and democratic engagement with the urban environment of Tingbjerg. Interestingly, the same set of values appear to constitute the fundamental arguments used by the group as to why their community garden should be preserved. Thus, it is argued that the garden represents a story of success in terms of integration, as the space is a meeting point for residents across various nationalities (Document B; see appendix). This was also pointed out in an online public consultation about the suggested zoning, attended by more than 70 residents of Tingbjerg, including several from the Community Garden Tingbjerg group:

> The community garden is a fantastic place that is both the centre of communities, culture
> meetings, integration, relations across generations, gender, and cultures. In this sense a
> truly valuable space that creates safety and that has taken many years to make (See
> appendix)

The value of having a strong neighbourhood community is further used as an argument, pointing out that the community garden is a diverse meeting point, uniting residents from the whole neighbourhood. This message can be seen in the map I was asked to make, showing how users of the garden were distributed across Tingbjerg. As one of the residents pointed out when discussing this map after the first meeting (see appendix), it is essential to demonstrate that the garden is not merely

an activity limited to a few residents living next to it, but rather a central meeting point for residents across the whole neighbourhood (Document D).

Finally, the value of having access to urban green spaces is framed as an issue of sustainability, pointing out that 'there are plenty truly committed residents across age, gender, ethnicity that WANT Tingbjerg and the nature, the green development, biodiversity, and the joy of community'(Document B).

Community, integration, and the engagement with urban green spaces are fundamental values guiding the group's effort to gain influence over their urban environment. These values are in turn used as arguments for the preservation of the community garden. In this way, by insisting on bringing forth their own understanding of the community garden, the group attempts to expose the inadequacy of demolishing it. Hence, the garden is highlighted as a story of success both in terms of integration, as the space is a meeting point for residents across various nationalities, as well as the value it adds to the neighbourhood. This contradicts the ghetto plan's supposed intention of tackling social problems and the purpose of developing Tingbjerg to an attractive neighbourhood, with comment such as

> It is being pointed out that you have carefully considered each space upon which housing will be constructed – on one of these places lies a community garden where people meet across socioeconomic, generational, and ethnic background, creating a community. One of Steen Eilier's original concerns for the development of Tingbjerg is that just because you physically live next to each other doesn't mean that you will become involved in each other's lives. (See appendix)

In this sense, values such as integration and safety are used to point out the inadequacy of demolishing the space, as these are values that are directly promoted in the development plans for the neighbourhood. Interestingly, the original plans for the area designed by architect Steen Eilier are used as an argument both by residents and in the development plan itself (SAB/KAB; fsb; NREP;, 2018). These values were similarly highlighted in the groups hearing answer, pointing out that 'The community garden contributes to each resident's welfare, creates strong communities and is an attractive element for new residents considering moving here' (Document B). In this sense, they expose the paradox of the development plan's purpose of attracting new residents only to demolish the valuable communities of the neighbourhood that could contribute to such an attraction. Finally, the development plan's large focus on meeting points in the urban green spaces of Tingbjerg and nature-based activities is highlighted as conflicting with the plan to demolish the community garden.

While these values are first presented as arguments supporting the group's initial demand of preserving their garden, they can be argued to guide the group's future engagement in Tingbjerg. This is apparent in the statutes of the association, highlighting the forwarding of community, integration, and access to green spaces, as the main purpose. In this sense, it is worth noting that these are referred to as 'interests' rather than concrete 'demands' that the group aims towards fulfilling. In conclusion, it could be argued that the group's strategy to reveal how the demolition of their garden conflict with central values of the ghetto plan, such as integration, safety, and the creation of attractive neighbourhoods, indicates a set of demands that do not go beyond the established symbolic order, invoking Swyngedouw, but rather uses this order as the basis of demands. This order could be understood as the fundamental logic within the ghetto plan of upgrading ghettos to tackle social problems, which is executed through the introduction of mixed types of housing and the reduction of non-profit housing. Hence, rather than questioning and criticising this order, the group accepts it as a premise and attempts to navigate it to their own benefit. This is contrary to making demands that confront the inequality of the decision-making process in itself. This could be characterised as Swyngedouw's post-political democracy between a range of stakeholders that navigate a limited space of already agreed-upon objectives. In the context of the development of Tingbjerg, these objectives are constituted by the belief in an inevitable upgrading of the neighbourhood. Hence, the effort of the Tingbjerg-based resistance could be characterised as a ritual mode of resistance that merely accepts an invitation to participate in the public hearing with the prospect of influencing the decision concerning their neighbourhood, without actually challenging the underlying power structures causing the demolition of their garden in the first place.

Strategies

This ritual mode of resistance can further be argued to be driven by the strategies used by the group. First, the main medium through which the group attempts to influence their urban environment is to deliver a response in the hearing. While this format does allow participants to express critique about the process of the decision-making surrounding an urban plan or suggested zoning, it is local state that has the power to make a final decision. Moreover, the format has been criticised for only allowing residents to have a say after a plan has been created (Meilvang, et al., 2018), excluding them from the process of making goals for their neighbourhood itself. In other words, the hearing constitutes a democratic process in which developers and decision-makers set the agenda of the discussion in a top-down manner, with residents only being included after this agenda has been made. In this way, the medium through which the group attempt to gain influence operates within established order.

In this way, the way in which the group attempts to prevent the demolition of their community garden resembles a ritual act of resistance that *within* the established order attempts to gain influence over

its urban environment, without questioning this order itself. As Swyngedouw points out, this ritual resistance reproduces a democratic process focused on constant consensus in which residents are merely subjects to be included. As questioning this order is refused, the possibility of developing a political process in which residents are equal partners is paralysed. However, it could be argued that residents are merely doing what it takes to preserve their community garden. While it might be an expression of having run out of options, the strategy of manoeuvring within the established order appears to be continued in the future work of the association. This can be observed in the statutes of the association, in which the group highlights their purpose as creating dialogue with relevant political stakeholders in Tingbjerg, in order to promote the groups interests:

> Organising and helping the interests of non-profit housing tenants in connection to all community gardens in Tingbjerg and enter a dialogue with relevant stakeholders to promote and fulfil the wishes and interests of the residents, along with helping if any conflict appears. (Document A)

In this sense, the way in which the group attempt to gain influence could rather be understood as navigating the existing political landscape, 'entering a dialogue with relevant stakeholders'.

