Dealing with Urban Diversity

The Case of Copenhagen

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DIVERCITIES: Dealing with Urban Diversity

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Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today’s Hyper-diversified Cities

The views expressed in this publication are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Commission.

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PREFACE

This book is one of the outcomes of the DIVERCITIES project. It focuses on the question of how to create social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in today’s hyper-diversified cities. The project’s central hypothesis is that urban diversity is an asset; it can inspire creativity and innovation and make cities more liveable and harmonious. To ensure a more intelligent use of the potentials of diversity, a re-thinking of public policies and governance models is needed.

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There are fourteen books in this series, one for each case study city. The cities are: Antwerp, Athens, Budapest, Copenhagen, Istanbul, Leipzig, London, Milan, Paris, Rotterdam, Tallinn, Toronto, Warsaw and Zurich.

This book is concerned with Copenhagen. The text in this book is based on a number of previously published DIVERCITIES reports. The photographs in the book were taken by Sirid Bonderup and the authors. The authors would like to thank a number of people who have assisted in conducting the research behind this book or in the creation of the book itself: Betina Seitzberg Chheiber, Freja Friis, Trine Skafte Clausen, Claire Teresa Poulsen and Sven Davidsson. Furthermore, we would like to thank the internal DIVERCITIES reviewers of the book and external reviewer, senior lecturer Henrik Gutzon Larsen, Lund University for their valuable comments on various stages of the book. Finally, we would like to thank the Danish Policy Platform of DIVERCITIES (listed in appendix VII) as well as the DIVERCITIES international team of researchers for their collaboration and their comments on the Danish case study.

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1 DEALING WITH URBAN DIVERSITY: AN INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

By definition, cities are highly diverse. Many have existed for centuries and in the process have developed a large diversity of urban neighbourhoods swayed by government input and markets. These neighbourhoods may display a range of housing and environmental characteristics, prompting the emergence of specific places: enclaves for the rich; slums and ghettos for the very poor; middle-class suburbs; thriving as well as degrading inner city districts; gated communities; areas with shrinking populations; and areas with growing populations due to increasing immigration. Residential neighbourhoods may be inhabited by mostly rich or mostly poor people; they may have a majority of immigrant groups or they may be heavily mixed, accommodating many different population groups. Neighbourhoods may be places of intensive contact between groups, or areas of parallel lives where people pass each other like ships in the night and have little in common with one another. Areas may be mixed with respect to “hard” variables such as income, education, ethnicity, race, household composition and age structure, but also on the basis of “softer” characteristics such as lifestyle, attitude and activities. Some people may choose to live in certain areas, while others have little choice. In most urban areas residents live harmoniously together, but in some areas underlying tensions can sometimes erupt into open conflicts between different groups.

Even in neighbourhoods with a homogeneous housing stock (in terms of tenure and type), the resident population may be quite diverse. In areas with expensive housing and a concentration of households with relatively high incomes, large differences in terms of lifestyles may exist: some citizens may be more neighbourhood oriented than others; some may go out every night; and some are always at home in the evenings, leaving their place of residence only to go to work. In general, areas with relatively cheap housing will attract people and households with (very) low incomes; however, the residential population may be very diverse with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and behaviour and as regards to their wishes to stay in the area or to move on. In these areas, residents may live happily together: they may take part in and enjoy activities; they may live parallel lives without meeting each other or simply greeting each other; or they may avoid each other because of perceived behaviour or appearance. For many residents with low incomes, the possibility to move to another place in the city is limited.

Households with low incomes are generally concentrated in neighbourhoods with affordable housing. A number of these neighbourhoods might be characterised as dilapidated areas: the quality of the housing and of public spaces may be poorer than in other parts of the city;
residents may feel less safe in such areas; and unemployment and the number of people on welfare benefits may be relatively high. In many of these areas we see concentrations of immigrants and their descendants, often originating from a range of countries, resulting in an increasing ethnic diversity (Vertovec, 2007). There can be negative, intolerant, and discriminatory attitudes towards these areas and the people living in them. As a consequence, some neighbourhoods with affordable housing become areas in which nobody wants to live. However, this need not be the case. Such areas may offer potential advantages for their residents: housing is relatively cheap; residents feel at ease amongst people of their own ethnic group and/or socio-economic status; they appreciate the diversity; or they might even find jobs in the local, sometimes very diverse, economy.

This book focuses on living with urban diversity. It will demonstrate that despite the existence of negative discourses, people living and working in diverse cities and neighbourhoods often see advantages and positive consequences of diversity, for example, in terms of activities, social cohesion and social mobility. Residents and entrepreneurs may even profit from it. We are also aware of the negative consequences of living in diverse urban areas, but we want to focus in particular on the often neglected positive aspects residents and entrepreneurs find, feel and experience.

This book is focused on Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark. Copenhagen is by far the largest city in Denmark; it is also the most diverse city. The city was historically the centre of the army, the navy and the royal court with its governing structures, as well as of national wealth more
generally. This gave rise to the need for a large number of specialists and workers from various countries of origin, especially during industrialisation (Kaiser Hansen, 2008). Since the 1960s, different waves of migrants from different regions of the world have further increased the city’s diversity. In addition to the traditional types of socio-economic and ethnic diversity, many other aspects cause the resident composition of Copenhagen to be diverse, e.g. lifestyles, interests, sexuality and religion. In the political as well as the public discourse of Copenhagen, diversity is celebrated more than in the rest of the country; this is one reason why the city of Copenhagen may be more attractive to people with less traditional lifestyles.

This book is based on extensive empirical research in the case study area of Bispebjerg; an area located north of the centre of Copenhagen. Bispebjerg currently has approximately 54,000 inhabitants. It is a highly diverse area in terms of (population) income levels, education and occupation, household structures, ethnicities, cultures, lifestyles, living conditions, etc. Furthermore, the different parts of the area are very diverse, not only in terms of resident composition, but also regarding activities, facilities and the built environment (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2011c). Both the resident composition and the built environment have developed in, and are shaped by, different historical periods resulting in a high degree of diversity in the area.

Within Bispebjerg, Nordvest (the north west region) is the neighbourhood located closest to the Copenhagen city centre (about four kilometres away). Nordvest was originally a late 19th century industrial district on the outskirts of the city. Small factories and workshops stood alongside low-rise blocks of flats. Today, the neighbourhood is a blend of small businesses located in the old industrial buildings alongside blocks of flats from around the 1900s. The flats are a blend of private rental, cooperative, social and owner-occupied housing. Most are relatively small and fairly cheap in a Copenhagen context. Further out, Bispebjerg climbs up the hill and turns into a less hectic and less dense area simply known as the Bispebjerg neighbourhood. Large main roads cut through this area, which primarily consists of high-rise buildings from the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. The majority of these are social housing, which were built for local workers. A public hospital is situated next to the housing areas. The parts furthest away from the Copenhagen city centre, Utterslev and Emdrup, are dominated by detached houses built for lower middle-class families at the beginning of the 20th century. However, some social housing can be found here as well. The two neighbourhoods are divided by a large recreational area consisting of the scenic Bispebjerg Churchyard and the park-like Utterslev Mose. All in all, the area is highly diverse in terms of residential composition, partly due to the diversity of housing types and tenures.

**Brief definitions of the core concepts**

*Diversity* is defined as the presence or coexistence of a number of specific socio-economic, socio-demographic, ethnic and cultural groups within a certain spatial entity, such as a city or a neighbourhood. We wish to point out how diversity relates to social cohesion, social mobility and the performance of entrepreneurs. At a very general level, *social cohesion* can be defined as the internal bonding of a social system (Schuyl, 1997). *Social mobility* refers to the possibility
of individuals or groups to move upwards or downwards in society, for example, with respect to jobs and income (and status and power), while economic performance is concerned with the ways in which individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs. Governance is seen as shorthand for a diversity of partnerships on different spatial and policy levels, leading to a certain goal.

1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THE BOOK

Our aim is to explore whether diversity “works”. Are there advantages for those who are directly confronted with it and who live within it? An important part of the research is focused on the influence of policy instruments and governance arrangements: How are they formulated? How important is diversity in policies aimed at improving cities, neighbourhoods and the situations of people (social and economic)? How do residents profit from these policies and arrangements? On the basis of interviews with residents of diverse urban areas, we aim to understand how they manage their lives in general and diversity in particular. Do they see advantages of diversity in the places where they live or work? Do they encounter negative effects? And do they care? Interviews with entrepreneurs in our research areas will indicate why they started their enterprises there and if diversity had an effect on their decisions. We hope to learn whether they profit from the diversity of the area.

The next chapter outlines the main theoretical starting points for the book.
1.3 DIVERSITY AND ITS EFFECTS: SOME KEY ARGUMENTS

From super-diversity to hyper-diversity
Coined by Steven Vertovec (2007), super-diversity refers specifically to western cities with increasing ethnic diversity, and to the demographic and socio-economic diversity between and within these ethnic groups. Vertovec talks about,

“... the dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade”. (Vertovec, 2007:1024)

Vertovec recognises the enormous diversity within categories of immigrants.

We will go one step further and use the term hyper-diversity. With this term we will make it clear that we should not only look at diversity in ethnic, demographic and socio-economic terms, but also consider the differences that exist with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. We will contend that such differences are important, for example, when explaining social cohesion or social mobility. People belonging to the same social or ethnic group may display quite different attitudes with respect to, for instance, school and work, as well as towards other groups. They may have very different daily and life routines. Some adolescents and adults may exhibit extensive daily mobility patterns that stretch across the entire city and even beyond, while others are oriented towards their own residential neighbourhood. While the sphere of daily interaction of a native resident may be restricted to their immediate surroundings, their foreign-born immigrant neighbours may be more mobile with respect to social and professional relations, and vice versa.

Hyper-diversity refers to an intense diversification of the population, not only in socio-economic, socio-demographic and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013a:6).

The term makes it clear that we should maintain an open outlook on urban diversity. Hyper-diversity refers to a situation that is significantly more complex than super-diversity because the concept contains more variables, which leads to more involved interactions between these variables. The term hyper-diversity takes account of the fact that Somali refugees in Denmark, for example, might in some cases be considered a homogenous group (in Denmark all ethnic minorities are sometimes considered a homogenous group), even if substantial diversity based on gender, family situation, age, educational background, work experience, lifestyle and orientation towards their home country exists within the group.

Why should we pay attention to such immense diversification? In our opinion, the implications of the recognition of hyper-diversity may be that we change our outlook about the possibilities of living together in a city or a neighbourhood. Mixing groups within a neighbourhood – for
example, in terms of income or ethnic descent – may lead to physical proximity of these groups, but because they have different lifestyles, attitudes and activities, these people may never actually meet. Policies aimed at traditional categories such as ‘the poor’ or specific ethnic or age groups, and which do not take into account the immense diversity within such groups or categories, are likely to fail. Policies aimed at improving the social cohesion in neighbourhoods are unlikely to work when the hyper-diversity of the population is not considered. Traditional policy frames often adhere to stable and sharply delineated population categories or to specific neighbourhoods in a city, therefore ignoring the hyper-diversified social reality.

A hyper-diversified city contains increasing and changing forms of diversities. According to the literature, new forms of diversity are the result of many factors including: increasing net migration and diversification of countries of origin (Vertovec, 2007); increased level of population mobility (Syrett and Sepulveda, 2007; 2011); the dynamic nature of global migration, new social formations in the city and changing conditions and positions of immigrant and ethnic minority groups in urban society (Vertovec, 2010); transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants (Vertovec, 2007); new power and political structures, and dynamic identities (Cantle, 2012); and increasing heterogeneity of migration in terms of countries of origin, ethnic and national groups, religion, languages, migratory channels and legal status (Faist, 2009). Neoliberal deregulation, which has been feeding diversity in particular ways (economic globalisation, increasing income inequality, polarisation, segregation, etc.) for the last 30 years, contributes to the increasing complexities of urban society.

Diversity and urban governance
Governance can be defined as a process of coordinating actors, social groups and institutions to attain particular goals discussed and defined collectively in fragmented, uncertain environments (Le Galès, 2002). It is expected that the overall success of public policies will become increasingly dependent on partnerships between public and private sectors, and that individual citizens and communities will be increasingly required to be responsible for their own welfare. Nor will traditional government be responsible for the increasing diversity of groups in society more particularly. Urban governance must consolidate their efforts as regards to physical conditions, social and economic situations, and environmental improvements to accommodate better quality of life in urban areas.

Ostensibly, during the 2000s, convergence was seen in urban policy and planning agendas in cities across the world with a move towards what Beck (2002) has termed the individualisation of society, or a ‘sub-politics’ characterised by less direct forms of state intervention and greater individual and community autonomy. It is argued that the adversarial class politics of the post-WWII period has been replaced by a new ‘post-politics’ founded on consensus building, collaboration, and a more powerful role for active individuals and communities. For authors such as Beck (2002), Giddens (1994; 2002; 2009) and Held (2010), changes are an inevitable consequence of structural social shifts in which individuals and communities no longer identify
themselves through the restrictive prisms of class identities and adversarial left/right politics. This is particularly relevant in cosmopolitan, hyper-diverse EU cities with their outward-looking populations and economies. Questions of governance have become increasingly complex, and governments are looking for possibilities to tackle the growing divisions between shrinking institutional capacities (partly as a consequence of deliberate austerity measures) and a growing diversity of the needs of an increasingly diverse population.

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and the 2011 Euro crisis, governments across the EU have adopted austerity agendas in an effort to reduce the size of the state and to make governance arrangements more flexible and diverse. In the UK, for example, terms such as ‘Big Society’ have taken centre stage. Advocates such as former Prime Minister David Cameron represent a ‘guiding philosophy’ of government, in which a leaner state can act as:

“… a leading force for progress in social responsibility (…) breaking [open] state monopolies, allowing charities, social enterprises, and companies to provide public services, devolving power down to neighbourhoods, making government more accountable” (Cameron, 2010:1).

Similar trends are seen in cities and countries across the EU where governance is being re-invented as a participatory practice that opens up opportunities for policy-makers and citizens to engage in a process of policy co-production and cooperation (Mulgan, 2009; Oosterlynck and Swyngedouw, 2010).

And yet, little is known about the capacities and motivations of diverse urban communities to take on these new and expanded roles in cities across the EU. The shift to a post-political, communitarian approach to governance raises questions of equality and social justice; it is by no means clear how reducing the role of the state and of government institutions will necessarily improve either the efficiency or the accountability of governance processes. Devolution and localism can all too easily open the door to new forms of privatisation that may bring more efficiency but at the cost of reduced democratic accountability and increases in socio-economic inequality (see Boyle, 2011; MacLeod and Jones, 2011; Raco, 2012). Moreover, the extent to which existing institutional structures no longer ‘work’ and need to be reformed is a claim that authors such as Swyngedouw (2009), Rancière (2006) and Žižek (2011) have challenged as a political-ideological programme which, in reality, seeks to attack welfare state systems across the EU and marginalise poorer and more diverse communities in cities under the discursive cloak of ‘empowerment’ and ‘devolution’ agendas (Mouffe, 2005; Crouch, 2011).

Diversity and social cohesion
In its most general meaning, social cohesion refers to the glue that holds a society together (Maloutas & Malouta, 2004). The concept of social cohesion is not only applicable to society as a whole, but also to different scale levels (city, neighbourhood, street) or different types of social systems, e.g. a family, an organisation or a university (Schuyt, 1997). Kearns and Forrest (2000) identify five domains of social cohesion: common values and a civic culture; social order and...
social control; social solidarity and reduction in wealth disparities; place attachment and shared identity; and social networks and social capital. We will return to the concept of social capital in the next section.

Fundamental disagreement exists among social scientists about the association between diversity and social cohesion. The common belief in significant parts of the social sciences is that despite internal differences, mixed communities can live together in harmony. Finding the balance between diversity and solidarity is not easy, but it is not necessarily an impossible or undesirable mission (Amin, 2002). However, social scientists working in the communitarian tradition, such as Putnam (2007), tend to see diversity and heterogeneity as a challenge or even an obstacle to social cohesion, and consider cultural homogeneity to be a fundamental source of social cohesion.

This distinction between optimists and pessimists is also reflected in the literature on social mixing policies (van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). On the one hand, policy-makers in many European countries see the stimulation of greater mixing across income groups and between ethnic communities as a means to create more social cohesion (Graham et al., 2009). On the other hand, many academic researchers tend to emphasise that diversity is often negatively related to cohesion. This conclusion is based on two types of empirical research. First, some studies evaluate social mixing policies (in either a quantitative or a qualitative way), which usually focus on a small number of neighbourhoods, and which conclude that social mixing is more likely to weaken than to strengthen social cohesion in a neighbourhood (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013; Bond et al., 2011). Hardly any interaction is found between social groups (Bretherton and Pleace, 2011; Joseph et al., 2007). Second, a highly quantitative research tradition relates the compositional characteristics of neighbourhoods to social cohesion. Kearns and Mason (2007) found that a greater diversity of tenure (as proxy for social mix) is negatively related to social cohesion. However, further empirical knowledge is needed as regards to the link between diversity and social cohesion. Gathering this is one of the key objectives of the DIVERCITIES-project.

Although many different types of diversity exist, considerable attention has been focused on the effects of ethnic diversity since Putnam’s publication *E pluribus unum* (2007). Divergent theories are found on the association between ethnic concentration and social cohesion (Gijsberts et al., 2011). According to the homogeneity theory, people prefer to associate with others who have similar characteristics. It is therefore expected that people in heterogeneous neighbourhoods tend to have fewer contacts with fellow residents than people in homogeneous neighbourhoods. According to group conflict theory, people feel threatened by the presence of other groups. There is more distrust towards the out-groups when the numerical presence of these groups is stronger.

Putnam’s (2007) ‘constrict theory’ partly overlaps with conflict theory. He found that higher ethnic diversity in the neighbourhood goes hand-in-hand with less trust in local politicians.
Moreover, ethnic heterogeneity may have a negative effect on the number of friends and acquaintances people have, and people’s willingness to do something for their neighbourhood or engage in voluntary organisations. Diversity does not only lead to less trust in the out-group, but also to distrust in the in-group. Putnam concludes:

“Diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation. In colloquial language, people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to ‘hunker down’ – that is, to pull in like a turtle”. (Putnam, 2007:140)

This idea relates to the notion of a parallel society: people may live close to each other, but this does not necessarily mean that they have any contact with each other or take part in joint activities. In Denmark, the risk of parallel societies has been, and still is, high on the political agenda. A strategy against ghettoisation launched in 2004 by the then government was updated in 2010 under the name ‘Integrating the Ghettos back into the Society – a confrontation with parallel societies in Denmark’ (The Government 2010). Colloquially, this is known as the ghetto strategy. It is based on the fear of parallel societies, which are assumed to prevent the social and cultural integration of ethnic minorities.

Although some of the academic literature tends to be pessimistic about the level of social cohesion in areas of diversity, it should be stressed that there is no reason to assume that a mechanistic (negative) association exists between diversity and cohesion. Contextual differences play a large role in the effects of diversity. Delhay and Newton (2005) have shown that good governance at the regional and national levels has a positive effect on social cohesion and eliminates the (alleged) negative effects of diversity. The effects of diversity may also differ from society to society based on difference in ‘ethnic boundary making’. In the literature on ‘ethnic boundary making’ ethnicity is,

“…not preconceived as a matter of relations between pre-defined, fixed groups… but rather as a process of constituting and reconfiguring groups by defining boundaries between them” (Wimmer, 2013:1027).

This literature aims to offer a more precise analysis of how and why cultural or ethnic diversity matters in some societies or contexts but not in others, and why it is sometimes associated with inequality and ‘thick identities’ and in other cases not. This is, among other things, dependent on the specific type of boundary making and the degree of ‘social closure’ along cultural-ethnic lines (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998; Wimmer, 2013).

**Diversity and social mobility**

*Social mobility* refers to the possibility of individuals or groups to move upwards or downwards in society, for example, with respect to jobs and income, status and power. Social mobility has been defined in many ways, narrow as well as broad. In almost all definitions, the notion of a labour market career is mentioned. Individuals are socially mobile when they move from...
one job to another (better) job or from a state of unemployment to being in employment. In Denmark, focus is very much on education as the means for securing social mobility within and between generations. The role of the welfare state, in particular that of the educational system, is to make social mobility between generations possible in order to limit negative social inheritance.

In the context of social mobility it is important to place some attention on the concept of social capital. In its most simple sense, social capital refers to the possible profit of social contacts (Kleinhans, 2005). It provides a link between social cohesion and social mobility. To Bourdieu, social capital is a resource or a power relation that agents achieve through social networks and connections:

“Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119).

This definition focuses on the actual network resources that individuals or groups possess, and which help them to achieve a given goal, for example, finding a job or a better home. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) draw on Bourdieu’s definition of social capital when speaking about immigrants in particular.

The question of how individuals can profit from their social contacts is crucial in this context. Such contacts may turn out to be sources of practical knowledge or important information. The literature makes an important distinction between bonding capital on the one hand and bridging capital on the other (Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2001). Bonding capital refers to the strong ties within one’s social circle (similar others), while bridging capital refers to relations outside one’s social circle (weak ties). The latter type of connection is much more likely to deliver important information about opportunities, such as jobs (Granovetter, 1973). In this research project we see social capital as a resource for social mobility. In other words, this resource can be used as a means to reach social mobility. Social capital is therefore not seen as an equivalent of social mobility. The concept of social capital does, to some extent, overlap with the concept of social cohesion (see above); however, while social cohesion can be seen as an outcome of social processes, social capital should be interpreted as a means to reach a goal. For instance, having a good social network may help a person find premises for a new small business.

In studies of neighbourhood effects, the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and social mobility is central. In many of these studies, the effects of segregation (usually in terms of income or ethnic background) on social mobility have been in focus rather than the effects of diversity. Typical questions include (Friedrichs, 1998): Does living in a neighbourhood with a specific type of population limit social mobility? Does living in an ethnic neighbourhood limit integration and assimilation? Do impoverished neighbourhoods have fewer job opportunities for their residents?
Concrete results from research into neighbourhood effects can be given. A study on the effects of income mix in neighbourhoods on adult earnings in Sweden (Galster et al., 2008) showed that neighbourhood effects do exist, but that they are small. Urban (2009) finds only a small effect on the neighbourhoods with children as regards to income and unemployment risks in Stockholm. Brännström and Rojas (2012) also found mixed results with respect to the effect of living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods on education outcomes in areas with a relatively large minority ethnic population. Gordon and Monastiriotis (2006) found small neighbourhood effects on educational outcomes for disadvantaged groups. At the same time, they found more substantial positive effects of segregation for middle-class households. The general outcome of the above studies and others similar to them is that personal characteristics are much more important for social mobility than the characteristics of the neighbourhood, at least in European cities.

Why are neighbourhood effects on various aspects of social mobility so small? This can probably be attributed to the fact that the lives of people do not revolve completely around the home and the neighbourhood of residence. With increased mobility, better transport and almost unlimited contact possibilities through the Internet and mobile devices, people now take part in multiple networks, visiting several places and meeting many people physically and virtually (van Kempen and Wissink, 2014). People may have contacts all across the city, (ethnic) groups may form communities all around the world (Zelinsky and Lee, 1998), in the neighbourhood where they are residents, in their home countries, where large parts of their families may still live, and possibly in other regions where family members and friends have migrated to (Bolt and van Kempen, 2013).

Diversity and economic performance
When we consider urban studies, we mainly find literature that links the advantages of urban diversity to the economic competitiveness of the city. Fainstein, for example, argues that,

“… the competitive advantage of cities, and thus the most promising approach to attaining economic success, lies in enhancing diversity within the society, economic base, and built environment” (Fainstein, 2005:4).

From this widely accepted point of view, urban diversity is seen as a vital resource for the prosperity of cities and a potential catalyst for socio-economic development (Bodaar and Rath, 2005; Eraydin et al., 2010; Tasan-Kok and Vranken, 2008). Although some successful entrepreneurs may live in homogenous neighbourhoods, some scholars hold a contrary view and even argue that diversity and economic performance are not positively connected (Angrist and Kugler, 2003; Alesina and La Ferrara, 2005). The general opinion is that diversity has a positive influence on the economic development of cities. Inspired by similar ideas, policymakers strive to realise a ‘diversity dividend’, which may increase the competitive advantage of the city (Cully, 2009; Eraydin et al., 2010). As chapter three will show, the official policy of Copenhagen is largely based on this understanding of diversity.
All of these perspectives provide a solid understanding of how diverse communities can contribute to the economic performance of cities. What is less clear is the impact of living/working in a hyper-diversified city or neighbourhood where economic performance affects resident individuals and groups. In our research, we focus on the ways in which individuals and groups perform in the city as entrepreneurs because we see the economic performance of people as an essential condition for the economic performance of a city. We aim to underline that diverse forms of entrepreneurship have a positive effect on urban economic performance. Furthermore, increasing the possibilities of building successful businesses (entrepreneurship) also contributes to enhancing the chances of social mobility for diverse groups of people in the city.