By now it can be concluded that the above findings indicate a mode of resistance in Tingbjerg that despite existing in the context of a wider mobilisation in the non-profit housing sector refrains from making any ties to this mobilisation. With their interests above all centred around activities within Tingbjerg and a strategy of navigating the existing political system through dialogue, it may resemble a rather ritualised mode of resistance that as such does not challenge the established order. On the contrary, in the eyes of Swyngedouw, it rather represents a mode of resistance that is a constituent part the established order, contributing to its reproduction. However, the establishment of the association could also be viewed as an attempt to continue impacting their urban environment in face of a neoliberalisation that has weakened the tenant democracy. The question of how non-profit housing tenants continue to impact their neighbourhood could then initially have a simple answer: they find other ways to organise themselves to continue engaging with their urban environment. What can these new ways of tenant organisation tell us about the socioecological configuration in Tingbjerg in the wake of the neoliberal urbanism that has redefined the power relations in the neighbourhood? Invoking the understanding of housing as a unit within which our basic socioecological needs are reproduced, and within which the engagement with our urban environments is regulated, can it be argued that the changed political circumstances in Tingbjerg constitutes a changed socioecological configuration? Understanding how the group established a platform facilitating a democratic

engagement with Tingbjerg urban environment may shed light on this question. Hence, the next section will go deeper into this new democratic engagement, which is argued to fit into a new top-down development strategy. While the tenant democracy has not been completely dissolved, my results indicate the presence of a mode of gaining influence in which tenants' rights are not institutionally secured.

A changed socioecological configuration

Establishing the association 'The Community Gardens Tingbjerg' as a democratic platform was initiated in order to have a stronger voice, making it necessary to find a way to speak on behalf of a larger group. In the second meeting (See appendix; document D), it was decided that the best way to do this was to establish an official association, representing the users of the garden. This final association was established on a general meeting 5 weeks later (see appendix; document F), after a process of recruiting members on phone, informing them about the cause on an information meeting, and collecting signatures. As the final consultation response was submitted, it pointed out that

> 'We, the residents and active user of the area [the community garden] in Tingbjerg, have as a reaction to this extensive loss of our oasis and this story of success organised ourselves under *The Association of the Communal Gardens of Tingbjerg 2021* in order to speak on behalf of the users of this garden' (document B)

Hence, what had started as a small core of residents was now an association of more than 80 people delivering the same message in the hearing. While the association was initially established to organise people in the hearing, it had the further purpose of working as a platform for democratic conversation about their activities in Tingbjerg. Hence, one of the main purposes is described as:

> Building bridges to other activities and help informing residents about undertakings in the community garden, whether these undertakings are under the management of the association or other parties, and facilitate discussions and polls about initiatives in the communal gardens (document A)

The importance of operating in a democratic manner was emphasised from the first meeting where it was pointed out that the mobilisation needs to be an open process. Hence, it was necessary from an early point to make a common meeting for the whole garden, so everyone has a chance to get involved' (see appendix; document C). The decision to create an association appears to have enabled such an open process, due to its internal democratic structure with an elected board that carries out decisions made jointly on the general meeting (see appendix; document F). In other words, the association is a format that allows for a structured democratic dialogue within a group, which was

apparent in the general meeting in which all suggested statutes were reviewed, and the board was elected (ibid). In conclusion, the establishment of the association can be understood as an expression of residents attempting to take control and engage with their local environment, using the structure of the association to allow for a democratic conversation in this regard. Various interrelated observations about this engagement with their urban environment can be made, highlighting the implications of neoliberal urbanism for the socioecological configuration in this non-profit housing branch.

First, it is interesting to reflect on how power is exercised using the association as a democratic platform. In this sense, the logic behind this platform is to establish their interests in a democratic manner, allowing them to express their concerns as a collective group. While this gives them a stronger voice, their influence remains limited to attempting to convince the established political institutions of local state, the central boards of the housing associations, and developers. As demonstrated in the background section, these are the institutions that have the final say when it comes to making decisions concerning the urban environment. Hence, despite the association's internal democracy, it does not secure the tenants' rights institutionally in the same way as the tenant democracy arguably did. Meanwhile, as has thus far been established, the group refrains from making any demands to change this power relation, instead focusing on navigating the established political landscape created by neoliberal urbanism. Going back to the theoretical framework, the overcoming of the neoliberal urban landscape created in Tingbjerg would require insisting on the creation of egalitarian spatialities (Swyngedouw) in which tenants took part in the political conversation on equal terms. The implication of this would be a refusal to participate in the development entailed by the ghetto plan, refusing its basic assumption that Tingbjerg needs to be upgraded as a basic premise. Hence, while the development plans attempt to include tenants in the development, the latest of which has been the hearing preceding the passing of the new zoning, it is merely an inclusion existing within a set of predetermined principles.

Second, this replacing of the tenant democracy with a ritual mode of resistance of which the group in Tingbjerg is an expression, comes in a time with a remarkably large focus on participatory approaches to urban planning. This focus, in turn, come at a point in time in which the dominating technological and managerial solutions are being criticised, leading urban planners to adopt more 'citizen-centric' approaches. While these approaches have been particularly characteristic of smart cities (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2017), the same tendency can be found in the urban plans for Tingbjerg and their efforts to include the residents in the planning process, as pointed out above. In light of this, the weakening of the tenant democracy comes across as quite a paradox, as this mode of governance above anything else ensures the presence of residents in urban planning. However, rather than being a paradox, the

situation reflects diverging understandings of the role residents should play in a 'democratic city'. The above focus on citizen-centric urban planning may hence rather resemble what is referred to as 'tokenism' in Sherry Arnstein's Latter of Participation, in which policy-makers or developers rather grant residents the opportunity to make suggestions in inclusion efforts. The ability to shape an urban environment is then handed down to residents from those in power, which is the premise of the ritual acts of resistance that the case of mobilisation in Tingbjerg represents. The tenant democracy, in turn, constitutes a mode of governance in which tenants have a high degree of 'citizen power', enabling them to take charge over the development of their neighbourhood rather than depending on developers and policy-makers to affect this process. As the term implicates, the power is in the hands of citizens. With this distinction in mind, the socioecological relations in Tingbjerg have been altered in the sense that tenants no longer have the power to directly impact their environments on a local scale, but rather depend on power being handed down from the actors that are now in control: the central boards of the housing associations, NREP developers, and policymakers from local state. This difference is hence a question of power, as the act of 'including' residents in a decision-process may conceal the lack of actual resident power. In conclusion, the changed socioecological configuration in Tingbjerg reveal how housing policies can have a tremendous impact on the production of unequal urban landscapes, as the otherwise progressive tenant democracy is replaced by what may be characterised as a neoliberalised mode of governance, driven by various political institutions in power in a top-down manner. This is an expression of an unequal socioecological configuration, as housing is primarily considered a commodity drawn into the reproduction of capital, rather than a unit fulfilling our socioecological needs.