However, as argued by Bellini et al. (2008), research at the urban level indicates the existence of positive correlations between diversity and economic performance and sees cultural diversity as an economic asset (Nathan, 2011). Some of the positive impacts of diversity will be highlighted here:

- **Increasing productivity**: A study of Ottaviano and Peri (2006) shows that average US-born citizens are more productive (in terms of wages and rents) in a culturally diversified environment. As shown by Bellini et al. (2008), diversity correlates positively with productivity as it may increase the variety of goods, services and skills available for consumption, production and innovation (Lazear, 1999; O’Reilly et al., 1998; Ottaviano and Peri, 2006; Berliant and Fujita, 2004). In the same vein, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) provide an overview of how the urban economy benefits from diversity in the population.

- **Increasing chances of networking**: Some scholars (Alesina et al., 2004; Demange and Wooders, 2005) point to the emerging literature on club formations in which ethnic networks grow from within. According to these researchers, a social mix brings about variety in abilities, experiences, and cultures, which may be productive and may lead to innovation and creativity. Saunders’ (2011) work on the arrival city concept is of interest. He argues that some city areas with high levels of social mix provide a better (more accommodating) environment for immigrants who wish to start small businesses, and especially for newcomers due to their easy access to information through well-developed networks.

- **Increasing competitive advantage**: Emphasising the rising levels of population diversity, Syrett and Sepulveda (2011) suggest using population diversity as a source of competitive advantage. Other studies highlight diversity as an instrument for increasing the competitive advantage of cities, regions and places (Bellini et al., 2008; Blumenthal et al, 2009; Eraydin et al., 2010; Nathan, 2011; Sepulveda et al., 2011; Thomas and Darnton, 2006). The common argument of these studies is that areas that are open to diversity are able to attract a wider range of talent (and thus variation of nationality, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation) than those that are relatively closed. As a result, these areas are more likely to have a dynamic economy due to their creative, innovative and entrepreneurial capacities compared to more homogenous cities (see also Scott, 2006).

- **Increasing socio-economic well-being**: A number of studies have pointed out the positive contribution of urban diversity to the socio-economic well-being of mixed neighbourhoods
The Case of Copenhagen (Kloosterman and van der Leun, 1999; Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). In fact, proximity to mixed neighbourhoods seems to be a locus for networking and for the fostering of social capital (Kloosterman and Rath, 2001). ‘Attractive’ and safe living environments, ‘good’ and appealing amenities, pleasant dwellings and a ‘nice’ population composition may be crucial factors to attract and bind entrepreneurs to a city or neighbourhood (van Kempen et al., 2006).

1.4 THE EMPIRICAL APPROACH OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this book is to provide an extensive and elaborate account of the empirical findings of the Danish case study of Bispebjerg, Copenhagen. It adds to the English language literature on urban geography and urban sociology in Denmark and documents more or less well-grounded notions on diversity within Danish research. International as well as Danish literature will be drawn upon to some extent. However, the main purpose is to account for and discuss the empirical findings. More elaborate theoretical discussions and discussions of the links with and implications for international research will be published in journal articles in the coming years.

The overall framework and methodology of the DIVERCITIES project

The research for this book is based on the detailed research design of the DIVERCITIES project (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013b). As the ambitions for the project are substantial, the empirical research is extensive. This has already been reported in four published fieldwork reports (Andersen et al., 2014a; Andersen et al., 2014b; Beckman et al., 2015; Skovgaard Nielsen et al., 2016), which form the basis of chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this book. The structure of the book partly reflects the structure of these reports.

The research is based on comprehensive qualitative fieldwork carried out in the period between August 2013 and November 2015. More than 120 qualitative interviews were conducted. To investigate municipal policies and governance arrangements on diversity, governmental and non-governmental actors as well as representatives from governance arrangements were interviewed. To understand the local perspectives, residents living in Bispebjerg and entrepreneurs who have a business in the area were interviewed.

The interviews were conducted on the basis of semi-structured interview guides (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013b). These were based on interview guides shared by all the partners of DIVERCITIES adapted to fit national and local contexts. Focus was on establishing a trustful dialogue in order for the interviewees to feel comfortable sharing their perceptions of urban diversity. This was ensured by creating an informal atmosphere and conducting the interviews under the preferred circumstances of the interviewees and according to the wishes. The semi-structured interview guides allow for other significant topics and questions to arise during the course of the interview. This is crucial in order to achieve explorative in-depth qualitative analyses in accordance with the
aim of the project. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Subsequently, they were coded and thematically analysed using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.

Policy discourses and governance arrangements
Chapter three of this book focuses on policy discourses on diversity in Copenhagen and governance arrangements on diversity in Bispebjerg. The sampling and recruitment procedure aimed to identify and interview the most relevant actors within the field. This was done by identifying the municipal and non-governmental actors who were most important for the work with diversity. Key employees were identified by contacting the governmental and non-governmental actors, explaining the purpose of the study and asking for the employee with the most extensive knowledge of, experience with, and responsibility within the diversity field. Furthermore, snowballing was utilised by asking the interviewees to identify other key employees within the field.

In total, 30 qualitative interviews and one focus group interview were conducted with governmental and non-governmental policy actors in key positions within the diversity-related field in Copenhagen. The fieldwork was carried out from August to October 2013. Initially, two experts on the overall national discourse were interviewed, so as to draw up the general trends as a background for the project. To analyse governmental and non-governmental discourses on diversity in Copenhagen, nine governmental and eight non-governmental actors were interviewed including: key officials; policy-makers and strategists; business organisations; organisations representing diverse in-migrant groups at city level; and other non-governmental organisations with an influence on shaping urban policy and its relation to diversity. Furthermore, a document analysis was conducted of the most central city-wide policy strategies on diversity. A number of core documents, policy statements and policy records were collected. Four policies were given particular attention, as they are the key policies on diversity in Copenhagen. Representatives of two private companies were interviewed as well. These companies were selected on the basis of their explicit and extensive work concerning diversity and their resulting knowledge of working with the Municipality of Copenhagen regarding diversity issues. The purpose of these interviews and the interviews with the NGO’s was to understand the municipality’s approach to diversity as seen from an external perspective. The views of the private companies and the NGO’s are presented together in chapter three to understand the non-governmental perspectives.

To analyse the governance arrangements and their perceptions of diversity, 10 interviews and one focus group interview were conducted in the period from March to June 2014. Representatives of 10 different arrangements were interviewed about their work with diversity. Examples of the selected arrangements include a farmers’ market, a storytelling project and a women’s integration house. The parameters for selection of the arrangements were to achieve diversity: they can be undertaken by governmental, non-governmental, grass-roots or business actors and as joint ventures between these actors. They can be area-based and take place at any level from a neighbourhood level to a national or EU-level, or they can be based on a specific
group of people. Furthermore, the arrangements were selected for their innovative potential and their positive approach to diversity. Hence, the main goals of the arrangements are to foster social cohesion, increase economic performance and/or enhance social mobility. In reality, most of them target at least one or aim for more than one.

The purpose of the focus group interview was to bring the findings of the individual arrangements together and to discuss them on a more general level. The interviewees of the focus group were provided with a short summary of the main findings across the governance arrangements prior to the focus group interview. The discussion focused on assessing the general nature of the findings and on the implications of the findings for working with diversity. The focus group consisted of five individuals. These interviewees were actors from within and outside of the arrangements, and in both cases with a broad experience of working with diversity through governance arrangements.

Short descriptions of the arrangements can be found in appendix III of this book. For each of the initiatives, Andersen et al. (2014b) describe and analyse the strategy, focus and organisation, the perception and use of the concept of diversity and the main factors influencing success or failure. The main purpose in this book is to elaborate on how the governance arrangements conceptualise diversity, thereby adding to the understanding of the general discourse on diversity that is the focus of chapter three.

Residents of Bispebjerg
Chapter four of this book focuses on the perceptions of diversity and experience of living with diversity amongst residents of Bispebjerg. The sampling procedure aimed at gathering as diverse a group of resident interviewees as possible in order to uncover variations in perception and experience. The resident interviewees were therefore recruited to obtain as much variation as possible on different background variables such as gender, age, ethnicity, income, living conditions and lifestyle. As a consequence of the changing residential composition in Bispebjerg, diversification of lifestyles, activities, businesses etc. also took place (this will be described in depth in chapter two). In choosing the interviewees for the empirical research, the goal was to reflect the historical development of Bispebjerg and thus the different population groups present in the area. Accordingly, a collection of prototypical groups mirroring the diversification processes were drafted and used as a steering tool for constructing the interview sample. The sampling process aimed to include interviewees from each of these groups. They are outlined in Appendix I.

Despite the goal of variation in interviewees and experience, the qualitative approach implied that the goal was never to create a statistically representative sample of interviewees. Consequently, the prototypical groups of interviewees are not to be perceived as fixed categories, but merely as an illustration of the attempt to broaden the sample and reflect the processes of development taking place in Bispebjerg. However, some groups of residents in the analysis sample are very small. Ethnic minority residents, especially male and more so
middle-aged and elderly people, have proved difficult to recruit. This applies to the socially and economically disadvantaged groups of residents as well, i.e., social security recipients, disability pensioners etc. A key reason for this is that socially isolated people are, by definition, difficult to reach through gatekeepers and social networks as they have very limited or even non-existent networks. Furthermore, for some ethnic minority residents, interview participation can be an unfamiliar situation with which they feel uneasy. Finally, language barriers can pose a challenge. These circumstances are taken into account in the analytical work by paying careful attention to all voices, no matter how muted and tacit they might be. In other words, measures have been taken to avoid the underrepresentation of any views.

Interviewees were approached through gatekeepers representing a mix of private and professional contacts and local associations, projects and institutions. For instance, a senior residents’ club at a local housing estate was contacted. Furthermore, a snowballing approach was employed, using the interviewees as gatekeepers who facilitated the access to other interviewees. However, the effectiveness of the snowballing approach in recruiting interviewees in this context was limited. Gatekeepers of various backgrounds became the key entry points for making interview appointments. The majority of the interviews were conducted at the homes of the interviewees, with the exception of a few interviews that took place at a local café or community centre in accordance with the interviewees’ requests. In total, 50 interviews were conducted between October 2014 and April 2015. All interviewees have been anonymised and are represented in the text by an alias instead of their real names.

Entrepreneurs of Bispebjerg
Chapter five focuses on the impact of diversity on the businesses and entrepreneurs of Bispebjerg. Yet again, the aim was to study a diverse sample of enterprises and entrepreneurs, in this case based on the age of the business, the owners’ different socio-economic backgrounds, ethnicity, age, profiles and target groups, size and organisational structure. The purpose of the interviews with the key actors was to understand the entrepreneurial characteristics of Bispebjerg as a part of Copenhagen; the key contextual factors in play and the firms operating in particular sectors. The aim of these interviews was also to understand the approach of the Municipality of Copenhagen towards different types of entrepreneurs and businesses and the types of support provided to entrepreneurs by the municipality and the Danish government. The interviewees were a project manager from Business House Copenhagen and a special consultant from Bispebjerg Local Council.

The entrepreneur interviewees were chosen to construct as much variation as possible and a sample reflecting the enterprise landscape in Bispebjerg and the ongoing processes of change happening in the area (as will be described in chapter two). An additional aim was to achieve geographical dispersion across Bispebjerg of the enterprises interviewed. Enterprises were identified through Internet searches and by contacting relevant professionals (for example, previously interviewed employees at the municipality). Local contacts and observations on the street provided vital clues as to the types of businesses to approach. Furthermore, a
snowballing approach was employed utilising the interviewees’ recommendations from other enterprises. Snowballing was an effective way of discovering less exposed enterprises and, to a varying degree, of facilitating access to new interviewees. Generally, interviewees were either approached on site (for example, in shops), or via phone calls or email. The latter approach proved successful only with rather formal and communicatively oriented enterprises, whereas less formally organised and often smaller enterprises were more easily reached through on-site approaches. Consequently, enterprises of the latter type that did not have a shop or an office with public access were difficult to reach. This applied especially to small cleaning companies and to IT and telecommunications companies, and consequently such enterprises are missing from the sample. Furthermore, some types of enterprises refused to participate in interviews, for instance, auto repair shops, pizzerias, kebab eateries, small bars and pubs. These enterprises were generally dismissive of participating in an interview and came across as not wanting to share any information on the workings of their enterprises. If this is an expression of an informal economy functioning in the area, the views of such enterprises on urban diversity and entrepreneurship will consequently be missing from the analyses. These shortcomings in the sample must be taken into account, as enterprises of these types form a distinct part of the streetscape in Bispebjerg. However, such gaps in the empirical material are relatively small, and they have been afforded careful attention in the analytical process to avoid the underrepresentation of any views. As mentioned, with respect to the residents of Bispebjerg, the goal was not to construct a statistically representative sample as this defies the logic of qualitative research.

The choice of location for the interviews was left to the interviewees to decide in order to make them feel comfortable. All interviews were conducted at the location of the business. Field notes were taken to register the physical facilities of the businesses. In total, 42 interviews were conducted between September and November 2015: 40 interviews with entrepreneurs in Bispebjerg and two with key actors in the business field in Copenhagen. In the vast majority of cases, the entrepreneurs were the owners of the business or another central employee with extensive responsibility. Apart from a few cases, the entrepreneurs were not promised anonymity, in contrast with the residents. The reason for this was that in many cases, the level of information needed on the business and the entrepreneur would make anonymity unfeasible. Furthermore, the subject of the interview was not of a nature that made anonymity necessary. The interviewees were made aware of this in advance and generally did not object. In the few cases where they did, special agreements were made. In any case, neither the name of the business nor that of the entrepreneur is reported. Instead, the interviews are referred to by a number in order to reflect that focus is on the business as well as the entrepreneur, whether or not the person interviewed is the owner.

1.5 THE OUTLINE OF THIS BOOK

Chapter two provides the context of the book by outlining the history and diversity of Copenhagen, focusing on the origins, causes and socio-spatial dynamics of diversity as well as
current challenges and opportunities. Furthermore, it introduces and describes the case study area of Bispebjerg in the northern part of Copenhagen.

Chapter three focuses on policy discourses and how policies deal with urban diversity. National as well as local policies are discussed in order to sketch policy developments over the past decades. The main focus will be on current local policies in Copenhagen as ask questions that include: How do the urban policies of Copenhagen deal with diversity? Is diversity perceived as something positive or as a threat to urban society, or is it not treated as a relevant variable? Does the Municipality of Copenhagen approach diversity as an asset, or does it only act as if diversity will lead to problems? In addition to the top-down policy discourses, attention is also paid to bottom-up initiatives. How do the leaders of local projects see diversity? How do they profit from diversity?

In chapter four, the focus shifts to the residents of the diverse urban area of Bispebjerg, Copenhagen, and includes an analysis of the residents’ perceptions of diversity. One aim is to study why residents moved to the area, and if the diversity of the area was one of a motivating factor. Another aim is to understand how residents use the diversified neighbourhood: do they use the neighbourhood intensively, or are their activities and social contacts mainly outside of the area? Finally, the chapter provides analyses on whether living in a diverse area such as Bispebjerg helps or hinders them in terms of social mobility.

In chapter five, our attention turns to the entrepreneurs in the area, analysing the link between diversity and entrepreneurship: Has the diversity of the area been a motivating factor to start an enterprise in this area? Do the entrepreneurs profit from the diversity and if so, how? Do they have a diverse clientele? Is the enterprise successful and can it survive? The aim is to understand what role, if any, diversity plays for start-up businesses, for their success and the construction of the businesses in the area.

Chapter six concludes the book with a brief summary of the key findings that emerged when combining the different empirical and analytical parts of our research. We will answer the question as to whether urban diversity can be seen as an asset or mainly as a liability. Finally, suggestions of how the results can be utilised are offered to policy makers, politicians and other stakeholders who are dealing with diversity and diverse urban areas.
2 COPENHAGEN AS A DIVERSE CITY

2.1 LOCATING COPENHAGEN

Copenhagen is by far the largest city and region in Denmark, with a third of the national population living in the Copenhagen metropolitan region. Copenhagen owes its existence to the trading routes through the strait of Øresund, the main sailing route from the Baltic Sea to the North Sea. It has been the national capital since the 15th century and benefitted from the rise of the nation state in following centuries (Paludan et al., 1987) as the kings concentrated national wealth in the city.

The royal court, the army and in particular the navy demanded a large number of specialists and workmen; they made up nearly a third of the inhabitants of the city in the 17th and 18th centuries. The city was surrounded by a fortification, which served as both protection and a barrier for development. This was because the land immediately outside of the ramparts had to be left undeveloped in order to secure the defence of the city. As a consequence, the density of the city increased as the population grew. Yet, the British attack on Copenhagen in 1807 made it clear that the fortification was obsolete, and it was eventually abolished in 1852 (Rasmussen, 1974). This decision triggered an overwhelming expansion of the urban area; a veritable boom more than trebled the population and urban land within a few decades, and by 1900 the city had become a major industrial city with more than half a million residents. The continuous expansion of the city caused the Danish parliament to accept a further amalgamation of suburbs in 1901/1902. Copenhagen trebled its area once again to its present size of 86 km² (Rasmussen, 1974). As the city kept growing, the size of its population including suburbs, increased to more than a million by 1940. From this year on, further expansion could only take place outside of the city borders, and the following decades experienced a huge population growth in suburbia, while the existing city lost a third of its population between 1950 and 1980.

Today, Greater Copenhagen is made up of 35 municipalities. The central boroughs (the municipalities of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg) are the oldest parts of the metropolitan region. The official English name for the Municipality of Copenhagen is the City of Copenhagen. However, to avoid confusion with the geographical boundaries of the city centre, the municipality and the region, respectively, the Municipality of Copenhagen is used here. Furthermore, in following chapters, this term has the advantage of emphasising the focus on the municipality’s approach to diversity.
The Municipality of Copenhagen is divided into ten districts. The case study area of Bispebjerg is located to the north between the inner city districts and the suburban municipalities. The new districts, which were built during the second part of the 19th century, were generally dense and lacked open space for recreation. The oldest parts had a number of one and two storey detached houses, while the new districts initially tended to be upper class developments. However, shortly after the process of industrialisation started, a new type of urban expansion took place: working class tenements mixed with factories and workshops within the same building estates. In particular, Nørrebro became the working class and factory district par excellence: factories located along railway lines, warehouses, market halls and various public institutions were constructed during the 1870’s and 1880’s. Austerity kept the average size of working class dwellings at a modest level; many had only one room despite a large number of children in a family. Even so, many households had to supplement their income by subletting a bed to a non-family member. The district of Østerbro had a higher housing standard. Conditions were still quite dense, but dwellings were generally larger and did not share land with workshops etc. This district became the middle class district in sharp contrast to Vesterbro next to today’s central station, which developed into the immigration district with a chaotic mix of slaughterhouses, cheap hotels, theatres, music halls and low-quality housing.
The rise of the inner city districts took place with little regulation, and was soon criticised by middle-class residents who considered the poor housing conditions a major reason for the behaviour of the working class: prostitution was common, children were born out of wedlock and were not baptised, residents voted in favour of socialist parties and various types of criminality were emerging (Madsen, 1979; Laneth, 2011). An initial reaction was the formation of a housing association (Stender and Bech-Danielsen, 2015) among the workers from B&W, the large shipyard in Copenhagen. The housing association managed to create several thousand decent and cheap dwellings for their members. Yet, they were unable to keep pace with the growth of the city and did not include non-members. Instead, the national government began to offer financial support for working class housing, just as the first steps towards a regulation of the built environment were taken in the 1880’s. Urban planning concerns began to make their marks on the city from the early 20th century on: specific land was zoned for the manufacturing industry, and other areas for residential purposes, public institutions, etc. The aim was to enable citizens to escape from the conflicts embedded in the urban fabric of the older districts. The bordering districts of what are now the inner-city districts of Copenhagen developed in such a chaotic way that it prompted the amalgamation of the districts with the Municipality of Copenhagen in 1901/1902.

The Municipality of Copenhagen did not have the means to plan the new districts, but thanks to the earlier acquisition of large parts of the land, the city was de facto in control of the development of the new districts. Due to this, a much higher urban quality was found in the new districts when compared to the inner city: lower population density, larger dwellings, more green spaces and outdoor recreation. Parks were also abundant, and the new districts soon became some of the city’s most attractive residential areas of that period. Continuous population growth, rising living standards and a decrease in population density in residential areas caused the available land for development to be used up in less than thirty years, despite the expansion of the territory. However, urban development does not stop at municipal borders, and a number of suburban districts started to accelerate their growth from the 1930’s, particularly to the north.

Copenhagen continued to be the leading manufacturing city in Denmark, but it also had a growing service sector. While the economy developed slowly during the first years after 1945, the city benefitted from its dominant position as a national centre for education, research, culture, administration, politics and services, as well as its status as a hub for national transport. Urban growth continued. Outside of the borders of the City, the Finger Plan of 1947 foresaw an urban population of 1.5 million by 1980. Yet, the city had already reached this number in the mid 1950s. The population grew due to natural reasons, but also due to internal migration: agriculture, which held a dominant position outside of the largest cities, restructured due to mechanisation, and a large number of people left the countryside and found job opportunities in urban areas, many of them in Copenhagen.

The period from the late 1950’s to the early 1970’s was primarily marked by overwhelming growth. Copenhagen benefitted from a growing population and a major expansion of the
manufacturing sector, but especially by rising employment rates in the service sector. Wealth grew at the rate of 6-7% annually around 1960, which made it realistic for most people to become homeowners. Hundreds of thousands of detached houses were built on previously bare fields around Copenhagen. This low-density development, often with fewer than 10 people per hectare, transformed the landscape of Greater Copenhagen triggering huge demand for better public, and particularly better private, transport opportunities: commuter trains expanded their networks and a number of new highways were constructed in order to bring suburban dwellers to their work places in the city centre.

The urban expansion in the 1960’s through to the 1980’s produced major socio-economic differences within the metropolitan landscape of Copenhagen. To the north, the residential zone traditionally preferred by the upper classes, attracted the most affluent citizens while the western and south-western parts became the new working class districts of the metropolis. The northern suburbs were partly developed by 1950, while the process of urban development in the west of Copenhagen began around that time. Therefore, the older suburbs to the north developed before modern planning legislation was introduced, while the western and south-western suburbs developed in the golden period of urban planning. The northern, affluent suburbs consist mostly of detached, privately owned houses, while the newer suburbs to the west and south west are dominated by large-scale, planned developments of social housing projects along rail corridors and motorways and with few, but large, shopping facilities. These suburbs are a materialisation of the dominant view of a bright urban future.

Metropolitan Copenhagen grew steadily up until the early 1970’s. However, deindustrialisation saw Copenhagen city lose most of its manufacturing industry during the 1960’s and 1970’s and a national politics of decentralisation caused the growth of Copenhagen to come to a halt (Andersen, Hansen and Jørgensen, 2002). At the same time, suburbanisation had changed the socio-economic landscape of Copenhagen: the well-educated, well-earning middle class families had become suburbanites and left behind the unskilled workers and elderly people with low incomes in the city. This caused serious financial difficulties for the city as the gap between tax revenue and the costs of public services grew, while suburban districts developed quite favourably. This widening socio-economic gap between the city and its suburbs resulted in

Picture 2.1 Balconies from a social housing estate in Bispebjerg.
the Municipality of Copenhagen technically going bankrupt around 1990, forcing the central government to intervene. The government invested in Copenhagen and forced the city to change its policies in several fields, such as within planning and housing. The decision made by the central government was triggered to a large degree by the emerging European Union single market. Simply, Copenhagen was considered a key asset for the future development of the country (Andersen, 2008). The agreement between the government and the city led to the construction of a combined bridge and tunnel to the south of Sweden. The construction of a new metro system was commenced, as well as major improvement works on the existing commuter train system. Motorways were expanded and improvements and expansions were made to state institutions such as museums, music halls, theatres and universities. But this also led to the sale of municipal housing, which included 20,000 cheap units and land owned by the city, i.e., centrally located and therefore of considerable value. Furthermore, the agreement called a halt to the construction of non-profit social housing, and provided a much more investor-friendly planning policy that allowed office development at central locations in the inner harbour of Copenhagen (Bisgaard, 2010; Andersen, 2008).

2.2 ORIGINS AND CAUSES OF DIVERSITY IN COPENHAGEN

The population of Copenhagen dropped to a low of just 464,000 in 1992; the lowest number since 1920 (see figure 2.2). However, constant migration to Copenhagen slowly saw this situation change. The population has increased again, currently at 560,000 inhabitants (2015). The city’s population is expected to reach 770,000 inhabitants in 2040, a figure the same as in 1950. A similar development is expected in the rest of metropolitan Copenhagen with an increase of the region’s population to 2.3 million up from today’s 1.9 million.

The city of Copenhagen has the highest degree of diversity in Denmark; this includes diversity in ethnic and socio-economic terms as well as other forms of diversity. The historical functions of Copenhagen have provided substantial diversity in terms of living conditions and a need for specialists, who immigrated from both the kingdom itself and from foreign countries. For

![Figure 2.2 Population growth in the Copenhagen area 1930-2015. Source: StatBank Denmark, 2015c](image-url)
centuries, French architects, English and Dutch merchants, German soldiers, Spanish musicians and many others have settled in the city. Thousands of sailors have spent time in Copenhagen on their way to or from the Baltic Sea. Most of these visitors left again, but over time some stayed for good. They formed small immigrant groups who mixed with those people of a more local origin giving Copenhagen a different social diversity than most other cities in Denmark.

During its rapid growth in the 19th century, Copenhagen attracted numerous groups of people who were looking for new opportunities. Both the government and private firms invited experts who could help implement new technologies or organise complicated processes. However, most of the immigrants were ordinary people who left their modest living conditions in rural surroundings. Finally, a number of people ended up in Copenhagen on their way to America.

The population became relatively diverse during the 19th century, but due to urbanisation and massive migration from the Danish countryside, Copenhagen’s population during the 20th century became more homogenously Danish. Immigrant groups were absorbed into the majority population, and only their family names now indicate their backgrounds. Suburbanisation produced a new socio-spatial structure in the city as young middle class families settled in suburban districts. As a result, a major socio-economic gap appeared between the older and obsolete city centre and the modern suburbs. Parts of the new suburban districts were well-planned areas made up by large estates of social housing. These estates were considered to serve the needs of the working classes as they provided modern dwellings with all facilities, easy access to institutions and schools, shopping centres and public transport. What the planners had not foreseen was the steady rise in wealth that made it possible for a large part of the working classes to become homeowners: the dream of most people was, and still is, to buy a detached house with a garden in a suburban district. The many vacant new dwellings in multi-story blocks from the 1960’s and 1970’s were taken over during the early 1970’s by migrant workers from Yugoslavia, Pakistan and Turkey in particular. The oil crisis in the early 1970’s triggered a more restrictive policy, and free access for immigrants was abolished. However, it was still possible to bring family members to the country by ‘family reunification’, and as the immigrant workers were almost all single males, this led to a huge influx of spouses and children. Parallel to family-reunification, refugees arrived during the 1980’s and 1990’s as a consequence of conflicts, wars and civil wars in different parts of the world. Consequently, the number of non-Danish citizens

Table 2.1 Immigrants by origin (2015), Copenhagen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nordic countries</td>
<td>11,514</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>33,532</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Western countries</td>
<td>5,544</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Western countries</td>
<td>85,435</td>
<td>62.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>136,025</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: StatBank Denmark, 2015b
increased, and today immigrants and their descendants make up a quarter of the population of the Municipality of Copenhagen (compared with 11% at the national level).

The decision to participate in the Schengen cooperation and the later inclusion of East European countries in the European Union triggered a new round of labour immigration. Especially Polish, Lithuanian and Latvian workers arrived in large numbers and today make up an estimated fifth of the workforce within the construction industry. Other employment areas for East Europeans include cleaning, catering and various types of simple, labour intensive services.

Immigrants in Copenhagen can be divided into four main groups: Nordic citizens, which include people from Norway, Iceland, Sweden and Finland; citizens from the European Union; other western citizens; and non-Western citizens (see table 2.1). The dominant group stems from non-Western countries, especially the Middle East and Asia, and makes up 62% of all immigrants in Copenhagen. The group is in itself diverse with immigrants arriving in different waves of migration from different countries and for different reasons (i.e. migrating as refugees or work migrants or through family reunification with refugees or work migrants). The second largest group originates in the European Union, while the Nordic countries have delivered only 8.5% of the non-Danish citizens. In 2015, Pakistanis and Turks represented the largest groups of immigrants in Copenhagen, followed by Iraqis, Polish and Moroccans. Altogether, the immigrants include 195 different nationalities.

The municipality of Copenhagen has declared a goal for 20% of housing stock to be social housing. The Danish social housing sector (‘den almene boligsektor’) is owned by private non-profit housing associations but is subject to strict public regulation. It houses predominantly socially and economically disadvantaged groups (Scanlon & Whitehead, 2007:26). However, this was not the sector’s original intention. In Denmark, the target group for social housing is in principle the general public, and not only those with special needs. It is accessible to everyone who registers his or her name on the waiting lists. Over the years, middle-class households have abandoned the social housing sector in favour of owner-occupied housing, and additionally, the responsibility for housing the disadvantaged has been passed on to the sector by the
authorities. As a consequence, the actual resident composition in social housing differs from the original target group of the sector. The sector is referred to as social housing, public housing or non-profit housing interchangeably. However, as it does function as social housing and has increasingly become a sector for the disadvantaged and those with limited housing options, it is referred to as social housing in this book despite the characteristics of also being public and non-profit housing.

Recently, a new social housing concept has been introduced: SocialHousing+. This focuses on families who want to engage both socially and practically in their housing estate. Rent is kept fairly low by using pre-fabricated building elements for construction and by making the maintenance of dwellings and shared facilities the responsibility of the residents, in contrast to a maintenance organisation in ordinary social housing. Applicants for the dwellings are required to be in employment or education, and this causes the resident composition to be different from that of other social housing estates in Denmark. So far, eight SocialHousing+ estates have been built, one of these in Bispebjerg. In contrast to ordinary social housing, the new SocialHousing+ concept reaches out to the original target group through its original concept.

After WWII, Copenhagen experienced a major outflow of young families, especially middle class families, to suburban districts. A new spatial division arose between elderly, poor and unskilled workers in the central city and the young, better educated and well-earning middle class families in modern housing in suburbia. This accelerated the share of elderly people in the Municipality of Copenhagen from 9.4% in 1950 to 23.5% in 1980 (Statistics Denmark, 2016). However, as the older generation passed away and the outdated dwellings were rejected

![Picture 2.3 SocialHousing+ in Bispebjerg.](image)
by families, Copenhagen became populated with youngsters such as students and others looking for cheap accommodation. In less than two decades, the Municipality of Copenhagen transformed from being a city dominated by old people to becoming a young and thriving city; due to an accelerated renewal programme, the municipality managed to keep the young families inside its borders, and by 1 January 2016, Copenhagen had the lowest average population age among Danish municipalities with only 10.3% above 65 years.

The period after 1970 saw a sharp rise in alternative lifestyles, types of households and open-mindedness that caused the city’s image to change. The 1970s in particular was a period of abundance and acceptance of non-conforming behaviour; sexual minorities were no longer considered unacceptable or condemned and women’s access to education and the labour market further accelerated a break with traditional forms of living.

2.3 SOCIO-SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF DIVERSITY IN COPENHAGEN

Traditionally, private rental housing dominated the housing market in Copenhagen and remained the prevailing form of tenure until the 1970s. Due to the rise of private ownership, social housing, and particularly cooperative housing, has changed remarkably since. As illustrated in figure 2.3, cooperative housing has become the predominant form of ownership, with social housing the second most important form: 32 and 20 per cent respectively. Privately owned flats have increased considerably in number over the last 40 years, and recently after many years of decline, the private rental sector has started to expand due to changes in legislation. Seen across a 40 or 50 year perspective, the housing sector has seen a huge transformation, causing large parts of former obsolete, private rental accommodation to be converted into either privately owned flats or cooperative housing, with private ownership increasing considerably. At the same time, a general improvement of the overall housing standard, in particular through major regeneration plans, has triggered the gentrification

![Figure 2.3 Housing stock of the Municipality of Copenhagen 1981-2015. Source: StatBank Denmark, 2015a](image)
of former run-down working class neighbourhoods. Gentrification is understood here as the process by which less advantaged residents are replaced with more affluent residents due to an increasing popularity of a neighbourhood (Glass, 1964). Significantly, Copenhagen inner city districts have been transformed into middle class neighbourhoods supported by various renewal programmes and conversions of ownership.

The upgrading of the housing stock, which was partly due to the conversion from private rental to individual ownership or cooperative ownership, has triggered a major shift in the socio-economic composition of the population in the Municipality of Copenhagen. Middle class families and young people, of whom many are students, have become the dominant groups of residents. This has provided the city with a dynamic and young image that promotes Copenhagen as a modern, trendy and lively city.

Ethnic minority citizens of Greater Copenhagen are concentrated in the Municipality of Copenhagen in older suburban districts to the west and north-west. Generally speaking, these areas have a relatively high share of social housing, which has attracted low-income households and immigrants with limited options for other tenure forms. Moreover, social housing has, to a large extent, been used for providing accommodation for the refugees allocated to the municipalities by the central government since the 1990s. In particular, the large estates of the 1970s and 1980s have a high share of non-Western citizens. Some of these estates are socially distressed residential areas, which are often labelled as ‘ghettos’ in public discourse.

A wide range of reasons for the concentration of ethnic minorities can be identified (Skovgaard Nielsen 2014; Skovgaard Nielsen et al., 2015), but only a few of these are mentioned here. Many residents with an ethnic minority have been unable or reluctant to purchase dwellings due to financial restraints, religious perceptions, financial prioritisation (remitting money to family members or buying housing in their home country) and/or uncertainty about their future country of residence. Additionally, preferences might differ between minority ethnic groups and the native population. While owner-occupied housing is the preferred tenure for native Danes, many ethnic minority groups find social housing sector options preferable (Skovgaard Nielsen, 2014). While newer social housing estates suffered from the low interest shown by the majority population, many newly arrived migrants have been satisfied with the social rental housing they were offered.

In the Municipality of Copenhagen, the share of immigrants and refugees from non-Western countries is highest in the younger, primarily rental districts of Brønshøj-Husum and Bispebjerg, cf. figure 2.4. The map shows the clear concentration in specific neighbourhoods: residential areas that contain a predominance of private rented housing. The two maps show the share of citizens from non-Western countries in 1995 and 2013; the differences between the maps reflect the overall development in the city: more non-Western country citizens have come to live in the city causing the general share of this group to be larger than previously. However, the concentrations seem to remain in the same districts as before.
The socio-economic segregation between the Municipality of Copenhagen and the suburban districts has declined over the last decades as Copenhagen has increased its share of well-educated middle class families due to a strong focus on the construction of privately owned flats. This has triggered a more marked segregation between the rental sector in general and social housing estates in particular on the one hand, and owned-occupied housing and cooperatives on the other. Due to a municipal ban on the construction of social housing from 1995, the intensified development of former harbour and industrial land has provided a large number of relatively large privately owned flats (95 m² or more). These dwellings have seen an increase in the number of middle class families in the Municipality of Copenhagen. One result

Figure 2.4 Non-Western citizens at district level in Copenhagen in 1995 and 2013. Source: © Københavns Kommune (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2016)
has been a sharp increase in the number of upper-level employees (academics, top managers, etc.), which by 2014 made up about a third of the labour force, against a quarter of the labour force in 1990.

2.4 DIVERSITY, ECONOMIC DYNAMICS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN COPENHAGEN

The industrial shift in Copenhagen has been considerable. The city was a national centre for the manufacturing industry for more than two hundred years, but from around 1960 the number of employees in the manufacturing industry in Copenhagen declined from nearly 250,000 to 10-15,000 in 2010. The decline was especially marked in the 1970s; this decade witnessed the disappearance of many old, well-known industries such as B&W (a shipyard) and companies in the machine and chemical industries. This caused a severe employment crisis for Copenhagen, which was previously a ‘boom town’. It faced a two-decade long period of decline that eventually came to an end in the mid 1990s. An outcome of deindustrialisation can still be observed in the district of Bispebjerg: former manufacturing structures from the early 20th century are now either deteriorating or have been redeveloped for the service industry, schools or upscale housing. Today, the manufacturing sector accounts for less than 5% of employment, while sectors within public administration, health, education etc. employ around 30% of the labour force. Business services and finance have grown to nearly a quarter of the labour force. However, the growth of the private service sector also involves rising income differences: while salaries are high in finance and insurance, the general income level in catering, cleaning, facility services and similar industries is modest. As a result, many of these jobs are taken by migrant labourers from Eastern Europe and Asia (Statistics Denmark, 2009).

While local economic policies were unknown before the 1970s, these became one of the key instruments in local politics from the 1980s (Andersen & Jørgensen, 1994). Most municipalities have established offices for innovation, business promotion and the attraction of investment as well as local strategic development forums. The Municipality of Copenhagen did not introduce its active economic policy until the early 1990s, but has lately developed more sophisticated policies such as temporary zones for creativity. Vacant buildings in abandoned harbour areas, former railway areas or declining industrial areas are often utilised for temporary creative activities.

The general activity rate for adult men has declined from the 1970s to the present, from approximately 90% to about 75-78% in general; however, the figure is lower in the Municipality of Copenhagen (73%). Labour market agreements ensure a liveable minimum income level, but also form a barrier for those lacking the basic skills for entering the labour market.

The industrial shift from the 1960s pushed Copenhagen into a deep economic crisis, which eventually caused the city to become technically bankrupt. However, substantial support from the national government improved the general situation, and since the mid 1990s, the city has
seen a sharp upturn reflected by increasing employment and major improvements in housing and infrastructure; moreover, a remarkable increase in in-migration from both abroad and other regions within Denmark have caused the city to flourish again. In less than 20 years, Copenhagen has managed to shift its image from an old, dirty and declining town into a modern, sustainable, vibrant city full of entrepreneurialism. The city has attempted to brand itself as a progressive business city.

The Municipality of Copenhagen is striving to actively encourage entrepreneurship by offering favourable conditions for start-ups. Branding Copenhagen as a diverse city is seen as a means of attracting talented entrepreneurs from within, and outside of, Denmark. On a general level, Business House Copenhagen supports local businesses and entrepreneurs across Copenhagen by offering free guidance and courses for entrepreneurs. The administration of enterprises and the management of applications, regulations, etc. occur at the city level rather than at the national level. Specific urban areas across Copenhagen are designated as temporary creative zones. This forms part of a city-wide municipal strategy aimed at preserving urban areas with a distinct physical character and with attractive conditions for start-up entrepreneurs. In these creative zones, the municipality has set the maximum plot ratios at 60% to ensure that plots are unattractive for the construction of new buildings and to preserve the existing building stock and low rent levels (Municipality of Copenhagen 2014a). Additionally, urban development enterprises have been prompted by local area-based regeneration projects in Copenhagen. In recent years, rising property prices has become a challenge to entrepreneurs as business premises are becoming increasingly expensive, especially in the most popular parts of the city.

2.5 BISPEBJERG – A DIVERSE DISTRICT

The neighbourhood of Bispebjerg is located in the north-west of inner-city Copenhagen. It was made a part of the city in 1901 and comprises nearly 7 km² with approx. 54,000 inhabitants. The district is a mixed area built between the 1890s though to the 1940s; the oldest parts located in the south east of the district continue to be characterised by the mixed land use of workshops and housing as well as by the high density and substandard quality known in the neighbouring district of Nørrebro. The very first development took place along the arterial roads towards the north and north-west; both of these main roads later developed into the main shopping streets of the district. More recent social and cooperative housing developments in the south western corner as well as uphill in Bispebjerg and Ryparken were well-planned and of a modern standard. Later developments in the northern parts are dominated by detached housing such as those in Emdrup. The north-western part of the district is dominated by Utterslev Mose, a large park-like area surrounding a lake.

Since the 1960s, the out-migration of families and employed people from the district has led to a downward spiral with a rising proportion of unemployed, low income groups and socially vulnerable people. The district of Bispebjerg became an area with a high share of elderly
people and a declining social status. Furthermore, a growing number of residents of non-Western origin began to move into municipal and social housing in the district, leading to an over representation of ethnic minorities in social housing. Overall, Bispebjerg changed from a modern working class area with well-kept dwellings and well-planned outdoor areas into an area marked by a need for restoration.

Although public attention has concentrated on ethnic diversity, the socio-economic differentiation is of major importance too. From its earliest phases, Bispebjerg was populated by unskilled working class families in private rental flats. From the beginning of the 20th century, privately owned detached housing was built. The Municipality of Copenhagen built and owned a large stock of good but cheap dwellings in Bispebjerg. These were sold when the municipality was on the verge of bankruptcy. The oldest housing units were supplemented during the 1930s and 1940 by the large-scale construction of social housing with modern facilities such as central heating and a bathroom in each flat. Bispebjerg became an attractive district for a wider group of citizens. Yet, the overall socio-economic characteristics of the district remained at the lower end of the scale: poor to lower middle income groups, mostly workers, many unskilled and a generally low educational level. The low standard of housing made those who were able to do so move to modern and better equipped housing in the closing decades of the 20th century. They were soon replaced by unemployed citizens and others who were not active in the labour market.

Figure 2.5 Disadvantaged areas and the urban regeneration plan in Bispebjerg. Areas in Bispebjerg considered to be disadvantaged (yellow) and the ongoing and completed urban regeneration plans (red). As the maps demonstrate, there are substantial overlaps between the two. Source: © Københavns Kommune (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2016).
market, both Danes and as immigrants. As a consequence, Bispebjerg maintained its position as one of the poorest districts in Copenhagen; an area that never really benefitted from a general increase in welfare. Today, a substantial share of Bispebjerg is categorised as deprived by the Municipality of Copenhagen (see figure 2.5) based on a combination of the following indicators: small housing units (<60 m²); housing units with installation deficiencies; residents of non-Western origin; residents outside of the work force; residents with low or no education; and residents with a low income (Municipality of Copenhagen 2011c). The oldest parts of the district contain the oldest, smallest and least modern dwellings. The majority of these are inhabited by unskilled workers, single people, the unemployed and low-income groups as well as residents from non-Western countries. The residents of the detached and semi-detached housing stock in the northern part of the area are characterised by higher incomes, lower unemployment rates and a higher educational level as well as by a higher number of families.

In response to the deprived situation of Bispebjerg, a strong municipal commitment to improve the overall living conditions of the area developed, as demonstrated by the distribution of redevelopment zones (figure 2.5). Since the 1990s, the district has become more attractive, first to young people and students, but more recently to young, well-educated couples that wish to live in an inner city location but cannot afford the price level of the city centre. Additionally, the economic growth from the mid-1990s combined with the increasing demand for housing in urban areas has prompted the redevelopment of the Bispebjerg district: former manufacturing properties, railway areas and other areas previously used for non-residential purposes have been converted into housing areas, in most cases privately owned flats for middle-class families. A stroll through the older parts of the district reveals this ongoing social transformation. Ethnic transformation has been, and continues to be, taking place as well: a number of Muslim schools have appeared in former industrial buildings; a new mosque recently opened in one of the side streets; and along the old shopping streets, ethnic food shops are thriving next to more traditional shops, galleries and restaurants and bars.

Table 2.2 Socio-economic status (2013), Bispebjerg and Copenhagen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic status</th>
<th>Bispebjerg</th>
<th>Copenhagen</th>
<th>Bispebjerg</th>
<th>Copenhagen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>25,009</td>
<td>289,758</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed &amp; their assisting spouses</td>
<td>1,254</td>
<td>18,465</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directors and managers</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>8,657</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees, top level</td>
<td>6,439</td>
<td>92,111</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees, medium level</td>
<td>2,141</td>
<td>29,408</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees, basic level</td>
<td>10,516</td>
<td>102,864</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4,168</td>
<td>38,253</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Copenhagen Statistical Bank, 2013c
However, despite the developments over the last decades, the residents of Bispebjerg remain socio-economically disadvantaged in comparison with residents in Copenhagen as a whole. A third of the labour force has only basic school education, while very few have obtained a master’s degree. Moreover, the employment rate is lower than for the Municipality of Copenhagen as a whole (which in turn has a lower level compared to the wider metropolitan region). More people have retired before retirement age, and a higher proportion of the 18 to 66 year old residents live on government subsidies (see table 2.3) (Andersen, 2012).

Finally, the average gross income for households in Bispebjerg was systematically lower than in the Municipality of Copenhagen in 2013: approx. € 60,500 against € 90,000 or a gap of nearly 50%. Figure 2.6 shows the systematic difference among various types of households. Therefore the emerging signs of gentrification have not yet closed the gap between the district and the city as a whole.

An important factor in the transformation of the social composition of the district is the large number of small flats. While two-room flats were considered acceptable housing for families a few generations ago, nowadays they are only accepted by singles and young people. Therefore,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic indicator</th>
<th>Copenhagen</th>
<th>Bispebjerg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational level (2014)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic school</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short cycle higher education</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational bachelor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s degree</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status for 18 to 66 year-old citizens (2013)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In employment</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>58.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early retirement</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government subsidies</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree of unemployment among 16 to 66 year olds (2013)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-0.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2-0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.4-0.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.6-0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.8-1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment (2013)</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The degree of unemployment is an expression of an individual’s average unemployment rate in a given period. The level will lie between 0 and 1; this is calculated as the number of available hours during a normal working week of 37 hours, thus an unemployment rate of 1 denotes a fully vacant period. The lower the degree of unemployment, the more time the individual is working. Source: Copenhagen Statistical Bank, 2014b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013d.
The Case of Copenhagen

the district today has a high share of young singles, young families and people who are not active in the labour market. This has further increased the socio-economic distance to both inner city districts and the suburban districts. At the same time, the area has become popular with young people, as together with the neighbouring inner-city district of Nørrebro, it is known for the open-mindedness and tolerance: various forms of lifestyles, types of housing, sexualities and political extremists have found a retreat here. Consequently, it has become a diverse and lively area.

2.6 CURRENT CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR BISPEBJERG

A key element of the resurgence strategy was the conversion to a market-based policy. As stated above, the interest of investors became the primary guiding factor for urban policymakers, which was in contrast to the former welfarism (Andersen, 2012). As an outcome of this, cf. figure 2.3, the number of rental units decreased, while the number of cooperatives and private ownership increased. The improvements triggered a considerable rise in housing costs and consequently a shift in the social composition of the population. Housing prices increased by 472% from 1994 to 2014. The poorest parts of the population, in particular immigrants, refugees and the unemployed and unskilled citizens were forced to search for cheaper accommodation, mostly in the least attractive parts of the city. Some of the former working class districts became gentrified, and gentrification has moved further out – to the district of Bispebjerg.

Bispebjerg has traditionally been considered a district of little attraction due to the industrial character of its central part and the low quality of housing in many parts of the district. Marginal groups have been moving into the relatively cheap housing units for some time and have formed a concentration of people who are marginalised, especially with regards to

Figure 2.6 Gross income 2013, the Municipality of Copenhagen and Bispebjerg (%). Gross income of the six most common family types. Source: Copenhagen Statistical Bank, 2013a
labour market attachment. However, the increasing housing costs in Copenhagen reflect both major improvements of the housing stock and a growing pressure on the housing market as an increasing number of people settle in the city. Consequently, all possible land available for conversion from industrial to residential use including unused railway areas and land used for public facilities etc. has been redeveloped, primarily for private ownership. The first decade of the new millennium saw the major redevelopment of central parts of Bispebjerg immediately before the crisis called a halt to construction activities for a few years. Today, construction activities have resumed to the level before 2008.

Many of the rundown buildings were demolished over the last two decades, and the overall social status of the district is now improving. Yet, although the upgrading was needed, it may have resulted in an influx of a small number of middle class families, students and other young people. There is good reason to fear that large parts of the district will continue to transform into more affluent, gentrified areas that only allows well-situated groups to settle in the district, potentially putting an end to its diversity. The substantial proportion of social housing might dampen the effect of this process, allowing less affluent families to stay in the area. However, this might create a dichotomous district with less resourceful residents in social housing estates; these will be surrounded by affluent residents in the other tenure forms.

Bispebjerg is undergoing a major transformation; but this transformation is also guided by market forces. Therefore, the diversity may simply characterise a short transformation period, and the district may become much more affluent following this process. Moreover, the district is spatially subdivided into neighbourhoods with individual and distinct social and physical characteristics: the northern parts are dominated by owner occupation and cooperatives, while the southern part is mostly constituted by multi-storey housing, rented as well as owner-occupied. Growing segmentation (Lindberg & Linden, 1989) will produce marked social differentiation within the district, and although segregation in the city is still at a modest level, the differences between various forms of ownership are significant. Bispebjerg is a diverse, but also divided, district undergoing a process of social changes driven mostly by the market. The development of the district in the coming years will be crucial, and will potentially limit the diversity of the district substantially.
3 POLICY DISCOURSES ON DIVERSITY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the context of a small and rather homogenous country such as Denmark, one with a fairly recent history of immigration, a progressive history on women’s and LGBT rights and generally high levels of personal freedom, the policy discourse on diversity in Copenhagen is an interesting case to study. The municipality places importance on creating a city with room for diversity. Consequently, diversity-related considerations are incorporated explicitly into municipal policies and documents as well as into the daily work of municipal employees.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse how diversity is understood and managed on a policy level in Copenhagen in particular, and in Denmark more generally (see also Andersen et al., 2014a). The national policies on diversity are described, followed by an analysis of governmental documents on diversity and the governance of diversity in Copenhagen. Key actors within the municipality elaborate on the municipal discourse on diversity. This is followed by a non-governmental perspective on the governance of diversity and governance in Copenhagen, represented by civil society and private actors. Finally, the chapter analyses examples of concrete practice-based governance arrangements and initiatives aimed at securing good economic performance, social cohesion and/or social mobility in Bispebjerg.