Third, with an understanding of how the socioecological relations have changed, the worth of the tenant democracy is put into perspective, as it constitutes a housing model characterised by a high degree of citizen power. This is interesting, seeing as Cardullo & Kitchin (2017) call for more normative work inspired by the idea of the 'right to the city' (Harvey, 2013) on rethinking the role of residents in urban development, if we are to achieve a city that is truly democratic. In other words, it is a call for ideas placing citizen power at the centre of urban governance.[3] This call fits well with the emancipatory agenda within UPE that seeks the creation of a more just socioecological configurations in cities, which Swyngedouw imagines as egalitarian spatialities in which tenants take part in the

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[3] It is worth noting that the Latter of Participation has been criticised for its normative understanding of participation, placing citizen power on top of the latter. It is pointed out that citizen power may not always be the adequate solution to urban problems, and that in some occasions 'therapy', for instance, might provide a higher quality of life. While this is a relevant critique that in some cases is important to keep in mind, this thesis centres around the emancipatory focus in UPE, with the normative purpose of imagining more just urban socioecological configurations, enabling residents to shape their own environments. Hence, I will not go deeper into this critique.

political conversation on equal terms. Likewise, Kaika (2017) points out that the stated ambition in the New Urban Agenda to create resilient and inclusive cities rather accounts for attributes that are handed down from those in power to those in need. As she points out, 'they fail – by design – to address questions related to the conditions that made it necessary for people and environments to seek resilience, safety and sustainability in the first place'. In this way, the only way to overcome the problems causing the displacement of communities in the first place is to put the power in the hands of citizens. This puts the neoliberalisation of non-profit housing and the slow disintegration of the tenant democracy as the sector's backbone further into perspective, as this occurs parallel to the call for alternatives that reimagine urban governance, putting citizen power at the centre of decision-making (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2004; Swyngedouw, 2011; Harvey, 2013). Whereas communities facing neoliberal urbanism creatively imagine such alternatives from the grassroot, such as the Spanish PAH (García-Lamarca & Kaika, 2016), the radical response in the Danish non-profit housing sector is rather a demand to put an end to the attack on one of the few already existing socioecological configurations that constitutes such an alternative (Almen Modstand, 2021; Fabian & Lund Hansen, 2020). Moreover, it was an 'alternative' that did not exist on the margin of society – on the contrary, non-profit housing in Denmark makes up 20% of the country's total housing stock. Constituting such an alternative, the non-profit housing model has received attention, due to its potential to enable urban regeneration while avoiding gentrification (Vidal, 2019). While public housing is promoted as a just and sustainable alternative (Cohen, 2019; Huber, 2019), Danish non-profit housing is uniquely resilient to market forces, due to its private character explained above (Larsen & Lund-Hansen, 2015; Vidal, 2019). In light of this, my results indicate a set of socioecological relations that have changed from providing tenants with a high degree of citizen power over their lived environment, to what could be characterised as tokenism in which power is handed down to tenants in ritual acts of resistance. It is difficult not to interpret this finding as a setback for the creation of a city that is truly fair and democratic.

Finally, it is worth reflecting on the implications this changed socio-ecological configuration would have if connecting it to the green transition efforts and climate movement. The idea of the right to the city and its related topic of the right to affordable housing has defined social justice movements and democracy debates for decades, spanning from the genesis of progressive community-based planning in New York in the 1960s (Angotti, 2008), to the urban uprisings in Europe described by Mayer (2016) and the Occupy Wall Street movement (Laughland & Maynard, 2012). In a Danish context, Gaardmand (1991) has contributed to the debate, pointing out that the rationalistic approaches to urban planning, while perceived as science-based solutions allowing policymakers to make objective decisions about urban environments, are in fact highly affected by political agendas, values, and ideologies. In other

words, the city is a reflection of those who designed it, making it an urgent democratic task to achieve a higher level of autonomous governance. Meanwhile, as pointed out by Cohen, 'housing fits awkwardly into left climate debates' (2019), despite its extensive environmental implications. As a consequence, making this connection between housing and the green transition has been monopolised by the likes of Elon Musk and the corresponding allies of star architects, to whom the urban aspects of ecological disaster can be solved with a smart city technological fix (Cugurullo, 2016; Hodson & Marvin, 2010; Kaika, 2017), or ski slope-incinerator hybrids blowing smoke rings (BIG, 2021). Promoted as solutions to an urban ecological crisis, the visions may in fact be part of the problem, as they reproduce a real estate marked that above all prioritises growth. Moreover, the consequence of these approaches has according to various scholars been the emergence of eco-gentrification (Quastel, 2013; Hodson & Marvin, 2010; Kaika, 2017; Bouzarovski, et al., 2008), caused by high-profile sustainable city planning and the cost of smart technology leading to increased housing prices. What these forces fail to realise is the extensive environmental consequences of having unaffordable cities. As cities in these visions continue to constitute the growth centre (in itself a contradictive premise of 'urban sustainability'), people being pushed out of the urban centres will inevitably lead to increased commuting, only to be solved with another technological fix. Additionally, the speculation in real estate markets have led to the building of luxury residences that become bough up by rich individuals or speculators, but not in fact lived in. This constitutes a huge waste in material and the emissions that have been produced in the construction of these new elite urban centres. Furthermore, as Cohen points out:

> Density alone isn't a low-carbon solution good enough to prioritize yuppies on bike paths over ending poverty. Density does lower carbon emissions. But study after study also finds that when residents of dense neighborhoods are wealthy, the footprint of their luxury consumption — from iPads to plane trips — overwhelms the carbon savings that come from walking to brunch.