3.2 NATIONAL POLICY APPROACHES TOWARDS DIVERSITY: STRUCTURES AND SHIFTS

Diversity regarding age, gender and sexuality is on the political agenda in Denmark (Ministry of Gender Equality and Ecclesiastical Affairs, 2014). While the rights of homosexuals and compulsory paternity leave have been contested issues, equality has been almost beyond discussion in the period studied here. The Act on Equality of Treatment has applied in Denmark since 1978; this is primarily focused on the equality of women in the labour market. In 1989, registered partnerships were legalised in Denmark, the first country in the world to do so. Since then marriage, including religious weddings between two people of the same sex, has become legalised: homosexuals have been granted the right to adopt; two women expecting a child through artificial insemination can now be legal parents of the child from birth; and most recently, individual freedom to choose legal gender has been introduced. Danish legislation is centred on achieving equality. A central discussion has revolved around the effectiveness of such legislation as it aims to enhance equality of opportunities rather than equality of outcomes.
This has fostered new legislation focused on equality of outcomes, e.g. preferential treatment of female applicants for executive positions in an attempt to increase gender equality. However, it remains a contested issue whether or not equality of outcomes by measures such as gender quotas and compulsory paternity leave should be assured.

That said, the main focus in the Danish debate on diversity has been, and continues to be, immigration and integration issues. These issues cause heated debates and attitudes conflict the most in the public debate, but also in discourse between the political parties. Therefore, immigration and integration policies have been subject to more changes at different times and

Table 3.1 Selected key elements in Danish legislation on migration, citizenship and diversity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>The first collective Aliens Act: immigrants can stay in Denmark if they have obtained permission, e.g. a work permit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Complete stop to immigration, immediate effect. Motivated by the oil crises causing the financial crises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Passing of the Act on Equality of Treatment: main focus on non-discrimination based on gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Passing of the Aliens Act: right to asylum for all refugees and right to family reunification. Right to residence in Denmark while asylum applications are processed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Legalisation of registered partnership between same-sex individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Revision of the Aliens Act: applicants for family reunification must have lived in Denmark for a minimum of seven years prior to application</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Revision of the Aliens Act: applicants for family reunification must be able to support their family members financially; tightening of requirements for obtaining asylum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Passing of the Act on Differential Treatment: against discrimination in the workplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Revision of the Aliens Act: restrictions on family reunification with parents from other countries. Passing of the Integration Act: reduced government subsidies for immigrants and refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Revision of the Aliens Act: tightened requirements for obtaining permanent residence permit; family reunification limited to people aged 24+ and subject to economic and housing demands; restriction on the classification of refugees; reintroduction of reduced government subsidies. Revision of the Naturalisation Act: limitation of special application rules for descendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2008</td>
<td>Parliamentary agreements on stricter naturalisation requirements: no debt, no criminal record, economic self-support, relinquishing other citizenships, knowledge test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Revision of the Act on Differential Treatment: discrimination based on age and disability included in the legislation. Government strategy against ghettoization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Revision of The Naturalisation Act: knowledge test when applying for Danish citizenship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Right to child adoption granted to same-sex couples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Introduction of annual list of deprived social housing estates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Revision of The Aliens Act: abolishment of reduced government subsidies and family reunification point system. Legalisation of marriage of same-sex couples (including in churches)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Revision of the Naturalisation Act: demands tightened regarding language, qualification period and financial self-sufficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Revision of the Alien Act: severe austerity measures towards asylum seekers and family reunification applicants including the controversial ‘Jewellery law’, which permits police to confiscate jewellery from refugees</td>
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</table>
ruling parties have promoted the tightening-up and loosening of legislation and initiatives (Hedetoft, 2006). Table 3.1 presents an overview of the relevant key elements in the Danish legislation.

**Immigration in Denmark and discourse shifts**

In the late 1960s and early 1970s when migrant workers started to arrive in Denmark, political focus on immigration and integration was very limited. A guest worker policy (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012) was in place: migrants were seen as guest workers that would cover a periodic shortage in the labour force and then return to their home country. As a consequence of the international oil crisis in 1973 and the ensuing financial crisis, foreign workers were no longer given work permits. However, as immigrant workers had now settled, they began to apply for family reunification, resulting in continued immigration (Kaiser Hansen, 2008). During the 1980s, refugees from dictatorships and conflict zones around the world were granted asylum and the right to family reunification through the Aliens Act of 1983. This was considered a very liberal act. The general attitude in the country towards these newcomers was predominantly positive. Politically, focus was on the financial crisis and not on immigration and integration. Some right-wing politicians voiced critical stances on the legal approval of refugees into the country, posing this as a threat to Danish welfare society. However, these comments were not taken seriously by the wider public or in political opinion. The Aliens Act has since been debated widely, and some suggest that this is the root of many integration issues today, as it has resulted in Denmark receiving refugees rejected by other European countries causing the country to be hosting a group of immigrants with significant social problems.

From 1980 to 1990, a substantial wave of refugees arrived in Denmark, leading to a 40% increase in the share of immigrants and descendants living in Denmark (up from 3% to 4.3%). Meanwhile, it became apparent that many guest workers chose to stay in Denmark and to have their families reunited with them. By the beginning of the 1990s, minority groups of a substantial size were present in Denmark and immigration rates were still increasing. This gave rise to gradually intensifying debates in both the political and civil spheres. A more assimilationist policy (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012) was instigated. In the early 1990s, the municipalities west of Copenhagen problematised the concentration of immigrants in areas already dominated by residents in a socio-economically weak position. This led to a focus on spatial distribution and to policies on the redistribution and placement of refugees. In 1995, the Danish People’s Party was formed, and over the following years it gained growing support for its highly critical stance on immigration, especially from Muslim countries. The Aliens Act was tightened gradually on several occasions throughout the 1990s. In 1998, reduced rates of government subsidies for immigrants were introduced in an attempt to “force” these citizens into the labour market. As this measure was aimed at a specific group, it was in direct conflict with the universal Danish welfare model, which offers the same social security to all citizens. With the 1998 Immigration Act, it was decided that refugees must be divided equally among Denmark's 98 municipalities. Ethnic diversity spread across the country, and the responsibility of integration was almost completely transferred to the municipalities. The general attitude
towards immigrants grew increasingly negative, and it became acceptable to publicly voice negative attitudes towards immigrants (Gullestad, 2002; Hervik, 2004). The public debate was fuelled even further by the terrorist attack on 11 September 2001 and the war in Afghanistan. Ethnic diversity was now, to some extent, seen as a threat to social order. Despite the tightening of immigration policies by the Social Democratic government in the 1990s, public opinion demanded further tightening. Consequently, the Liberal Party came to power in 2001 with the Danish People’s Party assuming the position of supporting party. They came to play a significant role in the passing of restrictive legislation on integration and immigration in the years that followed. Policies were tightened to the extent possible without violating international laws.

Since 2004, open internal EU borders have given rise to new issues of immigration. The annual immigration rate from new EU member states to Denmark has increased from approx. 3,000 in 2003 to almost 18,000 in 2015 (StatBank Denmark, 2016). The migrants travel to Denmark to find employment, often working for lower wages and in poorer conditions than Danish workers. Typically, they are employed by companies in their home countries, which do not have to comply with Danish collective agreements. Hence, this is seen as undermining the national trade unions and consequently the Danish labour market model (Hedetoft, 2006), leading to general discussion concerning the open borders of the European Union. The discussion revolves around the implications for the Danish universal welfare system of a population that no longer consists of a homogenous body of native Danes (Hervik, 2004; Olwig & Paerregaard, 2011).

From 2011 to 2015, a coalition of the Social Democratic, the Social Liberal and the Socialist parties formed government, and to some degree, changed the course of migration policies. The reduced rates of government subsidies were abolished, and the criteria for granting family reunification were lowered. Yet, other policies remained in place, such as the age criterion for family reunification and the pivotal “ghetto list”, renamed the List of Disadvantaged Housing Estates. The purpose of the list is to pinpoint the areas with the greatest challenges in order to make them the subjects of intensive social and economic efforts (Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, 2014). The list introduced a harsher tone in the public debate and was criticised for being stigmatising, with sociologist Loïc Wacquant, one of the leading experts in the field, among the critics (Omar, 2013).

In 2015, the left-wing government was replaced by a single-party government led by the liberal party, Venstre, and supported by the Conservative People’s Party, the Liberal Alliance, and the Danish People’s Party. In this election, the Danish People’s party became the second largest party in Denmark. Changes to the general political discourse have followed. This was demonstrated by the leader of the Social Democrats stating that integration policies throughout the last decades have been too passive, which has been an impediment for immigrants as well as the general public (Danish Radio DR2, 2016; Schmidt, 2016). Therefore, the integration of immigrants is still very much on the agenda, especially the arrival of refugees from the Syrian civil war. This has had a substantial influence on the discourse, causing integration to become a dominant topic yet again. A central discussion is the influence on the welfare system. Sceptics of immigration argue that it is not possible to maintain the quality of the welfare system with the rising levels of refugees coming to live in Denmark, especially as a substantial share are
unemployed. In contrast, others argue that Denmark is a wealthy nation and as such has a responsibility to help refugees. In addition, questions have been raised as to whether immigrants are a burden, rather than an asset, to the Danish welfare state. Critics of the reduced rates of government subsidies for immigrants have stated that there are good reasons for the lower employment rate as health issues, lack of educational qualifications and language barriers constitute serious barriers to the integration of immigrants into the labour market. A final key issue in the public discourse is spatial segregation. Since the 1990s, central government and municipalities have adopted a number of strategies to make certain stigmatised geographical areas more attractive, and to achieve a mixed composition of residents. One initiative is a change of the allocation rules for social housing, which make it possible for the municipality and the social housing associations to give priority to people in employment or education to specific estates where a change in residential composition is desired. Spatial segregation remains high on the national political agenda.

3.3 GOVERNMENTAL DISCOURSES AND THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY IN COPENHAGEN

While laws are formulated at the national level, the municipalities are responsible for developing policies to enforce these laws and for day-to-day operations (Arrouas & Johannesen, 2013; Ministry of Finance, 2016). This has led to diverse policy practices across Denmark. Due to this governance structure, the Municipality of Copenhagen has the overarching responsibility for the policies on diversity in the capital.

The administrative structure of the Municipality of Copenhagen

Denmark is divided into five regions and 98 municipalities. The small scale of Denmark means that the distance from national politics to local politics is short, institutionally, legally and in practice. In cases related to city development and urban policy, the Municipality of Copenhagen plays a more important role than the regional council of the Capital Region of Denmark. For the purposes of this project, the most important role of the regional government is the funding of free counselling and guidance for local entrepreneurs and company owners. As the municipality has by far largest population, the Municipality of Copenhagen is currently the dominant actor among local governments.

The Municipality of Copenhagen is the body around which urban policy in Copenhagen is generated, as it possesses the main decision-making power in the everyday administration of the city. On a local level, the Municipality of Copenhagen is divided into 10 areas, each governed by a local council consisting of both politicians and representatives of local associations. However, the municipality is not obliged to follow proposals by the local councils.

The Municipality of Copenhagen is governed by the City Council, which consists of 55 members elected for a four-year term. The council is made up of seven committees, each
The mayors may belong to different political parties, neither of them in a position to overrule. The Finance Committee is the overarching and coordinating body, and its administration manages the finances of the city and formulates long-term strategies for the physical, commercial and financial development of the city on a macro scale. The management of the Finance Committee is the responsibility of the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen.

The other six committees of the municipal administration govern different subject areas. The key player in urban policy formulation is the Technical & Environmental Administration, which is in charge of local planning, urban regeneration, environmental issues and construction policies. It manages the cooperation with the social housing sector, the city’s area-based programmes and community regeneration programmes. During the research period, the coordinating body of these efforts was the Urban Design Department. Due to reorganisation in 2014, most of the efforts of the Urban Design Department are today conducted by the ‘City Construction Change’ and ‘City Development’ departments. A key central player in the formulation of diversity-related urban policies is the Employment & Integration Administration; especially the Centre for Inclusion & Employment. The Employment & Integration Administration is responsible for coordinating the city’s general diversity strategies and efforts and for the integration of foreigners into the labour market. The administration is responsible for formulating, coordinating and monitoring efforts regarding inclusion and integration of ethnic minorities, as well as for the equality of treatment and anti-discrimination regarding gender, sexuality, age etc. It is also home to the Business House Copenhagen, which services and supports local businesses and entrepreneurs. The Children & Youth Administration manages the municipal’s primary and lower secondary schools, day-care institutions and...
youth clubs of Copenhagen, which makes it a key player in the social and cultural inclusion of the city’s young inhabitants. The remaining three committees play less prominent roles in the formulation of diversity policies in Copenhagen. However, as will be shown later, a central part of the municipal strategy on diversity is to mainstream diversity efforts, making it a responsibility of all administration units.

Beside the public sector, urban policy in Copenhagen is also influenced by the work of NGOs and private actors. Denmark is a country with a comprehensive welfare system in which the public sector has a far-reaching influence and covers almost all areas of everyday life, e.g. healthcare, education and social services. Consequently, a strategy on diversity can be implemented extensively and in all policy fields if so desired by the municipality. The mainstreaming of diversity-related efforts potentially widens the opportunities for this. Furthermore, the prevalence of private actors such as private hospitals and educational institutions is limited due to the extensive welfare state. They do exist, but mainly as specialised alternatives oriented towards specific target groups. In Copenhagen, the most important non-governmental actors in the formation of diversity-related urban policies are organisations representing specific population groups (i.e. unemployed ethnic minorities, highly educated foreigners) along with locally based organisations and private institutions (i.e. private schools, youth clubs run by volunteers and drop-in-centres). Furthermore, the social housing sector plays an important role as it accommodates a large number of socio-economically marginalised people. In Denmark, social housing organisations are independent, but are legally subjected to, and financially supported by, both the national government and local municipalities situating them in the quasi-public sector.

The discourse on diversity in the Municipality of Copenhagen

Copenhagen has declared diversity a goal. Consequently, the municipal policies aim to support the diverse types of needs and lifestyles in the city. The diverse city is celebrated as a socially rewarding and dynamic place to live: “A diverse city life is an important part of a socially sustainable city” (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2009). With the establishment of the Employment and Integration Administration in 2006, focus was directed toward diversity in Copenhagen, and the positive attitude towards a diverse Copenhagen was further cemented with the Inclusion Policy in 2010. According to a chief consultant from the third office ‘Business, Integration and Equality’ in the Employment and Integration Administration (2016), it is most likely that the positive discourse on diversity dates back to the first integration policy of the municipality in 2006. Diversity is embraced and seen as a necessity and strength for the city; it is crucial both for international competitiveness (in line with Bellini et al., 2008; Nathan, 2011) and for the social cohesion of the city (in line with Delhay and Newton, 2005; Graham et al., 2009). Diversity is seen as the opposite to segregation:

”The Municipality of Copenhagen wishes to create a socially responsible and diverse city where safety and cohesion are matters of course” (‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’, Municipality of Copenhagen, 2011c).
The over-arching discourses presented in official policy documents and strategies on diversity are pluralist as defined by Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012. A deliberate rhetorical choice initiated by the Centre for Inclusion & Employment was made when the city’s integration policy was renewed in 2010, introducing the term inclusion in the title of the policy. Based on communication with ethnic minority citizens, inclusion was considered less negative than integration. An employee elaborates:

“If you have assimilation on the one hand, then the minority has to adapt and the majority don’t have to change at all. Integration, then, is a two-step process where both parties have to do something. The greater responsibility is still on the minority, but difference is tolerated. Regarding inclusion, then, the minority and the majority actually have an equal responsibility for making the process succeed. And diversity and difference are not just tolerated; they’re actually perceived as a strength” (Employee, Centre for Inclusion & Employment, 2013).

The rhetorical change was to reflect a change in the approach to integration policy; this was a shift from an assimilationist or integrationist policy in line with national discourses towards a more multicultural and pluralist diversity policy to use the terms of Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012. This rhetorical change allowed the municipality to disavow itself from the national integration discourse, which at that time was becoming increasingly harsh. From a municipal standpoint, the national usage of the word ‘integration’ was perceived as no longer corresponding to the municipal understanding of the word (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2010a). In 2015, however, the municipality returned to integration as a term due to a political wish to resume what was perceived as central to the policy and to avoid confusion with the national Inclusion Policy, i.e. a policy with the purpose to include children with special needs in regular school classes. Nevertheless, unlike the initial rhetorical change, the reverse rhetorical change was not meant to change the actual approach to integration/inclusion.

The municipal’s positive and pluralist discourse on diversity is mirrored in interviews with key municipal employees. One interviewee describes how diversity can foster both joy and tolerance, i.e. supporting social cohesion:

“[Referring to children speaking] ‘That’s funny, at your place I saw you celebrating the Ramadan’ and ‘I was at your place and saw that you have two mothers and no father’. You know, life is strange and fun and wonderful in Copenhagen, and by God, the children should experience this” (Project Manager, Children & Youth Administration, 2013).

The Municipality of Copenhagen is seen by several of the interviewees as a pioneer municipality in a Danish context, and also as the only real metropolis in Denmark due to its greater diversity, higher concentration of ethnic minorities and history of immigration. Diversity has been on the agenda for longer and is of greater importance than in other parts of Denmark. This could be linked to the greater need for a metropolis with a wide range of businesses and sectors to be internationally competitive. The interviewees know of other municipalities formulating policies
similar to those of Copenhagen, however seven to 10 years later than in the capital. According to one interviewee, the greater familiarity with immigrants in Copenhagen compared to smaller Danish towns contributes to an understanding of diversity reaching beyond ethnicity:

“There is, after all, no national inclusion policy. It is still called integration. But in Copenhagen, a discursive choice has been made, saying: ‘we talk about inclusion in a much broader context. In reality, we talk about social integration more than we talk about culture. (…) Because Copenhagen differs from the rest of the country. It is because of the influx of people but it is also about the size [of the city]’.” (Employee, Business House Copenhagen, 2013).

All municipalities in the Copenhagen region have a minor employment gap between ethnic Danes and non-Western immigrants and descendants (Integrationsbarometer, 2016). Nevertheless, the interviewees generally perceive Copenhagen as more tolerant and inclusive towards ethnic minorities than other parts of the country. Every year, the Centre for Inclusion & Employment conducts a survey in Copenhagen. One aspect relates to the feeling of belonging in Copenhagen and Denmark respectively:

“We see quite markedly that (…) ethnic minorities feel the same extent of belonging in Copenhagen as the majority does, but that they, to a much lesser degree, feel they are part of Denmark compared with natives” (Employee, Centre for Inclusion & Employment, 2013).

One explanation of this difference in feeling of belonging might be that the discourses on diversity in Copenhagen are seen as more pluralist and multicultural in comparison with the discourses on a national level, where marked lines are drawn between ‘us’ and ‘them’. However, despite the positive approach to diversity, the interviews show that diversity does not come without challenges. Diversity entails difference, and tolerance towards those who are different from oneself is not a given. According to the interviewees, this is a challenging issue to address, both in the formulation of policies and in the mindsets of municipal officers, politicians and Copenhageners:

“It’s easy to say that diversity can be rewarding, but in order to be culturally competent and actually benefit from diversity and not just be like ‘do as we do, or leave’, then you have to challenge your own way of thinking (…) And I’m not sure that this is always positive in the Municipality of Copenhagen, and that it is received in a positive manner” (Consultant, the Finance Administration, 2013).

Four central policies for diversity
As a consequence of the strong focus on diversity in the Municipality of Copenhagen, diversity-related issues are incorporated in a range of policies and initiatives. The municipality’s ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’ states “Copenhagen should be a diverse, coherent and safe city with a place for everyone and in which every citizen is needed” (201C:10). In the city’s integration policy, an ambitious goal is that “Copenhagen wants to be the most inclusive metropolis in Europe”
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('Get Involved in Your City', Municipality of Copenhagen, 2010b:1). Furthermore, the term is used frequently in a wide range of municipal publications. Four policies in particular are fundamental for understanding and working with diversity in Copenhagen, creating the framework and setting up the guidelines for managing diversity (see Table 3.2).

These policies are revised on a regular basis. In 2015, the city-life policy ‘Metropolis for People’ and the integration policies were updated and reformulated. The previous integration policy

**Table 3.2 Central municipal policies on diversity in Copenhagen**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Year of introduction</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy for Disadvantaged Areas in Copenhagen</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Area-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible: All administrative units</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Formulated by the Technical &amp; Environmental Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>Areas of stagnation and deprivation are perceived as a threat to social cohesion. The objective of this area-based policy is to raise the living standards (regarding employment, education, schools, day-care facilities, leisure time activities, public health, physical maintenance, safety, city life, and social housing) in disadvantaged areas to the average level. As an example, two of the goals of the policy are that 95% of the local youth should complete upper-secondary education, and that the public health condition in disadvantaged areas should be at the average city level. This is to be achieved through preferential treatment, mainstreaming of the efforts and better cross-sector cooperation in the municipality.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Get Involved in Your City. Citizenship + Inclusion</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>City-wide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsible: All administrations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Formulated by the Employment &amp; Integration Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Get Involved in Your City’. Citizenship + Inclusion’ is the municipality’s integration policy for 2011-2014. Three key concepts are introduced: Inclusion (as a sense of belonging to and being a part of the city), integration (as a process of interaction between people of different backgrounds) and citizenship (as the possibility for all citizens to participate in the democracy in a responsible and accommodating way). The vision is to create an inclusive city focusing on citizenship and diversity. The focus of the policy is predominantly on (non-Western) immigrants and refugees, but to some extent on socio-economic factors as well. Four themes are identified: 1) a good start in life for all children and young adults; 2) inclusion in the labour market; 3) supporting deprived groups and areas; and 4) the open and welcoming city.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metropolis for People</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>City-wide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsible: The Technical &amp; Environmental Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>The objective of ‘Metropolis for People’ is to make Copenhagen a great city to live in, offering public spaces for a diverse urban life. This is seen as an important part of being a socially sustainable city. Three goals are identified: 1) more city life for all, 2) more people walking more, and 3) more people staying longer. These goals function as guidelines for the physical urban design and city planning. Results are measured and evaluated annually.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Action Plan for Inclusion Policy</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>City-wide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsible: The Children &amp; Youth Administration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Action Plan for Inclusion Policy’ is the municipality’s policy on the children and youth area for incorporating ‘Get Involved in Your City’ as well as other policy areas. The action plan aims to strengthen the diversity, integration and language of immigrants and descendants and the inclusion of children with social difficulties or learning disabilities in municipal day-care centres and schools. The plan consists of a number of initiatives including educational and social support for bilingual children, first language teaching, counselling for bilingual families regarding choice of school and extra support in day-care centres and schools for children with special needs.</td>
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included action plans for all administrations, of which the most significant formulated by The Children & Youth Administration, is analysed here (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2011a). The 2015 policy does not include action plans. This is an administrative change, and the themes of the new policies do not differ significantly from those of the previous policies. Nevertheless, a shift in focus can be identified. In the 2011 integration policy, focus was on citizenship and inclusion. In the 2015-version, focus is on social mobility and cohesion, but with the focal areas of the previous policy still included. The reason for this is that new policies identify areas of action and are developed on the basis of evaluations of the previous policies (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2015). Changes are also visible in the set goals of the policies. If the goals are met, the bar is set higher. If they are not, resources are focused on the ability to meet the set goal. An example is how almost all goals of the previous city-life policy ‘Metropolis for People’ were met in the 2013 evaluation. The goals in the new policy are similar to those of the previous policy, however, in some cases representing a higher level of ambition. For instance, the goal as to the length of time the average Copenhagener uses outdoor facilities was almost met; consequently the goal was increased by 20 per cent.

The conceptual framework of Fincher & Iveson (2012) identifies three types of diversity policies: policies for equity and the (re)distribution of resources; policies aiming to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation between groups; and policies for diversity and the recognition of multiple voices. All these are present in the Municipality of Copenhagen’s policies on diversity.

![Picture 3.1](image-url) The new library in Bispebjerg. Bispebjerg local council and citizen service, a decentralised municipal service centre, is also located in this building.
Policies for equity and the (re)distribution of resources are found in the ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’, which aims to improve the well-being of those in need as regards material, economic, employment and housing situations, but often with an additional social aspect. Some policies focus on improving the living conditions in deprived housing areas, e.g. through community regeneration programmes and the renovation of housing estates. Others focus on raising the employment rate and level of education among citizens in disadvantaged areas through a variety of programmes for the unemployed and for children and youth. For instance, an after-school job programme is trying to facilitate access to the labour market for youngsters from disadvantaged families. These types of policies were also found in the integration policy ‘Get Involved in Your City’, but centred on ethnic diversity. Efforts aim to assist ethnic minority citizens in finding employment through qualification courses, internships, etc. Other policies in ‘Get Involved in Your City’ focus on equity and the (re)distribution of resources in a different way: campaigns aimed at private companies and organisations try to promote diversity in employment, e.g. through campaigning for international employment or through a diversity charter for both private and public sector workplaces. By signing the charter, the enterprises commit to making an effort to hire employees with a minority background. These initiatives are based on the willingness of employers in the public and private sectors to consider diversity when hiring. However, according to legislation on the equality of treatment as regards gender, employers are not legally obliged to do so. In the action plan of the Children & Youth Administration, efforts aim to improve the educational competences of bilingual children and children with learning disabilities (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2011a). Overall, the inclusion of citizens into the education system and the labour market plays a significant part in the municipality’s policies for equity and the (re)distribution of resources:

“The residents of the disadvantaged areas are a big untapped potential that should be realised to the benefit of all individuals as well as the city in general. All Copenhageners should have the opportunity to utilise their qualifications and competencies” (‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’, Municipality of Copenhagen, 2011c).

Policies aiming to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation between groups are found in ‘Get Involved in Your City’. These take the shape of mentor programmes where Danes function as mentors for new immigrant colleagues, or programmes pairing middle-class families with families from housing estates on the so-called ghetto list. In the ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’, these types of policies focus on the city itself or on local areas as the arenas of social contact between groups that do not usually interact. Locally founded programmes (such as area-based urban regeneration) try to establish fora for daily interactions and communication in the local neighbourhood. Policies targeting the social housing sector seek to create a socio-economically diverse composition of residents in the estates (by promoting the influx of resourceful residents into these estates and through community regeneration programmes). ‘Metropolis for People’ focuses on creating spaces of encounter in the city based on the idea that meeting different individuals in the city strengthens the tolerance and understanding of other people:
“Public spaces in the city are where we interact with other people. A short chat on a bench or maybe just eye contact and a smile enhances the quality of life and increases mutual tolerance and understanding” (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2009).

Policies for diversity and the recognition of multiple voices play a central part in ‘Get Involved in Your City’. Campaigns and political statements endeavour to spread the notion of inclusion and diversity as strengths and an asset for the city (e.g. by changing the term integration to inclusion and promoting campaigns for diversity), and equal opportunities are considered a prerequisite for thriving diversity:

"Everybody should be able to feel at home in Copenhagen and to engage in local decision-making. We must respect each others’ differences. Only in this way is it possible to make sure that everyone has equal opportunities for engaging in and contributing to the city” (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2010b).

The ‘Action Plan for Inclusion Policy’ endeavours to foster integration and better social interaction between children of different ethnic backgrounds and between children with and without special needs. Focus is on tackling the negative consequences of diversity. The policy further strives to combat discrimination by strengthening the language skills, learning capabilities and social competencies of those who need this, as well as increasing diversity in municipal schools by distributing bilingual children to schools throughout the city. ‘Metropolis for People’ tries to combat discrimination through a heightened focus on accessibility, making sure that a stroller, a wheelchair or a walker are no hindrance for participation in urban life, thus improving access to public services and public spaces for all citizens. To reach the objective of Copenhagen becoming a city for everyone, the aim is that urban areas should offer many different activities for everyone irrespective of age, social status, ethnic background, economic capabilities and disabilities.

Increasing social mobility, social cohesion and economic competitiveness are, directly or indirectly, key themes in the diversity policies. Securing social mobility is a key aspect of the policies focusing on raising the employment rate and level of education among citizens in
disadvantaged areas. The focus is on the unemployed as well as on children and youth. Special attention is given to non-Western ethnic minority groups. This is seen as simultaneously raising economic competitiveness as it realises a large potential that is currently untapped due to the high unemployment rate. Social cohesion is an underlying goal of all the policies as tackling socio-economic differences; creating spaces of encounter and making room for diversity are seen as crucial for securing social cohesion. Initiatives are instigated to combat discrimination. The purpose of this is to promote social cohesion. Mentor programmes serve as specific examples of this. They aid social cohesion through network creation and enhancing knowledge of other ethnic groups, but they can also potentially lead to social mobility and in turn heighten economic competitiveness. However, while the goals of these policies may seem admirable and desirable, relevant criticism can be raised, as will be made clear in the remainder of this chapter.

From project-based approaches to the mainstreaming of diversity efforts

Central policies on diversity build on the idea of mainstreaming diversity-related efforts by integrating them into the core services of all administration units in the municipality. An example is the position of a health visitor in Copenhagen, whose job is to guide immigrant families on matters such as health, nutrition and the Danish day-care system. The goal is to integrate diversity efforts into the general way of thinking and implement it as an everyday working tool throughout the municipal administrations. This is especially seen in the ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’ and ‘Get Involved in Your City’, as these cut across all administrations. The purpose is to create more coherent efforts where administrative borders and time limits do not hinder the successfulness of the efforts. The mainstreaming effort is mentioned both in policies and by interviewees:

“We want to incorporate accessibility into all projects (...). It has to be a matter of course that we design a city where everyone can participate in the life of the city” (‘Metropolis for People’, Municipality of Copenhagen, 2009).

“The more we can do that is simply a part of the core services and normal practice where you don’t think about what you do, the better it will work, I think, and the more effect it will have in the city” (Employee, Technical & Environmental Administration, 2013).

Though some isolated projects are still undertaken in the municipality, they are only instigated if they support the core services, or if a specific diversity-related goal cannot be reached through the core services. Previously, numerous small-scale projects ran concurrently with the core services, targeting specific diversity-related challenges. However, it was difficult to document the effects of the projects, and this resulted in an unfocused effort within the various policy areas. At times different diversity-related projects and initiatives even counteracted each other:

“It was a scramble for the deprived (...). It was like this: the children from Mjølnerparken [a deprived housing estate] said that they couldn’t attend school, as they had to take part in the projects. That was a disaster. An admission of failure. But this has changed for the better.
Both within the housing associations and Municipality of Copenhagen. The Municipality of Copenhagen is in charge of the core services, we are the authority. We are in charge of the initiatives, we run them. What the housing associations can do is to support some initiatives. It has become a lot better. The project-making has been pruned, I think” (Special Consultant, Health & Care Administration, 2013).

Despite the emphasis on diversity, none of the policies have an actual budget for reaching the outlined goals. Instead, they are implemented through the general budget. This mainstreaming means that pinpointing the resource allocation for diversity policies in Copenhagen is difficult. A very limited amount of resources is allocated to specific isolated projects. Examples from previous years include: the ‘Get Involved in Your City’ with a pool of approximately € 80,000 distributed in 2013; the three-year Hotspot programmes of € 2.4 million for the 2011-2014 period; and two sets of Inclusion Agreements for € 1.2 million in total. The vast majority of the resources spent on diversity-related work are part of the general running costs of the different administrations. Furthermore, the mainstreaming approach means that when quantitative estimates are actually made, they only state the total amount of money spent and include no information on how much is spent on staff, physical conditions, campaigns and financial support for external projects.

However, the Centre for Inclusion and Employment does publish an annual status report for the ‘Get Involved in Your City’ policy. As a part of this report, each of the seven administration units estimates the amount of money they are planning to spend that year on policies of inclusion and integration. This is the only actual estimate of the resources allocated to diversity-related policies, even though it only covers one of the central diversity policies. Table 3.3 lists the estimates of each of the seven administration units in the municipality and their own resource allocation to diversity (i.e. inclusion and integration).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration</th>
<th>Resource estimate (million EUR)</th>
<th>% of total budget*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment &amp; Integration Administration</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical &amp; Environmental Administration</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance Administration</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children &amp; Youth Administration</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health &amp; Care Administration</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture &amp; Leisure Administration</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services Administration</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Shares have been calculated based on the total budget amount taken from the overall budget for the Municipality of Copenhagen and therefore derive from a different source than the annual status report.
It should be noted that even though the Technical & Environmental Administration manages the area-based urban regeneration projects, the community regeneration programmes and the social housing allocation system, the funding of this is shared between the municipality, the social housing associations (regarding the last two) and the state. The administration units estimating the largest amounts spent on integration and inclusion measures are the three administration units responsible for the four central policies. Therefore, focus on diversity (or in this case, the integration-related aspects of this) is in fact relatively large in these administration units. In addition to this, the Social Services Administration estimates an allocation of almost €16 million to inclusion and integration, i.e. the third largest amount of money. According to the status report, their main objectives are preventing youth crime, supporting children from marginalised families and preventing the exclusion of poor citizens (e.g. eviction). Considering the relative shares of the different budgets being allocated to integration and inclusion measures, it is worth noting that these four administration units are not only allocating the largest absolute amounts, they are also the units which prioritise the largest relative shares of their total budgets for this purpose. Along with the allocation of economic resources, diversity enjoys a certain priority in the institutional organisation of the municipality, an example being the recent establishment of the International House, a physical gathering of municipal and private service functions for foreigners in a building in central Copenhagen. This does not entail any allocation of financial resources, but it does indicate an institutional priority for the inclusion of foreigners into the city and a focus on spaces of encounter.

According to the status report, the total estimate of resources spent on inclusion and integration in the municipality in 2013 was approximately €76 million. However, it is not possible to know how the administrative units have defined what operations and efforts are related to diversity. Moreover, other reservations must be taken into account. Firstly, the number of resources spent on diversity-related measures can vary significantly between the individual departments within the administration units. Second, estimating how many resources each actor devotes to these tasks can be difficult for officials from the central administration units. Third, the estimates do not tell how the money is spent, for instance how much is spent on staff, financial allocations, campaigning and premises, respectively. In addition to the municipality’s own resources, diversity-related policies at city-level are sometimes co-funded by state institutions (foundations, ministries, etc.), but always in cooperation with local authorities or associations. Despite these precautions, the estimates constitute a useful guideline for resource allocation. The fact that an actual inclusion department in the administration existed and that a status report with estimations of resources is made each year shows that diversity is a prioritised policy area in the Municipality of Copenhagen.

The opacity of the mainstreaming approach could be a way of deliberately seeking to hide a lack of spending or budget costs. This is refuted, however, by some of the interviewees: they state that even though no separate funds are allocated to any of the four central policies, the formulation of these policies entails a higher priority being given to diversity measures when negotiating municipal budgets. An employee in the Children & Youth Administration points out that more resources have been allocated to the inclusion area since 2012 through ‘Get
The interviewees point out a set of challenges to the implementation of policies endeavouring to enhance diversity in Copenhagen. Firstly, a central foundation for the successful
mainstreaming of diversity policies is the well-functioning cooperation between the different administration units and departments of the municipality. In order to integrate diversity into the core services of the entire municipal organisation, the implementation of policies cutting across administrative boundaries is stressed in ‘Get Involved in Your City’ and in the ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’. However, some of the interviewees criticised the lack of cross-sector cooperation within the municipality. This is highlighted as an important problem. As the administrative units are led by mayors from different political parties with different agendas, and none of them are willing to relinquish their political power, the different administrative units often seem to work against each other, despite a generally positive perception of working across administrative boundaries:

“It is often a problem. You know, everybody says that they really want to cooperate across the administrations and that it is really important, but when it comes down to … especially the budgeting process and all that, then everybody becomes extremely oriented towards their own fields of responsibility” (Special consultant, Health & Care Administration, 2013)

According to the interviewees, the problems with cross-sector cooperation generate difficulties not only within the administrative units, but also for citizens who are in contact with different administrative units on different matters, often making it especially difficult for people who are most in need of help.

Second, the interviewees criticised the objective of the ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’ to raise the living standards in the city’s disadvantaged areas to the average level of the municipality, as this entails a risk of pushing out certain groups of the city via a gentrification process. This would ruin the diversity of the city. Area-based urban regeneration projects are an attempt to avoid this as a reaction to the more radical urban renewals of the 1990s where neighbourhoods were “bulldozed” as an employee of the municipality describes the process. Area-based urban regeneration projects, she argues, take into consideration the conditions specific to the local environment:

“The principal idea is that you cannot just fix everything from above. When working in the different neighbourhoods, you have to view things in a bottom-up perspective and lift things from below. Having an eye for the full picture is central to this. You cannot just say ‘all right, we will just renovate the streets in all the disadvantaged areas, and then the job is done’. Because that is not the right way to do it. You must say ‘right here, in this specific neighbourhood, what do people need?’” (Employee, Technical & Environmental Administration, 2013).

The idea for area-based urban regeneration is to include local residents and create locally based commitment and social attachment to the area. According to the project manager of one of these projects, the bottom-up perspective opens up the possibility of empowering disadvantaged local residents. To him, a central responsibility for project employees is to act as a mouthpiece for these residents.
Third, expecting initiatives to document their own effect may hamper the implementation of diversity policies. Diversity initiatives are often long-term and the effects are difficult to measure:

“It’s not like the municipality makes a 3 Euro profit the minute Mrs. Jensen and Ibrahim move in next to one and another (…)” (Employee, Technical & Environmental Administration, 2013).

Ethnic diversity and socio-economic inequality as key challenges
Generally speaking, it seems to be a challenge to implement the municipality’s broad understanding of diversity in practice. Despite all the rhetoric around inclusion, ‘Get Involved in Your City’ is still termed “the integration policy of Copenhagen”, and the administration in charge is still named the Employment & Integration Administration. In addition, the interviews showed that the term inclusion is still closely associated with integration and ethnic minorities:

“When people speak of inclusion and we speak of integration, the first thing people think of is (…) not social integration. It is cultural integration” (Employee, Business House Copenhagen, 2013).

Another example is the ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’, which outlines many aspects of diversity in the introduction. In the main text, however, it still centres almost entirely on ethnic minority issues and issues concerning the inclusion of marginalised or potentially marginalised groups in society, in addition to the physical environment. Issues such as gender, sexuality, age and disability are absent in the policy’s objectives. Raising the living standards in the disadvantaged areas is seen as paramount to the cohesion of the city. If a diverse city is to function well, the interviewees stated, the space between the well off and worse off cannot be too large, and actual poverty must be absent. Tackling socio-economic inequality is therefore a central part of the diversity policies of Copenhagen. Furthermore, segregation and socio-economic inequality are seen as a threat to diversity. One way of tackling this is to apply the voluntary national flexible allocation rules for social housing through which people in employment or in education are given priority to dwellings in deprived social housing estates in an attempt to create a more mixed composition of residents.

Socio-economic disadvantage is a substantial problem among ethnic minorities in Denmark, and Copenhagen is no exception. The two dominating understandings of diversity in the city, ethnic diversity and socio-economic inequality, often coincide. As a consequence, when diversity-related policies are translated into actual initiatives, the focus is often on the most disadvantaged ethnic minority citizens and the areas they live in. An employee working with disadvantaged urban areas exemplifies this:

“Ethnicity is one of the criteria that the areas are selected by. (…) It’s not that it’s a bad thing in itself if a lot of people of ethnic minority backgrounds live in an area, but we know that when these different criteria are present simultaneously, it’s important to launch initiatives as the
While the most central policy areas continue to be ethnicity and socio-economic inequality, a gradual widening of the diversity discourse can be detected. A campaign to stop hate crimes has been instigated, an office working with equality of treatment was established in 2013, and in 2014 the city’s first Strategy for Equality of Treatment was published (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2014c). This means that issues of tolerance and security as regard to aspects aside from ethnicity (especially gender and sexuality) are coming into focus:

“Since the introduction of the inclusion policy, the way has been paved for talking about other aspects [of diversity] than ethnicity” (Employee, Business House Copenhagen, 2013).

One example of a widening of the diversity discourse is reflected in the ‘Action Plan for Inclusion Policy’. The action plan’s objective of ‘an inclusive school’ focuses on both social aspects and on learning capabilities. This is because inclusion refers to making room for children with learning disabilities or social problems as well as for bilingual children. Previously, the administration relocated bilingual children to schools with smaller shares of children of non-Western backgrounds. This resulted in substantial criticism from the general public who called the programme discriminating. Today the programme offers relocation to all children with linguistic challenges, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. Even though many of the children affected by this are still from non-Western backgrounds, what could have been a rhetorical stunt has actually improved the effectiveness of the programme. According to an interviewee from the Children & Youth Administration: “only children with actual linguistic difficulties, rather than all bilingual children, are now accepted into the programme, meaning that well-functioning children no longer take up places.”

Copenhagen’s diversity policies focus, to a great extent, on citizens with limited resources, whether they are ethnic minorities, socio-economically disadvantaged citizens, children with special needs, disabled citizens, residents of deprived housing estates or others. Municipal efforts often aim at helping these citizens to a better life in the city, but this includes the risk of assimilating their lives to match the majority. The central municipal focus on socio-economic differences demonstrates how the local government is trying to diminish inequality in this respect. However, the municipality is trying to avoid levelling out differences and diversity regarding culture, lifestyles, sexuality, religion etc.:

“Oh politically speaking, the vision of the municipality is for the different areas in the city to stay different, but socio-economically speaking, the ambition is to create uniformity” (Employee, Technical and Environmental Administration, 2013).
acceptable in the municipal governance agenda. All in all, it seems that the serious challenges to the realisation of an inclusive and diverse city of Copenhagen are of an administrative and organisational nature, rather than the risk of the approach turning into an assimilation policy.

3.4 NON-GOVERNMENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY

The size of the Danish welfare state means that municipal bodies have major areas of responsibility and, while always of a contested size, a budget to accommodate them. This could potentially limit the impact and importance of non-governmental actors. Nevertheless, in today’s Denmark, cooperation between the state, private market actors and the voluntary sector plays a pivotal role. Therefore, this section discusses the approach to diversity in Copenhagen as seen from the perspective of non-governmental actors in the private market and the voluntary sector.

Non-governmental organisations and diversity

The dominating positive and pluralist discourses expressed by the governmental actors are mirrored by the non-governmental actors interviewed: diversity is seen as an asset to the city. It is what gives life to a city:

“To me, diversity is for a large part maybe not synonymous with, but at least closely connected to, life and living” (Head of a voluntary social organisation, 2013).

The interviewees applaud the municipality for recognising the importance of being able to attract international visitors as well as international labour. The primary focus is on creative labour and knowledge workers. Interviewees from the NGOs consider the municipality both innovative and pro-active in this regard. Thus, according to the NGOs, the municipality’s vision for Copenhagen is a pluralist vision of a multicultural and cosmopolitan city. Copenhagen is considered a pioneer in drawing attention to and prioritising matters of diversity and inclusion:

“One could say that many cities have come far in this area, but Copenhagen is the one that has an actual policy committed to paper” (Consultant A, BL, Social Housing, 2013).

The NGO interviewees applaud the municipality for turning diversity ideals into actual policies. This helps to draw attention to problem areas. In this sense, they perceive Copenhagen as more progressive than municipalities in the rest of the country. However, the interviewees do not attribute this to a difference in political attitudes. Rather, as the attitudes of the electorates of Copenhagen are generally more positive towards diversity than in the rest of the country, so are the politicians and therefore the municipality. One interviewee finds that even more intensified municipal branding of diversity in employment and business is a necessary investment:

“Companies are still not aware of the great importance of this agenda. It needs to be branded, and branding comes at a price” (Director, organisation for highly educated foreigners, 2013).
The interviewees representing private companies have a somewhat different view on the municipal priority for diversity. They acknowledge the efforts of the municipality, but to them diversity does not appear to be a central policy area for the municipality. They also question whether this is desirable. The head of a department for a large international cleaning company stated that diversity should not be one of the main priorities of the municipality as this would be at the cost of other priorities (e.g. social services, employment etc.). Correspondingly, a HR partner at a large Danish supermarket chain believes that diversity thrives more if it is not forced or is not too much in focus:

“Sometimes it can make too much noise [figuratively] if too much focus is put on [diversity] and attention is constantly being drawn to those who are different. You don’t necessarily have to chase it [diversity] so badly, it will come naturally if given time” (HR partner, large supermarket chain, 2014).

Promoting the positive while tackling the negative
While diversity is predominantly regarded as a positive thing, the interviewees also acknowledge the challenges it can cause. A dilemma arises between promoting diversity as a strength and realising and addressing its negative consequences. According to the interviewees, the municipality does strive to address such issues and challenges, often in the form of both policies for equity and policies for creating spaces of encounter. The prior focuses on employment or on improving the social, economic and physical conditions of deprived housing areas and their residents. The latter focuses on locally funded programmes, mentor programmes, mixed composition of residents in social housing estates, etc.). The ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’ is fundamental for the work of the NGO’s representing the housing sector or neighbourhood-oriented organisations: “It lies at the root of pretty much everything” (Head of voluntary social organisation, 2013).

Focusing on ethnicity and socio-economic inequality
Ethnic diversity and socio-economic inequality are key aspects of the diversity discourse of non-governmental actors, in line with the municipal discourse. However, the weight given to the two differs. Ethnicity holds a central place, but not to the same extent as in the municipal views and policy documents. Instead, the NGO’s are focusing primarily on socio-economic inequality:

“We can tell from our statistics that the problems [in creating thriving diverse neighbourhoods] are of an economic character, that for a large part is about poverty and social problems” (Consultant A, BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organisations in Denmark, 2013).

“I think it is important to stay absolutely colour-blind. It is one thing to talk about employment or education, you know, but if we begin talking about ethnicity then we allow ourselves to lose people when talking about diversity” (Managing Director, social housing association, 2013).
Therefore, some of the NGOs insist on disregarding ethnicity as a criteria for their work. Nevertheless, the majority of the people affected by the efforts of the NGOs in this field are in fact from a minority background. In line with this, the non-governmental interviewees do point out, in line with the municipal interviewees, that the ethnic and socio-economic aspects of diversity often merge in practice as a larger share of ethnic minorities are in a socio-economically weak position compared to ethnic Danes. As a consequence, efforts are focusing on ethnic minority citizens in the weakest socio-economic position. Some organisations do differ from this, e.g. voluntary organisations representing highly educated foreigners in Denmark, who disconnect ethnicity from socio-economic difficulties.

Age diversity is mentioned occasionally, but is in no way as central to the interviewees as the socio-economic aspects are. Furthermore, diversity regarding gender, sexuality or disability is generally absent from the discussion among non-governmental actors. The business actors differ from the NGOs in that they apply a much wider definition of diversity. One example is a large cleaning company where the diversity work revolves around six aspects of diversity: ethnicity, gender, age, sexuality, religion and disability. For the business interviewees, diversity is understood as the inclusion of those in the weakest position, regardless of the cause of this. The context defines which aspects of diversity are central in a particular situation:

“It comes as a natural thing for us to recruit from the local areas, and these areas are of course very different. We debated the issue of wearing a headscarf at work in the beginning of 2013, and this is just not an issue in Hjørring [a provincial town in Northern Jutland] where there are hardly any non-ethnic Danes, whereas in Nørrebro [a district in Copenhagen] there are many more, and this is naturally reflected in our shops where the share of non-ethnic Danish employees is remarkably higher in Copenhagen than in Northern Jutland, because that is how the population is” (HR partner, large supermarket chain, 2014).

For the business actors, diversity is seen from an employment perspective. Their perception of social responsibility is to employ people with, for example, language difficulties, social challenges, disabilities and addictions, thereby supporting the social mobility of the weakest groups in society. Ensuring diversity in employment is compared to earning merit badges, so to speak; it is a way of taking care of the weakest in society. This perception entails a limit to how much diversity the companies allow, as a strategy of diversity in employment must not damage the company's performance, as the interviewees have phrased it. However, the interviewees point out that diversity in employment can actually contribute to the economic performance of the company. The head of a department at a large cleaning company explains how a survey carried out in the company has shown that departments with diversity in employment actually perform better than those without.

Challenges in cooperating with the municipality
Interviewees stress a number of implications related to cooperating with a politically controlled organisation such as the municipality. One such implication is that the re-evaluation of
priorities and efforts is never more than four years away. While this keeps the NGOs on their toes, it can pose challenges to the completion of long-term programmes. This was articulated as a limiting factor for both NGOs and municipal administrative units. Interestingly, these issues are exactly what the municipality has tried to overcome by replacing individual projects with the integration of diversity measures into core services. According to the interviewees, this has only been successful to some extent and the municipality’s efforts have yet to bear substantial reward. Another implication is that politicians sometimes welcome new initiatives, which are then left stranded in the administrative system. The interviews identify a discrepancy between the entrepreneurship of politicians and the precautions of the administration, based in structural, operational or procedural constraints. Case processing is too slow, and the administrative procedures are too bureaucratic:

“In general, things take time in the public sector in Denmark, whereas in the private sector we can usually react more promptly. But this is of course because the public sector is such a large machinery, so to speak. There is a lot of paperwork and a lot of procedures to be followed, and in cooperation with the private sector this can sometimes become a hindrance” (HR partner, large supermarket chain, 2014).

It is recognised that coordination and cooperation in relation to managing and implementing diversity policies is a difficult task. Still, the interviewees stress that there is room for improvement with respect to cross-sector cooperation within the municipality. The large size of the administrative system is repeatedly presented by the interviewees as a challenge. The distance between front-line workers and the employees and managers of the administration can be substantial, and to the political committees it is even more so; this makes it difficult to ensure the implementation of the policies. Furthermore, the seven administrative unit structure of the municipality complicates cooperation between different administrative units as each has their own agenda and priorities, partly due to that fact that the mayors represent different political parties.

An aspect related to the implementation discussion is the division of responsibility between the public and the private sectors: the director of a recently established NGO finds that the public administrative system in Denmark is too closed in on itself and unwilling to allow external organisations in. An explanation for this may be that the municipality is trying to integrate diversity measures into their own core services rather than depending on external actors. In contrast, however, an interviewee representing a well-established voluntary organisation states that the responsibility for what should rightfully be the task of the Danish welfare state is now being shifted onto civil society and voluntary organisations. He finds that this undermines the Danish welfare society. Therefore, a schism exists between distributing actual responsibility to NGOs and including them in less binding cooperation.

Alongside the organisational and cooperative challenges, a number of financial challenges are impacting the possibilities of the NGOs for implementing diversity initiatives. Of course,
in a public authority, the amount of resources is not unlimited and the financial pressure is clearly felt among the organisations. A potential cause of the mainstreaming effort could be budget costs. This places pressure on the NGOs as they have to offer value-for-money solutions. Furthermore, their programmes and projects must be in exact correspondence with current political priorities in order for the NGOs to be assigned tasks for the municipality and granted funding, an interviewee states. At the same time, all interviewees stress the importance of understanding the difficult situation of the Municipality of Copenhagen and the constant dilemmas of the municipality:

“We can grant ten hours a year to help this young boy get somewhere with his life, get an education, etc., he is severely disabled. On the other hand, we can pump money into mentor programmes and diversity efforts, but we can't do both. So what's more important?” (Consultant, voluntary organisation, 2013).