Rather, what is needed is to abandon the idea of urban growth and the myth of trickle-down effects, and instead focus on the use value of the build environment, which would include prioritising social housing (Engelen, et al., 2017; Cohen, 2019). This would further ensure a wide energy transition, integrating 'green building practices that provide cheaper heating and electricity bills for residents' (Huber, 2019), which, in turn, would avoid the emergence of smart city eco-enclaves (Hodson & Marvin, 2010). In this way, non-profit housing can be considered an urban alternative that answers both the UPE call for just urban solutions due to its tenant democracy in which residents are in control, and sustainable housing configurations, due to its non-profit decommodified character. While Common Resistance has made certain connections to climate groups, such as Extinction Rebellion, it

could benefit from connecting their demands of bringing an end to the commodification of the sector with the implications of such a changed socioecological configuration for just and sustainable housing alternatives.

To sum up, while the association the Community Gardens Tingbjerg is still in its early stages, it can be understood as an expression of tenants attempting to organise a democratic engagement with their urban environment. This effort is particularly interesting when seen in the context of a weakened tenant democracy that otherwise exists for the purpose of providing tenants with such a democratic platform. This indicates a socioecological configuration within the Danish non-profit housing sector that in some way or another has been changed due to the neoliberalisation of the sector. Hence, the Tingbjerg-based ritual resistance may indicate that the socioecological relations within the non-profit housing sector have been changed in a way that whereas the tenant democracy gave tenants the power to decide over the local environments in which they lived, the newly established association can only attempt to affect the decisions made by political institutions. Hence, despite the fact that tenants of Tingbjerg in theory own their environment, they are denied the option to make decisions in partnership with the other political institutions.

Conclusions and future research

This thesis has attempted to provide an account of neoliberal urbanism playing out on a local scale in the context of the Danish non-profit housing marked. Using the drivers of growth and privatisation, urban upgrading, and post-political governance, it has demonstrated how the relations of power in the sector have been changed, the consequence of which is the weakening of the tenant democracy, as power has been centralised within the housing associations. Moreover, power has been skewed toward national government that now has the capacity to make changes to the sector, as was done with the passing of the ghetto plan. This development, in turn, has led to the emergence of a mode of resistance, that not only confronts the commodification of the sector but also the stigmatisation and xenophobia of the ghetto plan, which has been united in the national movement Common Resistance. Resistance in the non-profit housing sector, however, can be characterised as a variegated response, as the Tingbjerg-based group studied in this thesis resembles a rather ritualised mode of resistance that, while attempting to mobilise residents to get a stronger voice, does not confront the root of the problem causing their displacement from the development of their neighbourhood. This is above all apparent in the group's strategy to engage in dialogue with relevant stakeholders that can further their interests, while distancing itself from making allies with Common Resistance. It is further apparent in the group's demands. While attempting to oppose the decision to demolish their community garden, these demands rather represent a set of interests that as such do not go beyond

the symbolic order of the ghetto plan. Hence, rather than confronting the decision-making process from which they have been excluded, the group rather accepts this process as a premise to which they must adapt.

Reevoking the understanding of housing as a unit of socioecological reproduction, regulating human-(urban)nature relations, this could indicate that the socioecological relations in the neighbourhood have changed. While the urban environment of Tingbjerg remains under the control of housing associations as a common, owned by non-profit tenants, my results indicate that their ability to decide over these environments have been altered by a new type of governance characteristic of neoliberal urbanism. Hence, as decisions are now made by the central boards of fsb and SAB, Copenhagen local state, and national government, tenants in Tingbjerg are rather confined to inclusionary measures, such as participatory workshops, walking tours, information meetings, and the hearing. In short, whereas the tenant democracy provides tenants with a large degree of citizen power, power is now handed down to them from these stakeholders. While the tenant democracy has not been completely dissolved, this changed socioecological configuration is a troubling tendency. As the analysis of Larsen and Lund-Hansen (2015) shows, neoliberal urbanism in the non-profit housing sector has been a development long-coming, driven by measures (or strikes as formulated by the above authors) that one step at the time slowly has enabled a commodification and a centralisation of power in the sector. In light of this, the ghetto plan and the current development in Tingbjerg may constitute not the culmination of this development, but just another measure leading towards the sector being completely absorbed by the for-profit real estate market. This would mean a de facto end to one of the few housing configurations that not only constitutes an alternative to the for-profit real estate market, but also in which citizen power is institutionally secured.

The thesis has attempted to detangle the socioecological processes at stake in the case of resistance in Tingbjerg. These processes have played out as various drivers of neoliberal urbanism, reshaping the urban non-profit housing environments. This affects the ability of tenant to decide over these environments. Detangling these processes has required an extensive understanding of the inner workings of the Danish non-profit housing sector, as neoliberalisation rolled out by means of the sector's institutional structure; appropriating the National Building Fond, enabled the selling of non-profit housing within branches, altering its internal governance, and finally linking the high concentration of non-profit housing with integration problems. Such an understanding, in turn, is necessary for the formulation of politically strong demands that confront the core of the neoliberalisation of the sector; the way in which non-profit housing is absorbed by the for-profit real estate market, and – importantly – how this process curtails the sector's tenant democracy. This understanding further reveals the mode of resistance found in the case of the Tingbjerg-based

resistance, as it refrains from confronting these roots of their dispossession. By rather focusing on dialogue, local influence, and navigating their political reality, the resistance can be interpreted as a way of organising that corresponds to an institutionally changed non-profit housing sector, characterised by a higher degree of top-down planning and management. This highlights the relevance of housing in a UPE context, as it can contribute to an understanding of socioecological processes creating uneven urban landscapes. This finally answers the UPE call for alternative just and sustainable socioecological configurations, as the non-profit sector permits a decommodified housing model that allows for a high degree of citizen power.

Finally, this thesis has attempted to bring the housing question into UPE and argued why the non-profit housing deserves attention as a realistic alternative. However, many questions remain unanswered. While Common Resistance has been highlighted as a movement confronting the ghetto plan, more research needs to be done regarding this mobilisation. While many links between the housing and the climate movements exist (and have been only briefly mentioned here), more work needs to be done in terms of how these connections are made in practice. As Common Resistance has already somewhat connected with extinction rebellion, this movement could be a starting point for this research focus. It will further be interesting to follow the process of densifying Tingbjerg with private housing; in particular the ability of non-profit housing to prevent the area from being gentrified (Vidal, 2019), despite research highlighting the difficulty of achieving the desired 'social mix' (Christensen, 2015). In connection to this, further research needs to be done about how to protect what remains of the non-profit housing sector, preventing the continuation of the slow commodification that has rolled out the past two decades. More empirical work using a UPE approach may be a good starting point of this research.