In this sense then, the interviewees are not dissatisfied with the resource allocation for diversity measures, and in their experience attitudes towards the voluntary organisations are generally very positive and appreciative. However, problems regarding funding might be bigger for newcomers among voluntary organisations than for the well-established organisations with a long history of municipal cooperation. The director of an organisation founded in 2009 says:

“The municipality's focus on diversity has helped us build up a network etc. … but it has not helped us raise the funds that we obviously need to be able to sustain ourselves. At the moment we receive a great deal of recognition and appreciation, especially with regard to developing an excellent initiative to generate resources for Danish companies. However, the municipality has promoted their own initiatives and they don't support other activities even though these are more relevant and achieve better results” (Director, organisation for highly educated foreigners, 2013).

Another financial challenge concerns the issues of rent and land prices. Securing low-cost social housing for less advantaged citizens is a challenge. For voluntary social organisations it is becoming increasingly difficult to afford the rising rents on premises for non-profit activities. Often properties are owned by cooperatives or owners’ associations that do not want to house activities for alcoholics or drug addicts, for instance. Their focus is on making money by subletting their premises. According to the head of a voluntary social organisation, this may cause raised rent levels, challenging the survival of voluntarily based social projects.

Successful cooperation with the municipality
The ‘Policy for Disadvantaged Areas’ is highlighted by those interviewees who work in this field as a successful example of a policy that traverses both the district boundaries of the city and the administrative boundaries of the municipality. The community regeneration programmes for social housing estates are another example of a successful policy, according to the interviewees. Since social problems often traverse the boundaries between different housing estates as well
as between social housing estates and other parts of the city, the community regeneration programmes must do the same. Cooperation between the municipality and the social housing sector therefore becomes imperative. According to the interviewees, these partnerships are generally successful:

“Efforts are continuously being made to find the common ground between the local municipality, the residents and the social housing associations. That’s what’s so unique about the social residential work: that you are really focusing on the common cause. The work is organised within the framework of a 4-year programme, which aims to create a better residential area to live in. So you have an entire organisational set-up involving all key stakeholders around the social residential work, i.e. the 4-year community regeneration programmes” (Consultant A, BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark, 2013).

Furthermore, for diversity measures to be successful, a bottom-up approach is paramount for securing the inclusion of local residents. The interviewees state that efforts must be locally anchored, and local residents must assume ownership of the projects. For instance, engaging local teenage boys in the construction of a new neighbourhood playground makes it less likely that they will vandalise it later. Involving local citizens, including the socially marginalised, is an important task for the employees of all programmes and projects, municipal as well as voluntary and private. As pointed out by governmental actors, the NGOs also believe that taking a bottom-up approach can minimise the risk of gentrification, i.e. of deplacing the weakest groups of citizens. Generally, the interviewees state that local anchoring and the inclusion of citizens have become increasingly prioritised by the municipality:

“They [the municipality] have worked a lot on getting people to contribute and not just receive. People cannot just pay their taxes and then expect to be serviced (...). People need to be more active” (Consultant, voluntary organisation, 2013).

Therefore, it is argued that better results can be achieved through a new localised agenda that anchors initiatives in the neighbourhood and in that voluntary organisations are in close contact with the Copenhageners. The localised agenda could be a consequence of a wish to cut the municipal expenditure on diversity measures. This is not mentioned by the interviewees. If budget costs are the actual cause, they seem not to be aware of this. They seem to favour the local anchoring irrespective of its cause.

Overall, the general experience of the non-governmental actors is that the Municipality of Copenhagen has intensified its diversity-related efforts in recent years. Cooperation with the municipality has increased and improved over the years, policies and efforts have become more coherent and cross-sectorial, while becoming more solidly anchored in local environments. Nevertheless, core challenges still exist as regards to the implementation of policies. There is a need for improving cooperation with the municipality, both horizontally and vertically, to ensure more direct, dynamic and flexible access to the employees in roles of responsibility in
the administrations, improved cooperation across administrations as well as a discussion of the division of responsibility between the public, private and voluntary sectors.

### 3.5 WORKING WITH DIVERSITY THROUGH GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS

One way of translating the different principles and perceptions of diversity as described by governmental and non-governmental actors into actual diversity work is through governance arrangements. Governance arrangements are understood here in a broad sense as arrangements and initiatives that focus on intervening in, and the steering of, the development in selected neighbourhoods. Examples are clubs, associations and initiatives working within Bispebjerg in relation to diversity. An in-depth analysis of the arrangements can be found in Andersen et al. (2014b).

**The governance arrangements and their understanding of diversity**

While the Municipality of Copenhagen has mainstreamed its diversity efforts, the municipality still supports a substantial share of governance arrangements on diversity financially. Six out of the 10 arrangements analysed here are in some way financially supported by the municipality, and only two arrangements are running without any public funding. At the same time, several arrangements have applied for resources from private funds, however this is generally supplementary funding. Some of the selected arrangements are municipal projects, others are part of community regeneration plans, i.e. strategic area plans, and yet others are more autonomous.

The arrangements analysed here represent efforts within three main categories: social cohesion; social mobility; and/or enhancement of economic performance. All the arrangements targeting social cohesion share a focus on a bottom-up approach of creating social cohesion through the engagement of local residents. Some arrangements target all residents of the area. Others focus on social cohesion of local children, but with a potential spill-over effect on the general social cohesion through parents, for instance. For all the arrangements local anchoring is imperative in ensuring the immediate success as well as the future of the arrangements. A main focus of the arrangements targeting social mobility is empowerment, which is seen as a tool for assisting individuals in achieving social mobility. Key characteristics of the arrangements are local anchoring, a bottom-up approach and seeing the individual as a whole person, i.e. acknowledging the hyper-diversity that creates individual situations. The arrangements targeting economic performance all focus on how the labour market can be widened to include groups that are either marginalised or at risk of becoming so. The underlying perception is that these groups have something to offer to specific work places as well as to the labour market more generally. The characteristics that cause them to be at risk of marginalisation are precisely those that can make them good employees if their skills and competencies are activated, renewed and combined. The premise is that the inclusion of these groups will lead to improved economic performance for the individuals, for the businesses and for society.
The governance arrangements conceptualise diversity as openness, tolerance and the inclusion of all citizens in the life of the city, in society and in the labour force. This corresponds with the general approach to diversity in the Municipality of Copenhagen. As was the case for the municipal understanding of diversity, the majority of the governance arrangements investigated take a pluralist approach, with the exception of a few arrangements that (to some degree) take a more integrationist or intercultural approach, to use the notions of Syrett & Sepulveda (2012).

Inclusion entails that everyone is seen as having something to contribute if they are taught how and are involved. In ‘Young 2400’, an arrangement offering lecture activities, resourceful bicultural youngsters give talks to other young people (Save the Children, 2014). The project takes a pluralist approach, perceiving diversity as a strength for society: the role models endeavour to convey to the youngsters that having a non-Danish ethnic background can be an asset as it gives them an understanding of different cultural perspectives:

“They [the role models] start out by telling a story about how throughout their upbringing they have felt that it [the multiple cultures] has been difficult, but that later on, they discovered that it gives them something” (Project coordinator, ‘Young 2400’, 2014).

Including all citizens also means the inclusion of resourceful citizens. Those most resourceful can be the hardest to involve in common initiatives as they are too busy and have the money to choose not to make use of common institutions such as municipal schools and state hospitals. ‘The Parental Association Use Your Local School’ is an example of a project that is striving to engage resourceful citizens by having those resourceful citizens who have chosen the municipal school to relay their experience to other resourceful citizens of school starting children. More projects of this kind are imperative in terms of creating social cohesion.

Hyper-diversity is on the agenda at a range of the initiatives, more so than in the national and municipal discourses. Though each arrangement has its own specific target audience, they are all based on the philosophy that society should make room for a variety of differences. An example is how hyper-diversity is central to the work of the socio-economic business ‘Glad Foundation’, which educates and employs people with physical and mental disabilities. The philosophy of the foundation is to view the students and employees as more than just people with a disability; they are actors, graphic designers, kitchen assistants, and human beings in society – just as anyone else is. As opposed to considering one aspect only, such as a disability or ethnic background, many of the arrangements aim to take a broader and more unified approach, thus recognising hyper-diversity. While this can be difficult to realise when cooperating with the municipality, the goal is to understand each individual’s perspective and problems in order to achieve real, realisable and sustainable change. More generally, the acknowledgment of hyper-diversity is also seen in the focus on the hard and the soft aspects of inclusion, and on both employment and social relations. As regards to the latter, weak ties are of particular importance, i.e. bridging social capital in the form of social relations outside of an individual’s own social circle (as described by Granovetter, 1973 and Putnam, 2001):
“There is something about getting on with your neighbours, well-being, feeling secure, community. The kind of soft values. They are insanely important for all the other things [the hard aspects of inclusion]” (Consultant B, BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark, 2014).

Breaking down dogmas and prejudices, thereby limiting the negative consequences of diversity such as racism and discrimination, is key to the work of the arrangements. It is a means of spreading the notion of diversity as a positive asset to the city and to a neighbourhood. Consequently, the arrangements offer an arena for different groups to meet across diversities, facilitating understanding across differences.

Challenges and potentials of working with diversity

Two broader aspects of the Danish approach and the Danish system in general seem to present an innovative potential for working with diversity: first, the master plans for community regeneration are a unique Danish construction, gathering a range of actors and initiatives in a combined effort. The encompassing design is a major advantage for the diversity efforts, in particular in acknowledging the impact of hyper-diversity. The community regeneration master plans ‘boligsociale helhedsplaner’ are nation-wide arrangements. The goal is to create a positive development of deprived and marginalised social housing estates and to improve the living conditions of local residents and the quality of life in the estates. The master plans coordinate and facilitate a range of initiatives that improve social cohesion and the residents’ living standards. Thus, several arrangements analysed in this book are set within, or funded through, one of the three master plans in Bispebjerg. The funding of these master plans is also a unique construction: it is provided through the National Building Fund, which is based on the rent received from the social housing sector. Thus, a share of the rent from all social housing estates in the country is used as a means of securing and improving disadvantaged social housing estates in a manner similar to redistribution through taxes. Second, the collaboration between state, civil society and the market is a key characteristic of the Danish approach, and the extent of this cooperation is innovative. Implied in this is the magnitude and diversity of arrangements based on the acceptance that not all of these will have an effect, but that the comprehensive approach is nonetheless imperative for the combined success of the arrangements:

“You have to let a thousand flowers bloom and then live with the fact that the nine hundred will wither again. And then you have to sow a new field” (Head of a voluntary social organisation, 2013).

In order to ensure the inclusion of all groups, it is imperative to offer a wide range of initiatives targeting different groups. Likewise, the involvement of different actors such as non-governmental actors and businesses is crucial as this can be a way of reaching different and more people. Nonetheless, it is proving problematic to reach both the more isolated groups (i.e. lonely single men sitting alone in their flats), as well as more resourceful citizens (as mentioned above). Also, the diminishing role of manual labour challenges the inclusion within the labour
market of people without academic skills. Realising the inclusion of all citizens constitutes a continuous task for the arrangements. The effect of the arrangements depends heavily on the success of this effort. However, while it is possible to create space for participation, this does not necessarily mean that the target population will know how to make use of this. It is thus a fundamental task for employees and volunteers to constantly strive for empowerment and involvement in as many ways as possible:

“It is so vitally important that the young boys, in my case [working with young ethnic minority boys], are given a voice in society. And it might be a different voice than the one I went out to look for. The framework for a project like this has to be much looser and more open than one might think” (Project manager, Lab2400 Talents, Business House Copenhagen, 2014).

Additionally, arrangements are perceived as meaningless if they are employed in a top-down manner. A bottom-up approach is described as imperative for the immediate success of the arrangements as well as for the continued maintenance of the arrangements in the future. Achieving participant involvement depends to a large extent on personal relations created within the arrangement: this may then result in a sense of ownership and attachment. For the professionals, the creation of personal relations can be easier if they are not perceived as coming from the municipality, whether actually funded by it or not. Some citizens have a strained

![Picture 3.3 Sign at the area-based regeneration project in Fuglekvarteret.](image)
relationship with the public system. At the same time, non-governmental professionals can often react faster and more appropriately due to their local knowledge and local anchoring.

The municipal system and the welfare state have a high impact on the governance arrangements. The system provides a safety net for the arrangements, assisting the collaboration and cohesion between the various arrangements. The collaboration between state, civil society and the market is crucial for the success of the combined efforts of the initiatives undertaken in a specific neighbourhood. However, finding a common ground can be difficult, the interviewees explain.

A balance between coordination and common goals on the one hand and freedom to do what makes sense in the local area on the other is necessary, as arrangements will fail if they are not tailored to the local context.

In general, collaboration with the seven different administration units of the municipality can be difficult. Some interviewees describe the municipality as a seven-headed monster. Working together with one administrative unit works well, in particular at the local level. However, when trying to work across administrative units, collaboration becomes problematic. Therefore, the administrative system is not geared to the handling of a hyper-diversifying city. This becomes a challenge to the idea that the individual should be approached as a whole person, embracing their entire situation as opposed to only one aspect of it. All actors, including municipal actors, want to solve this problem, but no one has yet found a successful way of doing so. Furthermore, balancing the responsibilities of the state, civil society and the market is imperative: on the one hand, the magnitude of governmental involvement can limit the role and responsibility of civil society to the extent that it undermines the trinity of state, civil society and the market. On the other hand, a tendency towards placing more responsibility in the hands of civil society is perceived by some actors as a method for the state to limit its own responsibility and thus its financial obligations. This is in line with the arguments phrased in chapter one by authors such as Swyngedouw (2009), Ranciére (2006) and Žižek (2011), claiming that the changes in governance are in reality an attack on the welfare state systems of Europe, with empowerment being the excuse for marginalisation of poorer and more diverse communities.

Most initiatives are at least partly funded by governmental money. While this funding is indispensable to the arrangements, it also has downsides. When the governmental focus moves on to a different neighbourhood or a different policy field, the continued existence of initiatives becomes threatened. Furthermore, in recent years, the governmental system has required ever-increasing documentation of the effects of public money spent. This requires time and effort on the part of NGOs as well as of projects run by the municipality. Due to the increased demand for documentation and measurement of the effects and success parameters, the arrangements, which cannot prove an effect, are struggling to manage. In line with public funds, private funds are beginning to require documentation on the effect of arrangements. The challenge of the focus on documentation is fourfold. Firstly, focus is on quantitative measures, evidence-based effects and short-term effects. However, not all effects can be measured quantitatively or in the short term or proven through evidence chains. Second, hard core aspects of inclusion, i.e.
employment and criminality, are given preference, thus limiting the attention to soft but no less important measures such as well-being and community. Third, major changes are expected to be identified in the documentation. However, some effects occur in small increments, which may also be beneficial. And fourth, the big effects are seen in preventive action, but this is also where the effects are most difficult to prove.

Essentially, the lack of evidence does not necessarily mean that the arrangements have no effect. In turn, there is a risk of discontinuing a project that is actually successful. To some extent, a gradual change is taking place towards greater acceptance of the importance of the softer aspects and of qualitative measures of evidence. However, to avoid the discontinuation of projects with long-term effects, which may be difficult to prove, a basic trust in initiatives is needed; this must be based on a more theoretical or common-sense argumentation for the expected effects of the project and not necessarily on effect documentation.

Due to the substantial public subsidies for governance arrangements in Denmark, the challenge is to avoid the various difficulties of cooperating with the seven-headed monster of the municipality and tackling the governmental system’s obsession with effect documentation. Nevertheless, the governance arrangements generally consider the role and size of the public system’s involvement to be an advantage for the diversity efforts.

### 3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified dominant policy discourses on diversity in Copenhagen and analysed the role and focus of diversity-related governance arrangements. Focus was on understanding how diversity is conceptualised by municipal actors, non-governmental actors and governance arrangements working with diversity. Clearly, diversity is high on the agenda of the Municipality of Copenhagen. Diversity is seen as being crucial for securing the competitiveness of Copenhagen in attracting foreign labour, international businesses and tourists. Creating room for diversity both physically and figuratively is seen as a means of combating segregation, ensuring that all Copenhageners feel at home in the city. Emphasis is placed on securing employment and education for all, thus assisting the social mobility of individuals and the overall economic situation of the city and its residents. Nevertheless, despite the positive diversity discourse, challenges are also acknowledged by all actors arising from the municipality being a politically controlled and very large organisation, from cross-administrative cooperation and coordination, from securing a bottom-up approach on policies, from the efforts made to integrate diversity considerations in the general approach of all municipal employees, and from managing a limited amount of financial resources. All in all, the key challenge to diversity efforts seems to be a governance problem rather than a resource problem.

Moreover, the analysis showed that diversity is high on the agenda for governance arrangements and viewed as an asset rather than as a disadvantage. Hyper-diversity is in focus in most of
the arrangements, acknowledging that an individual’s situation derives from a range of characteristics of the individual and the interplay of these. When comparing the governance arrangements with the municipal policies, several overlaps are identifiable. Both acknowledge diversity as an asset to the city, to neighbourhoods, to businesses and to people. However, diversity can also have negative consequences, and these need to be addressed concurrently with the promotion of the positive effects of diversity. Diversity is understood as the inclusion of everyone, as the provision of equal access to the services of the city or neighbourhood and as the opposition to segregation and ghettoisation. In both governance arrangements and public policies, bottom-up approaches, local anchoring, engagement of residents and an encompassing strategy of combined initiatives are buzzwords for diversity efforts. Additionally, cross-sector cooperation is seen as one of the imperative prerequisites for coherent diversity efforts to succeed; however the difficulties in realising such cooperation are acknowledged by all actors as well.

Yet clear distinctions between the discourse of governance arrangements and that of the public policies do exist. The governance arrangements focus on breaking with existing categories and institutions in order to see the whole person, meeting them on an equal footing and acknowledging the interplay between the individual’s characteristics and circumstances (thus acknowledging hyper-diversity). Detachment from the public system is an advantage, due to the strained relationship of some citizens with public authorities. The arrangements place greater emphasis than the municipality on the potential of diversity in terms of ensuring economic growth through creativity and unconventional thinking, and endeavour to realise this potential. The arrangements offer a wide range of tailored initiatives in close contact with the local level, and underpin the importance of wide, flexible frameworks that make room for innovation and adjustment to the neighbourhoods’ local and ever-changing situation. Simultaneously, public coordination and provision provide a safety net, which is imperative for the initiatives.

In recent years, a change has taken place that moves away from targeting diversity efforts through specific, isolated projects and towards mainstreaming the diversity efforts of the Municipality of Copenhagen. The previous project-based approach had undesirable consequences: overlapping projects and conflicting agendas. Furthermore, making diversity-related efforts part of all municipal employees’ everyday work is seen as ensuring a better basis for success. Both the municipal and the NGO interviewees support the idea of mainstreaming. However, mainstreaming may have negative implications. It makes it very complicated to extract the resources devoted to diversity within the municipality. Consequently, determining the total expenditure on diversity efforts and identifying potential cuts to these become difficult. Furthermore, while good and valid reasons for mainstreaming diversity-related efforts may exist, an inherent risk is that such efforts are not realised, or that they vary between administrative units as they depend to a high degree on the individual municipal employees’ focus and their ability to implement the diversity effort in their everyday work. It can be difficult to establish the extent of such an everyday effort when it is not conducted as a separate project that can be evaluated. At the same time, some challenges are more difficult to solve than others, meaning
that in some fields, the impact of efforts and resources will be much bigger than in others, regardless of the amount of work invested. Furthermore, some challenges are more sensitive than others. Mainstreaming could lead to a deflection away from such potentially sensitive discussions, whether this is the intention of the municipality or not.

Diversity entails differences of opinion, of culture, of lifestyles, etc. This poses challenges to mutual tolerance, communication and understanding. Campaigns against racism and discrimination have proved necessary. Additionally, diversity also entails differences in social, cognitive, economic and cultural resources in the population, posing challenges regarding the social and material living standards of some citizens. Furthermore, the focus of Copenhagen diversity policies is often on the most marginalised and deprived citizens from an ethnic minority background, entailing challenges regarding both social and economic resources, and of inclusion and cultural integration. Thus, in spite of the positive municipal discourses on diversity and the celebration of the diverse city, the variety of differences within the population necessitates that policies address the challenges and problems arising from this diversity. However, despite these challenges, the municipality has chosen a more positive and pragmatic approach compared with the national approach, thereby embracing the diverse population of the capital.

Emphasising the creation of a good living environment in all Copenhagen neighbourhoods is in itself a positive goal, and area-based urban regeneration plays a central role in reaching this goal. The neighbourhood initiatives are coupled with social and employment-related initiatives, aiming to ensure the basis for good socio-economic living conditions for all Copenhageners. However, the implications of area-based urban regeneration can be gentrification as a more mixed resident composition of the deprived neighbourhoods is an explicit goal. While such measures might solve problems for neighbourhoods, they do not necessarily change the situation of those in a socio-economically weak position who can no longer find housing in regenerated areas and the areas that are subject to social mix policies. Problems might be dispersed rather than solved. A fine balance exists between the notion of good living situations for all Copenhageners and gentrification. Therefore, diversity may be converted into a policy vehicle for gentrification as a consequence of mixing policies. It remains unclear whether there will still be room in Copenhagen in general, and in the regenerated areas in particular, for those who cannot be boosted socio-economically speaking. This is made all the more relevant by the high cost of buildings: if old neighbourhoods are renewed, resulting in more expensive and more sought-after housing units, and if the building of new and cheap social housing is not possible, where are low-income households to live? This begs the question: is there a limit on diversity?

In conclusion, the municipality's diversity approach is based on a positive view of diversity, stressing the advantages for Copenhagen of being a diverse city with respect to the economic competitiveness, social cohesion and social mobility of the inhabitants of Copenhagen. While this does not guarantee the realisation of the positive potential of diversity, it does indeed pave the way for it.
4 RESIDENTS DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The residential composition of Bispebjerg is highly diverse in terms of the socio-economic situation and ethnicity in particular. While earlier processes increased the share of disadvantaged citizen in social housing, recent developments seem to have reversed the process. Due to rising housing prices in Copenhagen, the middle-class households who are moving out are gradually being replaced by more affluent households. At the same time, the central area of Bispebjerg has become popular with students. This changing residential composition indicates a budding gentrification process with the various other regeneration projects in the area potentially adding to this process as well. As mentioned, gentrification is understood here as the process by which less advantaged residents are replaced with more affluent residents due to an increasing popularity of a neighbourhood (Glass, 1964).

Various residential groups have brought with them a variety of activities and businesses that are changing Bispebjerg’s neighbourhoods at street level. Furthermore, the area is dynamic: residential mobility rates are high; Bispebjerg is home to a wide variety of economic activities and industries, cultural organisations and activities; and has a range of governance arrangements and political initiatives, as discussed in chapter 3. Diversity is high on many of these parameters. For the residents of Bispebjerg, neighbourhood diversity is not just an image, a political topic or a temporary experience. Rather, it is part of their daily lives. Thus, it is interesting to study how these residents perceive its implications and challenges as well as the advantages and potential offered.

Through exploring residents’ experiences of dealing with diversity, this chapter focuses on the relationship between neighbourhood diversity on one hand, and social cohesion and social mobility on the other. The interviewees’ motivation for moving to Bispebjerg is described, followed by an analysis of their perception of the diversity of the neighbourhood, and subsequently of their activities inside and outside of the neighbourhood. This is followed by an analysis of the link between diversity and social cohesion and of the link between diversity and social mobility. Finally, the chapter turns to diversity-related policies and initiatives and the residents’ perception of these.
Housing choice and residential mobility are complex issues. The literature shows how an intricate interplay between preferences, constraints, resources and opportunities shapes the housing choices of individuals and families (Özüekren & van Kempen, 2002; Bolt & van Kempen, 2002; Gordon & Vickerman, 1982). Household situation, life-course stage, social ties, financial, cognitive and social resources along with external constraints such as economy, demography, politics and social structures of the surrounding society are all important factors in shaping housing choices. In combination with these, the supply of, and access to, available housing shapes opportunities. Furthermore, housing situations are linked over time with previous housing situations influencing opportunities in the future, as the concept of housing careers illustrates. Housing careers are shaped by life-course stages and household situation (Skovgaard Nielsen, 2014). For instance, divorce often leads to a move to a smaller and cheaper dwelling, which is generally considered as a step down the housing ladder (Bolt & van Kempen, 2002). Altogether, the impact of preferences, constraints, resources and opportunities along with the complex interplay between these factors make the housing choices of families and individuals a comprehensive set of compromises and weighing up of priorities.

The housing stock in Bispebjerg contains dwellings fitting various steps in the housing career: (semi-)detached primarily owner-occupied houses attracting families with children or rented flats attracting young people, singles or people with acute housing needs due to their relatively easy access and affordability. Along with a distinctive local context, the highly mixed housing stock in Bispebjerg can be considered a driver for creating diversity in the population.

The residents and their motivation for moving to Bispebjerg
The resident interviewees reflect the diversity of Bispebjerg. Their ages range from 20 to 86 years, and there is approximately the same number of male and female interviewees. About one third of the interviewees are from a different ethnic background than Danish. The majority of the interviewees have children living at home, while about one third of the interviewees have adult children. The majority of the latter interviewees are of Danish ethnicity. Most of the interviewees have a relatively low income compared with citizens in Copenhagen in general. These interviewees include ethnic minority citizens, young people (e.g. students) as well as those from socially and economically deprived groups. A large majority of the lower-income interviewees live in social housing, corresponding to about a third of the total sample. About one fifth of the interviewees have relatively high incomes. These interviewees all live in owner-occupied housing or SocialHousing+ (see chapter 2). Only a few live in private rental flats (primarily students). One fifth of the interviewees live in cooperative housing. Members of this group generally have average incomes, but are very mixed in terms of socio-demography and ethnicity.

For residents of a diverse neighbourhood, diversity can be a an explicit pull factor for moving to the area or a more or less desired characteristic of one’s new neighbourhood. Among the
affluent families of Bispebjerg, urban diversity is one element in a well-researched choice of neighbourhood for some of the younger families. In other cases, diversity was only a minor pull factor. One example of this is a cohousing community for seniors in a social housing estate in Bispebjerg. Living in a diverse and mixed area was one of the central ideas behind the community called “the multicultural village”. Another example is that to some residents, Bispebjerg bears a resemblance to multicultural areas in international cities:

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

In contrast to those highlighting Bispebjerg as multicultural, others take the diversity of Bispebjerg to mean that the share of ethnic minority residents is not too high. A Nepalese immigrant describes how he left another district in Copenhagen because he found its share of residents originating in Muslim countries to be too high. He considers his new neighbourhood as more diverse than the former, in that the share of Muslims is lower. Ethnic diversity, as opposed to ethnic dominance of one particular ethnic minority group, can therefore be a pull factor.

Despite recent changes, the district of Bispebjerg remains comparatively easier to attain housing in Copenhagen, partly due to the diversity in dwelling types and residential composition. This diversity functions as an indirect pull factor for some types of residents. It attracts people, for example students, looking for big-city life, but without the resources for a dwelling in more central and attractive districts. In addition, it attracts relatively affluent, yet not wealthy, people looking for a house near Copenhagen. This indicates that the gentrification process mentioned above is under way. At the same time, Bispebjerg still attracts people with few financial resources, local social networks or local cultural knowledge, such as new immigrants and refugees, to the social housing sector, which has yet to be (significantly) affected by the gentrification process. Bispebjerg offers easier access than other districts in Copenhagen to permanent rather than temporary dwellings. The likelihood of people being allocated a dwelling in Bispebjerg via the waiting list of people in urgent need of social housing is considerable; Bispebjerg is home to a large share of the city’s social housing estates, and in many cases waiting lists are short as some estates have a bad reputation. This illustrates how the distribution of the social housing sector in Copenhagen is of great importance to the socio-geographical structure of the city.

For the vast majority, however, diversity does not play a key role in their choice of neighbourhood. Other pull factors are more important: for many interviewees, especially those
living in the more affluent areas of Utterslev and Emdrup, Bispebjerg is considered the perfect mix of a big city and a village. Here, it is possible to live in a quiet, residential neighbourhood close to recreational areas, but still close to the city centre. This is especially appealing to families with children. In many cases, the interviewees had quite limited knowledge of the area prior to moving there. Often it was the combination of Bispebjerg’s central, yet quiet, location and a particular dwelling that attracted the interviewees.

The dwelling itself was another important pull factor. One example is SocialHousing+: the new social housing concept focusing on families who want to engage both socially and practically in their housing estate (see chapter two). In contrast to regular social housing, in this type of estate residents are allowed and encouraged to restructure the interior of their dwellings. For the interviewees living in the SocialHousing+ estate, it was this particular housing type that appealed to them and not the social housing sector or the neighbourhood as such. The resident composition of a relatively homogenous group of young families, along with highly attractive, yet affordable dwellings, functioned as pull factors.

The final important pull factor is the social and emotional attachment to Bispebjerg found among interviewees who have lived in Bispebjerg for a very long time, maybe even during childhood. While place attachment is found among all types of interviewees regardless of socioeconomic and housing situation, a strong sense of belonging to the place only applies to the relatively small group of interviewees who have grown long-lasting ties to Bispebjerg. Rather, it was the first two pull factors, i.e. Bispebjerg’s central, yet quiet, location and the availability of a particular dwelling, which attracted most interviewees to Bispebjerg, and often the two factors in combination.

For individuals themselves, a move may be perceived as an upward or a downward move, i.e. constitute either an improvement or deterioration in comparison with their previous housing situation. Three large groups of interviewees perceive their move to Bispebjerg as moving ‘upwards’. Firstly, those attracted by a nice home, often a detached house in a quiet neighbourhood such as Utterslev or Emdrup. Usually, these interviewees moved when they
were in the process of starting a family, and the residential neighbourhoods of Bispebjerg fit perfectly with such a change in their life course. Second, those who had grown up in Bispebjerg and were returning to their ‘home ground’ after having lived elsewhere. Third, those leaving a neighbourhood where they felt unsafe or uncomfortable with the social environment. Additionally, some ethnic minority interviewees considered their move to Bispebjerg to be a step of integration, and thus an upward move:

“In the neighbourhood I lived in before, there were primarily foreigners, and even though I'm a foreigner myself, I think it should be mixed, both Danes and foreigners and students and elderly and families. If it's mixed, it's good, I think” (Eloha, female, 39, on long-term sick leave, Afghan background, social housing).

However, for many of the interviewees the move to Bispebjerg was an improvement in some way and deterioration in others, i.e. both an upward and a downward move. Often, some elements of the interviewees’ former housing situation were good, while others were less attractive. Some had to move because their leases expired, others because their dwellings were too small or too expensive, and yet others because of their health, for instance problems with climbing stairs to their previous flats. These interviewees often left behind either a dwelling or a neighbourhood that they liked. In return, they achieved improvements in other respects. One interviewee moved from a tiny two-room flat with her partner and their three children to a brand new 130-square-meter flat with two large balconies in a very child-friendly SocialHousing+ estate. However, to achieve this, they had to leave a neighbourhood she was very fond of and move to Bispebjerg, which she considered “a dreadful place” before moving there. Variations of such ambivalence are found among the interviewees seeking ‘life in the big city’: they would have preferred some of the trendier or more central districts. However, accessing a decent and fairly cheap flat was impossible in these districts, but possible in Bispebjerg.

4.3 PERCEPTIONS OF DIVERSITY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Studies on urban segregation have questioned whether living in a diverse neighbourhood impacts residents’ attitudes towards diversity. Research indicates that interaction cutting across groups rarely reaches beyond brief public space encounters (Wissink & Hazelzet, 2012; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010) and questions whether tolerance and openness in these micro-scale encounters can in fact be translated into more general tolerance and understanding across differences (Valentine, 2013). Along these lines, Blokland & van Eijk (2010) argue that seeking and consuming diversity as an urban quality does not automatically translate into practising diversity. In other words, affluent urbanites appreciate diversity, however it is confined to arm’s-length encounters. Such stances highlight the inherent connection between urban diversity and social inequality (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013a). Rather than to diversity as such, Gijsberts et al. (2011) attribute the challenges facing diverse urban neighbourhoods to be the socio-economic composition of residents. Furthermore, it is argued that narratives of the erosion of economic
security and cultural recognisability as caused by increasing ethnic diversity foster prejudices among certain ethnic majority groups (Valentine, 2013). Yet, the significance of culture, lifestyle etc., in addition to ethnicity and socio-economic ties illustrates the importance of taking into account the interplay between a wide variety of diversities. In this context, hyper-diversity is a key concept (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013a). The purpose of this section is to understand the interviewees' perceptions of diversity based on their perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood and their identification with neighbours.

Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood
The Bispebjerg district covers the neighbourhoods Nordvest, Utterslev and Emdrup as well as a neighbourhood colloquially known merely as Bispebjerg. Thus, many people understand the term as covering only the neighbourhood on the hillside. Therefore, for many interviewees there is little identification with the name Bispebjerg, especially if they live in Nordvest, Utterslev or Emdrup. To add to the confusion, the name Nordvest (‘Northwest’) is sometimes used about a larger area covering most of Bispebjerg because the postal code here refers to the north-western part of Copenhagen. Therefore, the borders between Bispebjerg’s different neighbourhoods are not fixed, which makes it relevant to explore residents’ perceptions of their neighbourhood.

The perceived boundaries of the interviewees’ neighbourhoods vary immensely. Sizes range from a single estate of 550 dwellings to a larger area of approximately 40,000 people, including most of Bispebjerg. Furthermore, a perceived neighbourhood is not necessarily defined as a delimited geographical entity. Rather, some interviewees distinguish between the core of their neighbourhood on one hand, and more distant zones and satellites on the other. In this context, satellites are understood as places, which are geographically, separate from the rest of the neighbourhood, but which the interviewees include in their delimitation. Whereas the core is usually made up of a few streets around the home of the interviewee, the outer zones consist of places used for shopping, sports, socialising etc. Some interviewees distinguish between areas they merely pass through and areas they use. A retired university professor living in Emdrup, defines the Grundtvig’s Church as an important part of his neighbourhood, because he attends concerts there. Yet, he has no relation to the social housing estate located between the church and his own house. The church is a satellite element in his perceived neighbourhood.

Interviewees predominantly base their perceived neighbourhood on three factors: 1) their patterns of movement; 2) their feeling of attachment to an area; and 3) their degree of identification with and, to some extent, fondness of an area. Patterns of movement are shaped by the interviewees’ activities such as shopping, sports, work, school, childcare centres, cultural activities, recreation, etc., as well as social activities such as visiting friends and family. Consequently, the interviewees’ patterns of movement are strongly affected by the geographical structure of their social relations. This is underlined by the interviewees who live in Bispebjerg solely because of its proximity to Copenhagen’s city centre, and who make very little use of their local area. This is one of the groups pushing the gentrification process. They define their neighbourhood in the direction of the city centre, often resulting in their own homes being
located at one end of their perceived neighbourhood. In comparison, the oldest interviewees have limited patterns of movement, due to their relatively poor health condition. Consequently, these interviewees find it difficult to define a neighbourhood to which they belong.

The second factor shaping the interviewees’ delimitation of their neighbourhood is attachment, understood as the areas to which the interviewees have an emotional connection and which they consider their ‘home ground’. For the interviewees, attachment was created through long-term connections to an area, through frequent use of an area and through their social network in an area. Some interviewees perceive their previous residential area as their home ground because of their social networks and strong personal attachment to it.

The third factor affecting the boundaries of the interviewees’ perceived neighbourhood is whether they like and can identify with certain areas. Often borders between different dwelling types and the associated differences in resident composition can function as demarcations. In some neighbourhoods, attractive owner-occupied houses stand just across the road from areas of social housing. The interviewees living in the owner-occupied houses often have very limited social relations across such roads, and accordingly they delimit their neighbourhood along them:

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

In some cases, interviewees have an actual aversion to certain neighbourhoods. This primarily concerns those perceiving certain neighbourhoods in Bispebjerg, primarily Nordvest, as being too dominated by citizens with an ethnic minority in terms of street life, shops, activities and facilities. Consequently, the interviewees orient themselves in other directions:

“My neighbourhood is from our home and then out to Søborg, and then from Trianglen to Hellerup [upper-class areas]. My wife doesn’t want to come here [in Nordvest]. (…) I call this area a ghetto, because you can see that they’re all Muslims, 80% are Muslims, and I don’t want to live here. I don’t have anything against them, but I don’t want to live with them.” (Laurent, male, 69, retired machine operator, French background, owner-occupied terraced house).

Through the socio-spatial differences this creates within Bispebjerg, diversity plays a role for the interviewees’ patterns of movement, attachment and identification. These differences influence which areas potential residents identify with, which areas they like and which areas they choose to move through and use in their daily life. Furthermore, the differences heighten or lower the degree of attachment to an area, based on whether residents feel at home with the diversity of the specific area or not.
Identification with neighbours
Interviewees living in detached or semi-detached housing describe a relatively homogenous residential composition among their neighbours: residents are primarily ethnic Danish families with children living at home or with adult children. They are socially and financially affluent, often with a background in higher-education and in stable employment. Among the interviewees living in blocks of flats, a much more mixed resident composition with regard to age, household composition, social background, ethnicity, etc. is described. This mix includes disadvantaged or marginalised people. While this applies to flats of all tenures, it is especially mentioned by interviewees living in social housing. When asked whether he perceives himself as compatible with his neighbours, an interviewee living in social housing says:

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

The differences between the perceptions of neighbours are emphasised by interviewees living in the social housing estate of Kantorparken, which consists of two adjacent parts, a number of blocks of flats and a row of terraced houses. The interviewees living in the flats in Kantorparken describe their neighbours as very mixed in terms of age, ethnicity and employment. In contrast, interviewees in the terraced houses describe their neighbours as being primarily retirees, ethnic Danes and residents with a history of several years of employment as skilled or unskilled workers. Interviewees living in the terraced houses perceive their neighbours as a much more

Picture 4.2 and 4.3 Different types of housing in Bispebjerg. Left: Detached housing area in Utterslev. Right: Social housing estate in the hillside neighbourhood.
homogenous group than do the interviewees living in the flats, which confirms the outlined differences between dwelling types. One of the few exceptions to this is the shared living community for seniors located in an estate in Bispebjerg’s hillside neighbourhood. These seniors resemble the interviewees living in (semi-)detached houses: they are well-educated, have had stable employment trajectories, have many personal resources and large social networks. An interviewee from the community identifies strongly with her fellow community members and is highly aware of their deviation from the surrounding housing estate. Their community is a homogenous enclave, to some extent resembling an area of detached housing, but located instead within a large housing estate with a mixed resident composition.

Furthermore, a strong link can be identified between dwelling type and the degree of interaction between neighbours. Whereas interviewees living in (semi-)detached houses (i.e. the gentrifiers) give elaborate accounts of their neighbours and often socialise with them, the interviewees living in flats give very brief accounts lacking in detail, which illustrates their limited interaction with their neighbours:

“Researcher: Do you feel that you are compatible with your neighbours?
Jianjun: It seems so.
Researcher: How come you feel that way?
Jianjun: Because when we meet in the neighbourhood, or when I go up or down the stairs, they look friendly” (Jianjun, male, 42, PhD, works as a gardener, Chinese background, recently immigrated to Denmark, private rental flat).

The identified parallels between the perceived diversity of neighbours and a lack of social interaction underline how identification with one’s neighbours is of great importance to the establishment of social relations. In this respect, diversity can pose a challenge to creating local social cohesion in housing estates.

Perceptions of diversity in Bispebjerg
Even though most interviewees regard diversity as a positive feature of the urban environment, only limited importance is attached to it when discussing the qualities of their neighbourhood. Rather, assets like Bispebjerg’s central yet quiet location are repeatedly mentioned by a broad group of interviewees across socio-demographic characteristics, places of residence, lifestyles etc. The only exception is the interviewees looking for the city life of Copenhagen who settle with Bispebjerg due of the tight housing market.

To a small group of interviewees, diversity is considered as the key asset of Bispebjerg, especially in the area of Nordvest, which is described as circus-like and metropolitan. An interviewee illustrates his appreciation of diversity in the following way:

“I love Rentemestervej [a street running through Nordvest and Utterslev]. I think it’s so incredibly amazing, because it has everything in a way. It begins down in the most urban
This view is primarily found among affluent interviewees, often highly educated, or university students. Living in a diverse area is seen as enriching for the community as well as for the residents: a diverse neighbourhood provides a variety of resources, such as a more varied supply of shops and facilities and bilingual staff at public service centres. For individuals, living with diversity is considered an opportunity to learn from others and to develop a sense of empathy and social responsibility. Furthermore, Bispebjerg’s mixed character is considered a safeguard against the area becoming too dignified and rigid. Interviewees indicate that status symbols such as money, the right car or the right clothing seem less pressing in Bispebjerg compared to other more upscale or trendy areas in Copenhagen. However, some of these rather articulate and socially-aware interviewees recognise an almost cliché-like side to this applauding of diversity. When asked what is the best thing about living in Nordvest, a university student answers:

“I know it sounds like a cliché, but it’s the diversity, really” (Kathrine, female, 30, student, Danish-Israeli background, private-rental flat).

Constituting an affluent group, these interviewees live in Bispebjerg’s more homogenous areas of owner-occupied houses or in blocks of flats of cooperative, owner-occupied or private-
rental housing. The presence of both ethnic-minority and socially disadvantaged residents is limited in these areas. Even though interviewees applauding diversity do live in more or less mixed neighbourhoods, they primarily encounter diversity in public spaces when leaving their immediate residential area. A woman living in an owner-occupied house puts it this way:

“We have to go, like, out there and down to [the next street] and see those dealing marijuana down there to realise that 'oh right, we're in Nordvest!'” (Sarah, female, 35, consultant, ethnic Danish background, owner-occupied house).

The interviewees applauding diversity are generally representatives of the groups who are driving the gentrification process. This leads to a paradoxical situation where these residents point to diversity as one of their reasons for moving to the area, but at the same time they themselves might very well be part of a gentrification process that will eventually lead to less diversity in the area.

Living in a diverse neighbourhood also entails living with social inequality. Generally speaking, interviewees are very aware of Bispebjerg’s socio-economic challenges. Even though Bispebjerg is perceived as segregated, and therefore these challenges are concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, the social inequality still affects the general street scene in Bispebjerg. Interviewee accounts of homeless people in the street, mentally ill people, alcoholics, drug users, drug dealers and street gangs are not rare. To some extent, the interviewees who highlight diversity as Bispebjerg’s key asset are very aware of such problems, but distinguish between the socio-economic inequalities in Bispebjerg on one hand, and diversity as an enriching urban space feature on the other. The interviewees separate the necessity of solving problems of social inequality from the enriching experiences of encountering diversity in public or semi-public spaces. Such ambivalent experiences echo throughout the interview material, and some interviewees are even aware of the inherent paradox.

The interviewees living in Bispebjerg’s socio-economically deprived housing estates experience both positive and negative sides related to living with socio-economic diversity. They often share the view that urban diversity is enriching and inspiring. However, the large proportion of socially disadvantaged residents in their housing estate make the downsides of diversity substantially more tangible. This affects the residents’ perceptions of socio-economic diversity in several ways. It affects the relationship between neighbours as a large share of the residents have neither the personal resources nor the energy to communicate with each other in a constructive way, which may cause otherwise minor conflicts to escalate:

“It becomes too sensitive when there are too many people with social problems. (…) It's the concentration of social [problems], you know, not being able to communicate, like 'what are you doing?!!' [in a threatening voice]. Some people just can't say things in a proper way. There is this confrontational attitude and that fosters confrontation” (Lisa, female, 40, consultant, ethnic Danish background, social housing).
In varying degrees, interviewees living in deprived housing estates give accounts of vandalism, theft, misuse of estates, noise etc., and in some cases, more serious problems such as threats and violence. Especially to the mothers of small children living there, such problems cause concern. They worry about how it will affect their children as either witness to the behaviour, victims of this or later as participants in it. This leads to a wish to move to an estate with a lower proportion of disadvantaged residents.

Simultaneously, neighbours in blocks of flats are much closer to each other’s private spheres than neighbours in (semi-)detached houses. Consequently, friction between neighbours concerns far more intimate and private spheres of the residents’ lives. Being drawn into the private lives of their neighbours is very transgressive, and diversity in the neighbourhood therefore has very real consequences for the residents of deprived housing estates.

Besides the issues of social inequality, ethnic mix is important to the interviewees’ perceptions of diversity and is associated with both advantages and disadvantages. Ethnic diversity is considered an advantage to Bispebjerg through enriching and varying the facilities, activities and lifestyles found in the area, for instance with Middle Eastern grocers shops, public-space celebration of the Muslim Eid holiday, and cross-cultural encounters in streets, shops, schools etc. Such views are expressed by most interviewees across socio-demographic characteristics, lifestyles, etc. Furthermore, the ethnic mix in Bispebjerg provides ethnic-minority interviewees with feelings of comfort and safety, because they do not stand out as the only people who are not ethnic Danes, and they consider the atmosphere in Bispebjerg more tolerant and open towards ethnic minorities and cultural variety because of the ethnic diversity:

“When everyone is different, then you do not feel like you stand out too much” (Naila, female, 53, unemployed, Pakistani background, social housing flat).

However, other interviewees consider the ethnic mix a disadvantage that causes concern. Even though they generally regard diversity as a positive feature of urban space, they perceive certain areas in Bispebjerg as lacking in diversity as the proportion of non-ethnic-Danish activities, facilities and people has become too high, in their opinion. To them, Nordvest has become less diverse:

“I think too many foreign shops have opened, and the others seem to be disappearing, and I think the area is becoming too dominated by this. I think a mix would have been better than dominance” (Jytte, female, 64, on early retirement, ethnic Danish background, social housing).

This view is found predominantly amongst two groups of interviewees: immigrants from Asian countries who dissociate themselves from other ethnic minority groups, especially Muslims, and who they perceive as one coherent group which dominates neighbourhoods such as Nordvest; and, ethnic Danes of older age groups, primarily retired skilled or unskilled workers, describe areas like Nordvest as dominated by ‘foreigners’. Additionally, these interviewees associate ethnic
minority citizens with certain norms and ways of life that are significantly different from their own. Muslims are especially perceived as having an old-fashioned lifestyle that is not compatible with a modern, Danish society. Their perception of ethnic minorities is often based on media stories or observations in public spaces and rarely on personal experiences with ethnic minority individuals. If they have such experiences, these are insignificant to their overall impression of ethnic minority presence in society. The very noticeable changes in their neighbourhood over time have fostered a sizeable, but sometimes intangible feeling of unease:

“It's just that when you meet them in groups. I don't have anything to pin it on. It's just that I think they have ruined our neighbourhood. That's what irritates me. It's not the individuals, you know” (Suzanna, female, 77, retired, ethnic Danish background, cooperative housing).

Ethnicity and socio-economic factors dominate discussion on diversity, especially with regard to problems and challenges. Yet further examination reveals that neither ethnicity nor socio-economic ties as such poses a challenge to the interviewees: rather, challenges derive from differences in activities, attitudes, lifestyle and culture associated with certain socio-economic and ethnic characteristics. Furthermore, socio-economic factors and ethnicity often overlap, as a relatively high share of ethnic minority residents in Copenhagen are in fact socio-economically disadvantaged. Hence, interaction between diversities must be taken into account, not only between socio-economic factors and ethnicity, but between gender, age, lifestyle, attitudes and activities as well.

4.4 ACTIVITIES IN AND OUTSIDE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Several studies point to the importance of encountering diversity in a neighbourhood. Encounters in public spaces, such as seeing people in the streets or saying hello in local shops, can affect the attitudes of the residents in a positive manner, contributing to diminishing prejudices about the negative aspects of diversity (Peters & de Haan, 2011; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010). Additionally, local public facilities such as childcare centres, libraries, parks, etc.
are found to provide crucial arenas for such cross-cutting observations and encounters (Curley, 2010). However, other studies question the translation of superficial public space encounters into general tolerance and openness towards diversity (Valentine, 2013). Consequently, this section analyses and discusses the importance and effects of encountering diversity in the context of Bispebjerg.

**Patterns of activities**

Individuals’ everyday activities include activities in people's own private spaces or those of others, work-related activities and involvement in associations and institutions, and public space activities such as shopping, jogging in the park and visiting public and cultural facilities. Several aspects of the interviewees' lives emerged as impacting the character and extensiveness of such activities.

Life course stage and household composition have an impact on the character and extensiveness of activities: being a family with children living at home greatly influences the patterns of activities in, as well as outside of, the neighbourhood. In Denmark, the majority of children attend childcare institutions five full days a week from the age of one. Consequently, nurseries, kindergartens and subsequently schools play important roles in the daily lives of children. In diverse neighbourhoods, such institutions can function as key arenas for encounters across differences: in most cases, the children of the interviewees attend schools and institutions located in the neighbourhood. While the parents identify a certain grouping among the children along socio-economic, and to some extent ethnic, lines they also see the formation of friendships across differences. Such accounts are mirrored in the descriptions of their childhood given by young adults who grew up in Bispebjerg: the local institutions provide arenas for the children to engage in diversified activities.

Children's social relations go beyond the school boundaries. Leisure time activities among families are for a large part centred on the children, for instance when visiting playgrounds and libraries or participating in children’s leisure time associations. This means that the social relations between children influence their parents causing them to engage in diversified activities. The workplaces of the parents are often located outside of Bispebjerg, therefore limiting their activities within the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the leisure time of the families is for a large part spent with family members, friends and acquaintances from work, education, clubs etc. who often live outside of Bispebjerg, and such social networks are relatively homogenous in terms of socio-economic factors such as age, attitudes, lifestyle and ethnicity. Consequently, although the extent and durability of such local parent-to-parent encounters across differences can be questioned (see Blokland & van Eijk, 2010; and Peters & de Haan, 2011), the social networks of their children are often the primary grounds for the parents to engage in diversified activities.