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Appendix

Date: 25/02/2021	
Activity: Meeting	
Background: I was invited by a staff member to participate in the meeting. I had presented him with my thesis idea – how residents can gain a larger say in urban planning – and he thought that the meeting would be of interest. He explained that the meeting was for a few selected residents that he trusted and that it would be about the future of the garden. Seeing as fsb owns the land upon which the garden stands, it is now threatened with demolition to make space for private housing.	
Descriptive notes	**Reflective notes**
As I arrived at the garden, only two other residents were present. I asked if they were there for the meeting with the fsb staff member. They were and asked me if I knew what the meeting was about. I answered that I only knew that it concerned the future of the garden.	
The staff member arrives, and we move to the back of the garden.	The place we sit down seems to be slightly more private. It is far away from the entrance to the garden and cannot be seen from the outside, as it is surrounded by trees.
Andrea arrives. Another resident arrives who, however, needs to leave early. Peter arrives as the last one	
We have a brief presentation round.	Out of the people present in the meeting, the fsb staff member and I are the only ones who are not residents in Tingbjerg.
The staff member explains why we are here: The garden would disappear due to the plans to densify Tingbjerg. Only the inside areas of the community centre and the sitting area at the entrance would remain. To enable this new urban plan for Tingbjerg, a new zoning plan had been developed. This new zoning would allow the construction of housing on green areas in Tingbjerg. A hearing had begun, which was our chance as residents to prevent the demolition of the garden.	
The goals are discussed: One aspect is to fight for a more generous compensation – moving the garden to another attractive space. And the more convincing we are of the gardens worth, the more leverage do we have. Ideally, however, we will prevent the garden demolition. We need to be visible, get in the media and turn it into a political issue.	

Andrea explains that she started collecting signatures. It is discussed whether it is possible to get people's signature digitally	
The fsb staff member highlights the importance of internal organisation. While it was obvious that we needed to communicate our cause to the outside world, it was equally important that we get organised amongst ourselves. This also requires us to have a group that can speak on behalf of the entire garden. This needs to be an open process and we need to make a common meeting for the whole garden, so everyone has a chance to get involved. The staff member said he can provide a contact list.	
Peter asks about the official status of the garden. The staff member tells how it started as a project by "gadeplansarbejdere" – social workers that reach out to youth – because the land was empty. The land is owned by Copenhagen Municipality. Upon establishing the garden, a clause made it clear that the garden would not be permanent, as the land might be used for something different.	It is interesting to note that the clause was created *before* the introduction of the ghetto plan. This indicates that even before Tingbjerg was required to increase its share of private housing, it was considered using the land for something else than a tenant-driven community centre.
It was discussed that the garden illustrated the inadequacy of the ghetto plan because it is a space that unites a neighbourhood across nationalities – and isn't integration the exact reason why the ghetto plan was created? Moreover, it is a very safe space, and the supposed lack of safety is one of the reasons why the ghetto plan was created in the first place.	
We return to the question of how to organise ourselves, discussing whether we only should include garden members or if it should be open to everyone. Peter suggests that we start uniting the garden internally and then reach out to the entire neighbourhood.	This could indicate that the purpose of getting organised goes beyond simply preserving the garden.
We discuss that it is important to have people translating in the meetings. Otherwise, we risk excluding all the non-Danish speakers. A solution to this issue could be to find translators among garden members or recruit the children of members.	
We discuss the importance of collecting relevant documents for out input in the hearing. In connection with this, I suggest to do	

some narrative mapping with GIS, seeing as it is a good tool to visualise the point of view of residents. The idea was well-received. Peter mentioned that it could be an idea to get an understanding of where the garden members lived inside Tingbjerg. This could also be followed by finding "representatives" in each part of the neighbourhood, which could be a step in this potential narrative mapping.	
We set a date for the next meeting. The staff member said that he could not keep attending meetings because of his employment with fsb. We would have to take it from there.	At this point, it remained unclear who should be invited to the next meeting.

Additional notes
After today's meeting, I spoke on the phone with Peter about the possibility of making some useful maps. We agreed that he would send me the addresses of the garden users so we could illustrate how they were distributed within Tingbjerg.
A few days later, the staff member who had initially invited me to the meeting called me to ask for an update. He wanted to make sure that we were aware of the importance of internal organisation. I told him that we had already set a date for the next meeting but that I was in doubt of whether we should open the meeting to more residents. He said it might be a good idea to coordinate amongst the smaller group first. I also pointed out that while I was happy to participate and contribute to the process, I could not be one of the main drivers, as I am a thesis student and not a resident. He agreed and we talked about how we could to as much as what was within our control but in the end, the residents were the ones deciding how much work they wanted to put into it.

Date: 10/03/2021
Activity: Meeting
Background: I was invited to a garden meeting by the staff member. The point of the meeting was to welcome a group of residents who had been on the waiting list to get a garden. I was there to help register them and potentially get people to join the group trying to preserve the garden.

Descriptive notes	Reflective notes
Roughly 10 residents show up for the day. Apart from this, the fsb staff and two regular users were present	
We start out by having a brief presentation. I ask if it is okay that photos will be taken to document the day.	
We then had a tour of the garden for the new residents. Meanwhile, I take the chance to catch up with another resident.	
We start clearing the space for the new gardens. The space is located next to the dome. The plan is to clear away weeds and spread compost. All residents engage.	This space was supposed to be a school garden. The plan was dropped because of the uncertainty of the garden's future.
Meanwhile, I register people and their basic information – address, phone number etc.	

Working together is also a good way to initiate conversation. Many residents know each other already. Some have been on the waiting list for over than a year. Others have signed up quite recently because of corona – gardening is a good activity during the pandemic. The residents present mostly speak English but are learning Danish.	
I also attempt to ask them what they think about the plans for the neighbourhood. Out of the group, only two people seemed informed. One guy was not happy about the plan because of its prioritising bike lanes over parking spaces. Another was introduced to me by the staff member who had invited me. She – Trine - was politically interested and would like to attend the upcoming meeting. I explain what the group is about. She says that she has always tried to be politically engaged one way or another. She highlights that it is nice to fight for a specific cause – preserving the garden. I take her phone number.	I couldn't help but reflect on how most residents seemed concerned with quite particular aspects of the plan, such as parking or the amount of trees that would be taken down. As for Trine that wanted to join the next garden meeting, it seemed like she generally had lost faith in politics, as she did not know how to continue being politically active.
At the end of the day, there is lunch prepared by the restaurant team. During lunch, I catch up with another staff member who was there with Steno. We talk about my thesis, and she thinks it's an important issue. She noted that it was great that I started working with them early so that I had a deeper knowledge about the place.	

Date: 13/03/2021	
Activity: Meeting	
Background: Today was the second time the group met. The purpose was to plan how to mobilise a larger group of residents	
Descriptive notes	**Reflective notes**
Today's meeting was attended by Peter, Andrea, Muna, Trine, and Ditte. I had met Trine in the garden meeting a couple of days earlier. In addition to this, the meeting was attended by a PhD and an architect who like myself are interested in supporting the cause.	I wondered if we did enough to include Trine in the group.
The meeting took place in the dome, seeing that it was raining heavily. Everyone was wearing face masks. A group of other garden users had to make space for the meeting, upon starting.	It was odd to meet new people and have an open conversation without being able to see their faces.
We talked about how to reach out to all residents in the garden. This work could be combined with collecting signatures.	

We talked about other strategies, such as letters to the editor.	
It was highlighted that Muna was an important representative because she has a large network and can reach many people.	It seemed quite clear that everyone was aware of the fact that our group could easily exclude non-Danes. An active effort had to be made to create a group that was representative of the garden as well as the neighbourhood. I wonder if this particular participant with a large network was the social glue that ensured the group did not become too exclusive. I wonder if this effort has something to do with wanting to seem credible – especially because the foundation of the group can be understood as a reaction to the ghetto plan. It would seem odd of it was a group mainly consisting of Danes.
The subject of another group, Common Resistance, trying to protest the development in Tingbjerg came up. The group was heavily criticised, and it was pointed out that our strategies differ from this group. The point seemed to be that their methods went too far and that their rhetoric was too antagonistic. This would cause more damage and would not be good for the overall cause. Be hostile towards other voices in Tingbjerg would be counterproductive.	I wondered if this was the sentiment of everyone in the group or just a few individuals.
It was suggested to make an association. Everyone agreed to do this.	
The formal procedures of creating an association were discussed. We need to write statutes. When talking about this, it was pointed out that this process would sum up our values; it would for instance manifest that we were working in a different way than Common Resistance. We need to make an information meeting followed by a general meeting where the association is established officially.	
The discussion turned slightly more abstract, in terms of what the association should stand for. It was highlighted that the garden was more than just people having independent gardens that could be moved somewhere else. Rather, what happens is the stuff happening between the gardens, the interaction among residents. One participant pointed out how this is something urban planners tend to have trouble understanding.	It seemed like the non-residents were keener on this discussion. The residents were more focused on the practical matters of how to even make an association, how to reach people, distributing tasks.
The original plan for Tingbjerg is discussed, including the architect Steen Eiler Rasmussen	

who designed it. In the discussion, Tingbjerg was described as a neighbourhood where people say hello to each other in the street – a practice that had come as a surprise to some residents upon moving to the neighbourhood.	
The idea of making a website is discussed.	
We look at the map I created. This led us back to the fact that the garden represents the entire neighbourhood of Tingbjerg, which the distribution of residents in the map illustrated. It highlights how all of the users come from all over the neighbourhood (map below)	

We decide to reach out to people on phone. Peter highlighted how each of us have different skills we can contribute with.	

Date: 11/04/2021
Activity: Information meeting
Background: The purpose of the meeting was to inform the residents about the idea of establishing an association. If we could manage to convince them of this idea, the next step would be to set a date for the general meeting.

Descriptive notes	Reflective notes
Today's meeting took place in the central area of the garden close to the entrance. I arrived slightly early and only one other resident whom I'd gotten to know well over the past months was there when I arrived. It was raining so we decided to put up tents. We weren't allowed to use the indoor areas because of the corona pandemic.	
Roughly 20 showed up for the meeting, which was considered a decent turnout although we hoped for more. In addition to residents were	I imagine that most of the participants were friends of Muna.

three other 'sympathisers' in addition to me, and a woman from Mellemfolkelig Samvirke who was also connected to Tingbjerg Ungefællesskab	
Peter presented why we were there today – the idea to make an association. Images and maps from the zoning plan were distributed. I attempted to look at the illustrations together with participants and explain it. We discussed how much of the new housing would be private. We also discussed that we did not know how much it would cost. One of the architects showed an illustration of how the land of the garden would look after demolition.	It was my impression that many of the attending residents did not really understand what the consequences of the plan would be, until today. Some residents had a positive attitude towards the plan because Tingbjerg needs change. The attitude seemed to change slightly when they realised that it would result in the demolition of the garden and a loss of green spaces in general. It is also interesting that no one was familiar with NREP and their selection criteria for new resident in the neighbourhood.
It was discussed if some people did not show up because of the rain. A Peter pointed out that we were the "hard core" of the group.	
People signed the petition, and a list of attendees was made.	
After the meeting, the initiating group stayed a while longer and discussed strategies. Especially one of the new participants wanted to know if we needed help from Mellemfolkelig Samvirke. It was suggested to have someone create an Instagram account for the place. However, it was noted that most residents were only on Facebook. Hence, it was a question of for whom such a social media strategy would be. Especially the importance of what was happening "between the gardens" was pointed out. The view was that it was simply not an option to move an environment, it had taken years to cultivate, somewhere else. One formulated it as the "diligence" of cultivating the soil, and in doing so, cultivating the spirit and atmosphere of the place. Some of the involved also shared their experiences interacting with the fsb planning team. In general, they felt that they had been met with hostility in the moment they didn't accept the premise of the official plans that were being made for Tingbjerg. They seemed to be genuinely choked (even outraged?) by this experience. During the conversation with one of the architect, we also discussed this idea of participation in urban planning, which has been	The group remaining was – apart from Peter and Andrea– not residents. I wonder if the conversation had been different if more residents had remained. When I heard about the hostility from the fsb planning team, I was rather surprised. The garden users are not in any way confrontational in their way of talking about wanting to preserve the garden. I would have expected fsb to listen to them, though not necessarily be willing to take the dialogue seriously.

increasingly popular. Despite this, her experience in the architecture school was that the more social aspect of urban planning was neglected. One of the participants also asked if we had any contact with other groups in Tingbjerg. In this connection, both the question of common resistance came up and also what the position of the local board was. Their relation to Common Resistance had not changed since the previous meeting. As for the local board, no one knew what role they played in the development plan nor the hearing. Especially Peter seemed to be quite interested in this question.	
After half an hour outside, it started getting cold and I leave the meeting.	
Additional notes:	
After today's meeting, someone pointed out on the WhatsApp chat that Common Resistance would be happy to help out in the process. It sparked quite a bit of debate. However, the overall conclusion was that the group preferred to submit a consultation answer independent of Common Resistance.	

Date: 25/04/2021	
Activity: General meeting	
Background: Today was the first general meeting of the association. The purpose of today's meeting was to go through the suggested statutes for the association and elect the board. After today, the association would be official.	
Descriptive notes	**Reflective notes**
Today we had the first general meeting in which the association was made official. Around 30 people were gathered in the central section of the garden, closed to the entrance. The weather was sunny, and people were sitting on chairs and benches surrounding Peter. He pointed out that creating a union would give us a stronger, legal status in the Danish political landscape – it would so because it made it possible to speak on behalf of a larger group.	
A sheet containing the suggested statutes of the union were handed out. Peter was the one explaining these suggested statures. Andrea was the official moderator while I decided to take notes of the discussion throughout the meeting.	I wondered if the roles should have been more "official". Even though Andrea was the official moderator, it was Peter who led the discussion. My decision to report the meeting was neither addressed in plenary.
First the name of the union was discussed. The name "nyttehaven" (the utility garden) was suggested by an older man. Others pointed out that the garden was commonly known as "the communal garden", making it confusing to change the name. It was also noted that the connotation of the garden being "communal" was a central aspect of the space. It was decided to keep the name "The communal garden".	
The next point concerned the purpose of the union. We particularly talked about the word "tvist" (twist, which is Danish can also be understood as a "disagreement" or a "quarrel"). The point was that the union could be a platform for conflict management in the neighbourhood, working as a space to discuss wishes and ideas for Tingbjerg as a neighbourhood. The frase "bygge broer til andre" (building bridges to others) was further highlighted. The idea was that the union should be part of a larger community. It was important to note that it was not merely small, individual gardens.	Was this idea of community limited to the relations between residents *within* the union or should it also be seen as a willingness to create connections and alliances *outside* the union?

It was then discussed that the union could be a strong platform to support and promote other activities, such as contribute to a hearing process. The point is that we have a stronger voice if we are united.	
It was discussed who could be a member of the union. It was asked whether residents from the area of Utterslevmose could become members. Peter asked if I had included the area in the map I had created, showing how members of the community garden were distributed in Tingbjerg. I showed the map, and we could see that residents living in Utterslevmose were indeed members of the garden. It was then discussed if people who were not residents in Tingbjerg could become members. It was noted that the suggestion of not exceeding 10 outsider members was unrealistic, seeing as large group of non-residents were already volunteering in the garden. The suggestion of specifically targeting members who lived in non-profit housing outside Tingbjerg was also dropped. The discussion surrounded a certain dilemma. On the one hand, it was inadequate to "water out" the core of the union – that is, its focus on uniting neighbours in Tingbjerg and giving them a stronger voice. At the same time, as Peter pointed out, it would be unwise to deny members with the ability to "kick in doors" – that is, members with the right skillset and network. It was then suggested to allow members "sympathetic to the case" who, however, would not have the right to vote. At last, the discussion turned to more practical matters about creating a registration form and a union account. It was also suggested that it should be mandatory to renew the membership each year, in order not to lose one's private garden. It was pointed out that in that case, it was important to send out a reminder.	The discussion of whether outsiders could become members seemed to be dominated by the "original" founders of the association who had been participating in meetings from the beginning. Members who had joined more recently were more active when discussing matters such as what happens if you forget to renew the membership. They were the ones insisting on sending out a reminder. I also wonder if some people are excluded from the conversation due to a language barrier. While it seemed like some people were translating to each other, the discussion itself took place in Danish. In general, people did raise their voice when they did not understand something or disagreed with something. But perhaps some people remained silent out of shyness. How is a membership defined? As owning a garden or as simply wanting to be part of the community? Of course, it is not "legally" defined as owning a private garden, but perhaps this is slightly more in focus?
The question of the annual general meeting was then discussed. It was discussed if it should only be once a year, if it should be in the spring, and whether it was possible to reach people by text messages. Peter asked if people had indeed received the messages sent out with invitations to the meeting today. Not many people answered and the question of	I wonder if communication simply happened through word of mouth.

communication channels created a bit of confusion. The question of who could vote was then addressed. Voting through power of attorney was quickly dismissed. There appeared to be consensus on the matter of only residents in Tingbjerg being able to vote.	
The day-to-day management of the union was then discussed. Peter pointed out that it was merely a formal matter, seeing as the board of the union would simply carry out the decisions made by members. At least for members of the board should be present to make a decision. It was also discussed of it should be allowed to delegate one's vote.	
At last, economic matters were discussed. The central question concerned whether there should be membership quota or not. Some seemed sceptical about this idea, even though it would be a symbolic contribution of 30 DKK. Furthermore, it was discussed that having a quota would give more paperwork. At the same time, it might not be possible to receive fonds without having a quota. Nothing was decided other than the fact that more information about the matter was needed.	
At last, the board was elected. Andrea and Peter were immediately elected as members. Electing the rest of the board, however, took longer. First, it was discussed that it would be better to elect one of the newer members as president of the board. No one seemed keen on becoming the president. First, we needed to clarify what being president implicated – it was the face of the union and the one who invited members to the annual general meeting. It was assured that the president did not stand with the responsibility of the union alone, it was a shared effort carried out by the board collectively. Some of the more experienced voices – Peter and Andrea – tried to get to the bottom of why people were hesitating to be president. Some seemed concerned about the fact that it would all take place in Danish. It was also addressed that the task of being the face of the union could seem slightly transgressive. One board member, Maria, was elected before finding a president. After reassuring that having a president was merely a formal matter and that the person would not have to do it alone, Maria's sister, Ceren, agreed to be president,	When electing the president, it seemed important to have someone else than the "original" founders – someone who had been recruited from Muna's network. I assumed that it was in order to ensure that the association was, not only inclusive, but rather *active* in all its segments. In other words, there was a risk of having a huge gap between the board and the rest of the members who were not part of the group from the beginning. I particularly noted that it seemed easier to find members of the board than the president.

followed a large applause. Trine and Muna were further elected as members.	
The union was made official and the meeting ended. Most people left immediately after, apart from the "original" group. I chatted with Sara who had attended the meeting not as an employee but as a student. I also briefly talked to Peter about making a survey for GIS with the members. He said that he could send out a message on behalf of the union, informing them about this survey. He pointed out that it was great to have a union working as an official voice when carrying out a task like this.	

Date: 27/04/2021

Activity: Public consultation

Background: Today's meeting was a public consultation about the new zoning plan for Tingbjerg, taking place on Facebook. Throughout the meeting, participants could ask questions in the chat. I attempted to navigate the chatroom, getting an impression of what questions were asked, while listening to the presentations. I copy/pasted certain comments from the chat that either received many likes from other participants, or that addressed certain issues I was interested in. The comments/questions in this protocol have been translated from Danish to English.

Descriptive notes	Questions from the chat (copy/pasted)	Observational notes
The meeting was apart from residents in Tingbjerg attended by representatives from fsb, architects working for the zoning plan, representatives from NREP, and representatives from Brøndby-Husum local committee who hosted the event together with Copenhagen Municipality. Throughout the meeting, participants could ask questions in the chat. It was pointed out that the question had been registered when it had received a "like" or a comment from the host. The meeting was filmed live on what appears to be a stage with black theatre backdrops and a high table. I attended the meeting from home. Throughout the meeting, I attempted to navigate the chatroom, getting an impression of what questions were asked, while listening to the presentations. I copy/pasted certain comments from the chat		I wondered if the negative reactions that quickly dominated the chat room had an impact on participants willingness to comment – especially if a participant was positive about the suggested zoning. I imagine that this situation is even more complicated when something takes place on social media because people are not talking in person. Overall, however, it impressed me that most comments did contain specific questions about the suggested zoning. The questions also seemed to be quite variated.

that either received many likes from other participants, or that addressed certain issues I was interested in. Some comments did not contain a question as such, but rather a comment expressing an overall sentiment towards the suggested zoning. Most had a negative reaction, while a few attempted to see the positive side of the upcoming development.		
The meeting was opened by a representative from Brøndby-Husum local committee. This was followed by presentations by architects connected to the zoning plans for Tingbjerg, representatives from the housing associations, and representatives from NREP.		
The first presentation was an introduction to the development preceding the suggested zoning. The presentation touched upon the history of Tingbjerg including how it had been a neighbourhood placed in the middle of nature yet close to the city. Then it went over the more resent development that had taken place the past 5 years.	Is this a zoning plan we are allowed to have influence on or a typical top-down process that will result in gentrification, which is not thought through and neither is in the best interest of the local citizens??	
The architects presented the physical aspects of the suggested zoning. It was pointed out that Tingbjerg has a unique character, which they have attempted to preserve in the new zoning design. Especially the yellow bricks of Tingbjerg's housing and the green, lush atmosphere of the streets and outdoor areas were highlighted. They also touched upon aspects such as garbage, where the buildings would be placed and why, the type of buildings that would be built, and parking. In the chat, it was pointed out that their presentation seemed more like pitch for professionals and	You have now talked a great deal about architecture and used materials. As a resident, I would like to hear how you think it will impact the everyday life of each resident. I don't feel like the adequate recipient for this presentation, as it appears to be more of a pitch than an information meeting for the residents of Tingbjerg.	

designers than an informative meeting for regular residents. The comment highlighted that it would be more relevant to talk about how the physical change would impact the everyday experience of living in Tingbjerg.		
The representative from NREP presented how the development company has been involved in the area. He highlighted the effort to design the housing in a way that would integrate with the existing built environment.		
The meeting was disturbed by several technical problems, as the connection to the meeting was lost. This resulted from outrage from the attending residents who expressed their frustration in the chat, criticising the meeting for being unprofessional. I also missed out on large parts of the presentations due to the technical problems.		I believe many of the participant who complained about the technical problems being unprofessional were sceptical towards the suggested zoning. Hence, I imagined that it was more an overall frustration over the changes happening in the neighbourhood. When that is said, I didn't read all the comments so it's hard to say how accurate this observation is.
The second half of the meeting consisted of a Q&A. in which questions from the Facebook chat were addressed. They were broad up more or less chronologically. The moderator (the representative from fsb) also read out loud some of the comments that did not contain questions as such. Many questions related to practical matters, such as how the parking facilities would be under the new plan or how many trees would be lost in the implementation of the plan. These questions were answered by the architects. Other questions related to the way in which the suggested zoning had been carried out. The comment about the plan being an expression of top-down planning was taken up. The		The questions about the community garden had also been coordinated previously by the group, encouraging each other to participate in the meeting. I noticed the way the comments the were not questions were read out loud. On the one hand, it could seem like an attempt to highlight all aspects of the comments made and represent the overall sentiment of the activities in the chat. At the same time, it could also slightly seem like a way to expose (even ridicule?) the irrelevance of such irrational comments. It genuinely seemed like a lot of effort had been put into finding an adequate solution to the question of the future of the community garden. The solution,

representative from fsb answered this question, pointing out that the plan contained both aspects. On the one hand, it was necessary to involve experts in the process. On the other, the point of having today's meeting was indeed their attempt to include residents in the development.		however, is not to keep the garden as it is.
Quite a few questions concerned the future of the community garden. First, the moderator briefly explained that community garden was "an exciting space where residents were having such interesting activities". This was followed by an appraisal of the project. It was then pointed out that the plan was to move the garden to another, more adequate spot. The spot had already been found. One question from the chat specifically pointed out that it was not possible to move an environment it had taken years to cultivate. Another participant asked on what research the planners based the assumption that it would be harmless to move the garden to another spot. The Q&A, however, was interrupted continuously by technical problems and the only answer to the questions was that they would do their best to include residents in the design of the gardens remaining after the construction had ended.	It is being pointed out that you have carefully considered each space upon which housing will be constructed – on one of these places lies a community garden where people meet across socioeconomic, generational, and ethnic background, creating a community. One of Steen Eilier's original concerns for the development of Tingbjerg is that just because you physically live next to each other doesn't mean that you will become involved in each other's lives

I can see in the zoning plan that the community garden is planned to be demolished. The community garden has had a great value for the residents and works well because it is a gathering point for residents across cultures. How can we preserve it?

What are the reasons behind finding it necessary/prioritising constructing housing in this particular spot? And on what specific experiences and research do you base the idea that | |

	it is possible to "move" a green community (as the community garden) to another spot (?) and are you thinking that planning makes it possible to 'draw your way' to (green) communities in the new Tingbjerg?	