Therefore, local schools and childcare institutions hold a potential for encounters with diversity for parents as well as for their children. However, this potential is only fulfilled if
these local schools and institutions reflect the population diversity of the neighbourhood. Due to the troubled reputation of some schools in Bispebjerg in terms of social environment and educational quality, not all parents get to choose a local municipal school for their children. Among the interviewees, this applies particularly to Tagensbo School located in Bispebjerg’s hillside neighbourhood. In Denmark, the distribution of children into the various municipal schools is determined by place of residence. While parents have the right to choose freely between municipal schools, they are only guaranteed a place for their child if they belong to the district of that school. In the case of well-reputed municipal schools, in particular if these are located close to troubled schools, obtaining a place can be difficult. A private school may then become the alternative. As opposed to Denmark as a whole where 84% of children attend municipal schools, this only applies to 73% of the children in Copenhagen (Cevea, 2014). Even though the large majority of parents living in Copenhagen still choose the local municipal schools, the tendencies of school segregation is a political and administrative concern, as shown in chapter three. The Municipality of Copenhagen has altered the municipal school districts of the city more than once in recent years in an attempt to change pupil compositions. In addition, physical improvements and management changes have been employed by the municipality in schools with poor reputations. Concerns about school segregation are echoed by parents of children attending local municipal schools in the interviews. They point to the schools as being important spaces of encounter and as crucial for the establishment of local social relations:

“The thing is, if all the children are taken out of their neighbourhood [school], it will have a very negative effect on the way we are together, as we will not know each other so well. So it’s actually quite important” (Jane, female, 38, consultant, ethnic Danish background, owner-occupied terraced house).

Furthermore, socio-economic factors have a significant influence on the character and extensiveness of the interviewees’ activities. The interviews highlight large differences in the patterns of activities between working and non-working parents, illustrating the connection between socio-economic and household composition: even though working parents have less free time, they generally engage more in clubs and cultural activities than parents who are not working. The same applies to their children. The large socio-economic differences between these families, and the fact that such findings are mirrored by interviewees without children at home, indicate the importance of personal, social and financial resources for engaging in activities. Additionally, differences between socio-economically disadvantaged interviewees with and without children can be identified: people with children generally engage more in social activities than people without. This underlines the importance of the connection between life course stage, household composition and socio-economic factors.

Ethnicity also plays a role for the activities of the interviewees. Whereas interviewees of all ethnicities engage in social relations with family members and friends, participation in formally organised clubs is less common among interviewees from ethnic minority backgrounds than
among interviewees with an ethnic Danish background. The same applies to participation in cultural activities such as visiting cinemas or cafés. In terms of religiously related activities such as attending religious services or participating in religious reading clubs, the opposite is true. Moreover, among interviewees from ethnic minority backgrounds, gender influences the patterns of activities as these often consist of single gender groups meeting up regularly. Some of the male interviewees are engaged in sports activities such as meeting in a park to play football. The football fields can provide an arena for cutting across differences, which might otherwise form barriers:

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

Linked to life course stage and household composition, age is yet another aspect of diversity which affects the patterns of activities of the interviewees. Even though the oldest interviewees are retired and consequently have more time on their hands, the extent and character of their activities are highly dependent on their health. Those limited by health issues engage in very few activities, often limited to those organised within senior housing or a seniors’ activities centre, which provides transportation and assistance. Those in good health often have busy schedules including club activities and voluntary work. The importance of the neighbourhood for the
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elderly depends to a large extent on their personal attachment to the area. Interviewees who have lived in Bispebjerg for decades and who have built up comprehensive social networks often base their activities in the neighbourhood, while the neighbourhood is of little importance to the activities of newcomers, who have often moved to the area because a senior dwelling was allocated to them. In general, the activities of the elderly are primarily located within fairly homogenous clubs or social networks in terms of age, ethnicity, socio-economics, lifestyle etc.

Apart from people who grew up in the area, the youngest interviewees primarily use Bispebjerg as an outset for activities elsewhere. Bispebjerg might be their location for daily shopping or walking the dog, but in terms of cultural, social and leisure-time activities, other parts of Copenhagen are used. These interviewees are typically in their 20s, singles and childless, and the majority either study or work in other areas of Copenhagen. They consider Bispebjerg a temporary place of residence, rather than a permanent home. Their patterns of activities depend partly on which areas they prefer for cultural activities, and partly on the geographical structure of their social networks:

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

The patterns of activities of these young interviewees illustrate a point made by van Kempen & Wissink (2014) on the importance of re-imagining the neighbourhood: since social networks and daily activities are not confined to the neighbourhood, the latter must be understood as a collection of nodes connecting multiple flows that reach beyond it. The importance of the neighbourhood has not disappeared. Rather, the neighbourhood has become part of a network of links within and beyond it.

Picture 4.7 and 4.8 Activities in the green areas of Bispebjerg. Left: The recreational area Utterslev Mose. Right: Couple relaxing in Bispebjerg churchyard.
Lifestyle is the final aspect of diversity that influences the interviewees' activities in and outside of the neighbourhood. Lifestyle primarily affects cultural activities such as attending concerts or visiting museums and cafés. Interviewees with multiple cultural activities generally have a higher level of education, are in stable employment or studying and have rather large social networks which are quite homogenous, despite these interviewees' great appreciation for urban diversity. This illustrates the point made by Blokland & van Eijk (2010) that positive attitudes towards diversity do not necessarily translate into practising diversity. Young interviewees especially appreciate the vibrant urban environment of Nordvest and make use of its cultural activities such as bars and galleries, but other parts of Copenhagen are highly important to them as well. Among the older interviewees, cultural consumption is more traditional, e.g. attending classical concerts or visiting museums. While they appreciate the diversity of their neighbourhood, their cultural activities generally take place in the city centre.

**Encounters with diversity in local associations**

Associations, a tradition reaching back centuries, play a key role in Danish civil society with more than 100,000 in Denmark. This is the case in Bispebjerg as well. Thus, associations could provide an arena for residents to engage across differences. In the interviews, the social aspect of being engaged in an association is highlighted:

“One of the first things I did was to contact the swimming club and volunteer as a swim coach because that's simply one of the easiest ways to build up some kind of social network, and as I hadn't lived in Copenhagen before, it was a nice place to start” (Kasper, male, 29, school teacher, ethnic Danish background, owner-occupied flat).

Associations play an important role for social activities and networks based in local areas, particularly for children and elderly people. The social aspects of the associations are of great value, according to the interviewees. In contrast, ethnic minorities and socio-economically disadvantaged residents have little contact with club life. This underlines the importance of ethnicity and socio-economic situations in shaping patterns of activities, as shown above. As a consequence of this the initiative ‘Club Guides’ has been launched. It reaches out to children from socio-economically disadvantaged or non-Danish ethnic backgrounds and assists them in participating in local club life. According to the project manager, a lack of social and personal resources hinders the children's participation in clubs along with a lack of energy from parents in such families. As not all groups are engaged in local associational life, the potential of associations for establishing diversified activities and relations is not fully realised.

Two exceptions to an absence of diversified relations and activities in associations can be identified: firstly, the residents’ committees of Bispebjerg's social housing estates. In the Danish social housing sector each estate has its own residents’ committee that cooperates with the housing association and the local caretaker regarding administration, house rules, etc. In contrast to the residential composition, the composition of such committees is quite homogenous according to the interviewees, as they primarily consist of middle-aged or elderly

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ethnic Danes. This means that the members of the residents’ committees must represent the residential diversity and take into account the interests, opinions and concerns of the residents. In this way, diversity finds its way into the rather homogenous residents’ committees. Second, in the Neighbourhood Mothers project, local women volunteer to advise and support disadvantaged women in the local area with regards to childcare, health, etc. The nationalities, ethnicities and social backgrounds of these women are highly diverse, as a volunteer explains:

“We’re a team, and we’re actually really mixed, so for instance, if a Danish neighbourhood mother meets a woman who speaks very little Danish or has a very personal problem which she can’t express in Danish, then she’ll just call me and say ‘this woman needs some advice’” (Zainab, female, 24, student, Iraqi background, lives in social housing flat).

Encounters with diversity in public spaces
Interviewees who live in Bispebjerg encounter diversity in public spaces on a regular basis. The distinct street scene in Bispebjerg has the effect of attracting some groups of interviewees while repelling others. In particular, young interviewees greatly appreciate the vibrant and chaotic nature of Nordvest. The attraction is the diversity of facilities and activities, which is driven by the corresponding population diversity. To other interviewees, however, the ethnic and cultural mix of the area causes them to avoid using public spaces in Nordvest. As previously touched upon, some of the older, primarily working-class interviewees from an ethnic Danish background disapprove of the volume of ethnic minority activities, facilities and people in the neighbourhood. Consequently, these interviewees prefer other, more homogenous areas to undertake their daily errands:

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

Nevertheless, regarding everyday public space activities and errands undertaken by the interviewees, geographical proximity is the primary determining factor, and urban diversity as a repellent for the use of public spaces is an exception in the interviews. For instance, interviewees generally do their daily shopping in the nearest supermarkets, walk their dogs in the nearest parks or visit the nearest playgrounds with their children. Therefore, living in a diverse neighbourhood creates diversified encounters in public space. For instance, a woman describes how even an upscale supermarket in the neighbourhood has rather “shabby-looking” customers, illustrating the role of the supermarket as a public space arena for encounters:

“Irma [local, upscale supermarket] is where you meet everyone. It’s quite interesting that it’s like this local thing. For instance, when you’re in Irma, you can see a family with mum, dad and two children, and the mum and the children go into the supermarket, while dad just makes a stop
outside to buy some marijuana. And there’s no point in being offended by that, really” (Sarah, female, 36, consultant, ethnic Danish background, owner-occupied house).

In Denmark in general, starting a conversation with a stranger in a public space is unusual, and accordingly, encounters in public rarely develop into more extensive social interaction, let alone the establishment of new social relationships. However, according to the interviewees, such superficial public encounters with diversity are perceived as breaking down prejudices and fostering more positive and tolerant attitudes towards differences. A woman describes how a diverse street scene challenges prejudice:

“There is this woman who is driving around in a burka on a Christiania bike [a cargo bike]. It just says it all. It’s simply fantastic and shows that all those prejudices do not reflect reality. They really don’t! If people had just tried to live here, then I think that they would view it completely differently. I certainly have changed a lot.” (Kathrine, female, 30, student, Danish-Israeli background, private-rental flat).

In this regard, an additional finding should be mentioned, namely how the neighbourhood playgrounds in Bispebjerg seem to provide the basis for more extended interaction. Once again, the importance of children as providers of an opportunity for parents to interact is underlined. A young, single mother describes how she regularly engages in chats with other parents of different nationalities in the playground of her housing estate, hereby interacting with families of diverse backgrounds. The children, and the shared experience of being with them in the playground, lead to social interaction across differences.

Even though a large share of the activities and social networks of the interviewees are independent of the neighbourhood, the area still matters to them by providing the reference point for their daily lives. While social networks generally remain homogenous as argued by Blokland & van Eijk (2010), Peters & de Haan (2011) and Curley (2010), public space encounters exert a positive influence on the interviewees’ attitudes towards urban diversity. Furthermore, children from diverse neighbourhoods can be socialised in aspects of diversity through local institutions, which also provides opportunities for their parents to interact across differences. However, such local institutions and facilities can only form arenas for encounters with diversity if they reflect the mixed population composition of the neighbourhood. This is far from always the case. While the role of the neighbourhood might vary, its importance in creating spaces of encounters must not be disregarded. The challenge is to activate its potential.

4.5 SOCIAL COHESION

Social cohesion can be understood as the existence of mutual trust, mutual support and social bonds between residents and groups in a given social context. As the glue that holds society together, social cohesion is crucial. However, the impact of diversity on the social cohesion of
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The diversity of social networks

With few exceptions, most of the interviewees have a social network in their neighbourhood. However, the extent and importance of such local networks are often fairly limited. Rather, social networks are based on friends and acquaintances from other contexts, e.g. education, associations or work, in addition to the relatives of the interviewees. Furthermore, for some in-migrant groups, informal nationality-based or continent-based clubs and networks are key elements in their social relations, such as a network for Chinese people living in Copenhagen. The limited importance and extent of local social networks is especially pronounced among interviewees who had no social relations to Bispebjerg before moving there, and who moved there out of need, e.g. due to homelessness or a health-related need for a new home. Their housing choices were limited, and to several of them, their current dwelling is considered a temporary stop rather than a permanent home. The interviewees with limited local networks primarily live in blocks of flats, which are private rental, social housing or cooperative housing.

In contrast, the interviewees living in detached or semi-detached houses, primarily owner-occupied, generally have much more extensive networks in the immediate environment, including neighbours as well as acquaintances from local associations, schools, etc. For the most part, these networks are generally homogenous in terms of socio-economic factors, ethnicity, age etc. Similarly, the interviewees who grew up in Bispebjerg or who have lived there for several years have generally developed fairly strong and extensive social networks in their local area. Even though some of the long-term residents live in less homogenous neighbourhoods than (semi)-detached housing areas, the interviews show that the local networks of these interviewees
are often rather homogenous too. Even though the interviewees live in diverse neighbourhoods on a smaller or a larger geographical scale, diversity in socio-economic terms, ethnicity, age, lifestyle, etc. are rarely present in their social networks.

There are, however, exceptions to the homogeneity of the local social networks of the interviewees. One exception is residents with social and personal resources who actively, and of their own initiative, engage with disadvantaged residents living in their neighbourhood. The interviews only present a few examples of this, the most pronounced being a retired woman living in a cohousing community for seniors. While the residents of the cohousing community are a very homogenous group, the other residents of the estate are not. The cohousing community is located within a relatively deprived social housing estate in Bispebjerg with a residential composition that includes socially disadvantaged, or even marginalised, residents as well as those from an ethnic minority. Despite their differences, the interviewee has developed relationships with many of the other residents, and from time to time she helps them with a range of tasks including job applications, meetings with social authorities, seeing the doctor, or she brings them food if they are ill. Furthermore, she organises a retirees club and an urban gardening project for residents of the housing estate. By offering personal and social resources, she supports those with fewer resources. This example illustrates how social cohesion in disadvantaged areas can be enhanced through the resources of new and different types of residents. However, it also underlines how social mix alone is not enough. Rather, it takes continuous insistence, initiative and effort on the part of affluent residents in particular to enhance the social cohesion of an estate.

Another exception to the homogeneity of the interviewees’ local social networks is that of the children attending local schools in Bispebjerg. Examining the social networks of the children of the interviewees, as well as the networks of the young adult interviewees who grew up in Bispebjerg, reveals that these are often highly diverse in terms of ethnicity and nationality. As previously argued, local schools and childcare institutions offer arenas for the children to bond across differences, provided that the pupil composition of schools and institutions reflects the diversity of the neighbourhood. If this is the case, diversity becomes part of the socialisation of the children:

“My school days were a good experience, because we were such a mix in my class. Me and one of the boys were the only Ghanaians, and there were Turks, Pakistanis, Danes, everything, so we were very mixed. And we got on so well socially, and my classmates are still my closest friends today. We were all so different that we simply just had to accept each other, and we’re still like that today” (Jessica, female, 25, in vocational training, Ghanaian background, cooperative housing).

Closely linked to that noted above, the final exception to the homogeneity of local social networks is the parents of children attending municipal schools in Bispebjerg. As previously outlined, the networks of the children affect their parents:
“My son has some friends [from school], and we meet with their parents. There are five or six Danish families who come here, and they like the Nepalese food” (Mahesh, male, 40, works as a cleaner while studying, Nepalese background, cooperative housing).

However, according to the interviewees, the cross-cutting parent-to-parent relations function in spite of ethnic, socio-economic and cultural differences rather than being fostered by them. Instead, the relations are fostered by similarities in other respects: the differences between the various families are overcome because they share the same neighbourhood and the same household situation; they are all families with children at a particular school. However, as the children grow older, the diverse social networks of the parents fade away and their social networks become more homogenous in terms of social and ethnic characteristics, lifestyles, attitudes etc.:

“The social housing estate houses some people that are very different from us. But I must say that we have much less contact with them now than when we had children [living at home], because our children would of course play with their schoolmates, and some of them lived over there. (...) Now that I’m asked about it, it becomes clear to me that diversity was something we encountered when we were compelled to, but not otherwise.” (Elisabeth, female, 56, secretary, ethnic Danish background, owner-occupied house).

Diversity and social cohesion between neighbours
A key aspect of understanding the link between diversity and social cohesion is to understand whether diversity challenges general trust between neighbours, as this is a key element of social cohesion. In the Bispebjerg case, the understanding of trust varies between the interviewees: from trusting your neighbours to return keys left in the front door to a more personal trust involving confiding in each other on personal matters. Overall, the interviewees have a basic trust in their neighbours. They describe how it only takes a friendly attitude or the utterance of a ‘hello’ on the stairs to foster a sense of basic trust. Still, the interviews show that mutual trust between neighbours does not always go hand in hand with extensive social bonds or mutual support on personal matters. The social relationships between interviewees and their neighbours vary significantly, particularly between dwelling types. In areas of (semi-)detached houses, interviewees generally have a more extensive social network in their immediate environment, ranging from short chats in the street and at residents’ barbecues to going on holiday together. In blocks of flats, on the other hand, interviewee accounts of having virtually no social interaction between neighbours is not rare:

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

Considering the resident compositions of (semi-)detached houses and blocks of flats, respectively, a strong link between uniformity and social cohesion can be identified. The
homogeneity between neighbours in (semi-)detached houses seems to go hand in hand with fairly extensive social relations and mutual support. By way of contrast, the perceived diversity between interviewees living in blocks of flats and their neighbours is often mirrored in a lack of social interaction and mutual support on personal matters. In the few exceptions of this division based on dwelling-type, the interviewees identify strongly with their neighbours and perceive them as similar to themselves in terms of age, lifestyle, social background, ethnicity, attitudes etc. For instance, the residents of the SocialHousing+ estate are predominantly young families with children, well-educated, in stable employment and with many personal resources and large social networks, etc. They constitute one of the groups driving the gentrification process. There is a rich social life within the estate between children as well as adults, and the residents provide mutual support to each other. The internal homogeneity of the SocialHousing+ estate appears to be emphasised by the difference of this community from its surroundings, which include a youth club for marginalised young boys, several social housing estates with a high proportion of disadvantaged residents, a controversial Youth House and, finally, an enclave of very attractive single-family houses. A resident of the estate describes this:

“*The best thing [about the estate] is that it’s like a village within the city. At Halloween, all the children ran around out here in a big bunch and knocked on all the doors and giggled and had a fun evening. I would never let [name of her child] run around in Nordvest, really. But this felt different. We had all agreed that the children should stay within the estate. So it’s like this safe little environment*” (Signe, female, 30’s, SocialHousing+).

If identification with neighbours is on the one hand and mutual support and social bonds between neighbours on the other are linked, a more comprehensive social cohesion in contexts of diversity is challenged as identification might be harder to establish between diverse neighbours. In comparison, social cohesion built solely on a basic sense of trust seems more easily achievable. However, differences between housing environments cannot only be ascribed to diversity or homogeneity in resident composition. A broader perspective must be applied detailing the impact of diversity and taking additional factors into consideration. The interviews illustrate how the physical character of (semi-)detached houses can foster social bonds between neighbours. Chatting across the backyard hedge or saying hello to a neighbour fixing his garden gate are simple but frequent opportunities for interaction. Over time, such frequent interaction can develop into social bonds. In contrast, such opportunities rarely present themselves in blocks of flats where the border between private and communal spaces is much sharper. Furthermore, the norms and expectations for local social bonds and mutual support seem to differ between the two dwelling types. Residents of (semi-)detached houses generally expect to live in their dwelling for many years. The financial costs of buying an owner-occupied house are a highly tangible sign of such commitment. Conversely, the limited social interaction between neighbours in blocks of flats only rarely causes concern for the interviewees living there. In many cases, living in a flat is simply a matter of meeting a housing need, and often interviewees consider it a temporary home that they will leave at a later point in life. Accordingly, the building of social bonds within the estate is often less frequent. Establishing bonds with and providing support for your
neighbours’ demands social and personal resources. But such resources are scarce for the groups of socially disadvantaged residents in Bispebjerg’s blocks of flats. A study on a deprived housing estate in Nordvest (Aagaard-Hansen et al., 2015) showed how residents had very limited social networks within their estate. Hence, this challenge is inherent in the close connection between urban diversity and social inequality. Furthermore, and linked to the previous point, a higher share of disadvantaged or marginalised residents can entail a larger occurrence of social problems and conflicts in certain areas. Naturally, social conflicts and problems do not support the development of social bonds and mutual support between residents.

Finally, hyper-diversity impacts the potential for the establishment of social bonds and mutual support across differences: several forms of diversity are important for the lives of individuals, each form containing a potential for establishing social bonds and mutual support. A young woman living in a block of flats with a highly diverse resident composition has developed a bond with her neighbour across their ethnic, cultural and religious differences:

“There is a Danish woman, she is like 100% Danish, but we communicated really well. Now we’re both so busy so we don’t meet up that much, but we talked about personal problems and things like that because she’s a single mum too” (Zainab, female, 24, student, Iraqi background, single mother, social housing).

These women might be different in terms of ethnicity, culture and religion, yet when it comes to lifestyle, living conditions, age, gender and life course stage, they can identify with each other, which provides the grounds for a social bond. Social bonds and mutual support across differences such as ethnicity, socio-economic factors and culture can be fostered by similarities in other respects, for example, lifestyle, household composition and geographical location. In this sense, as the lives of individuals are defined by a diverse set of characteristics of the individual, hyper-diversity can provide the grounds for mutual bonds leading to social cohesion. Hence, taking hyper-diversity into account is crucial for identifying the potential of diverse neighbourhoods to foster and strengthen social cohesion.

4.6 SOCIAL MOBILITY

Referring to the opportunities for individuals or groups to move upwards in society, social mobility is a key point of discussion with regard to urban neighbourhood diversity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013a). Several studies on neighbourhood effects have stressed the potential of mixed neighbourhoods to foster outcomes such as social mobility, however, the different social and spatial characteristics of various urban contexts complicate the identification of cause and effect. An issue that complicates that is that the social networks of residents of urban neighbourhoods are not necessarily locally based. Most often the ties to family members, colleagues and close friends outside of their neighbourhood play key roles in the lives of the residents (Henning & Lieberg, 1996).
Social networks can take the form of strong ties to, for instance, close friends and family members or weak ties to distant acquaintances, networks and direct or indirect neighbours. This distinction is important for identifying the potential of social contacts in fostering social mobility. As regards to access to the labour market or obtaining a new job, weak ties have proven more important than strong ties, because the former reach further (Granovetter, 1973). In this respect, the potential of neighbourhood diversity lies in weak ties locally that cut across socio-economic and ethnic groups (Camina & Wood, 2009; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013a). Furthermore, the continuity and proximity characterising social contact between neighbours promote weak ties (Henning & Lieberg, 1996). In contrast, homogenous neighbourhoods of disadvantaged groups may hold fewer resources for social mobility of their residents. Finally, and in connection with this, the structural contexts of urban neighbourhoods must be taken into account. In some cases, such as in Denmark, the social system and the public sector are important for creating social mobility. Consequently, the public sector reaches far into urban neighbourhoods, especially those housing large groups of socially disadvantaged citizens. However, the welfare state is not able to fully equalise opportunities, as social and cultural capital is still of great significance. Weak ties continue to be important in creating social mobility, even in a substantial welfare state society such as Denmark (Sørensen, 2006). Therefore, it is crucial to understand the impact of diversity on social mobility in the context of urban neighbourhoods, in this case in Bispebjerg.

Neighbourhood diversity: fostering or hindering social mobility?

Overall, the neighbourhood seems to be of limited importance for the social mobility of its residents. The potential of a gentrification process in terms of a changed residential composition offering the opportunity for ties that cut across socio-economic differences is not realised. Rather, the personal social networks of the interviewees are important. As previously shown, these are only to a limited degree dependent on the neighbourhood. The networks of particular importance are, for instance, friends and acquaintances encountered in educational contexts, former colleagues, and for newcomer immigrants, nationality-based networks at city level. Furthermore, the welfare system in Denmark is extensive in terms of education, employment, etc., causing the public sector, rather than civil society, to be a key factor in many regards in terms of fostering social mobility. For instance, long-term unemployed interviewees participate in activation or trainee programmes organised by the local employment authorities. Accordingly, while a large social network might help, it is not an indispensable factor for obtaining a job. Additionally, the public sector in some cases assists in fostering weak ties by facilitating the formation of relevant networks, e.g. through trainee and mentor-mentee programmes. Nevertheless, interviewees do emphasise certain aspects of living in Bispebjerg as significantly affecting their opportunities in life. In all of these aspects, diversity plays a role.

Bispebjerg is struggling with its public image as a crime-ridden neighbourhood; an image is portrayed by media stories on criminal street gangs in the social housing estates of the Nordvest neighbourhood. The reputation of the area can be perceived as a hindrance to life opportunities.
for interviewees. A young man of Algerian background explains that he deliberately avoids the name Nordvest when asked about his place of residence. He perceives the combination of his ethnicity, gender, age and residence in Nordvest to cause people to presume that he is a criminal. Due to their shared set of characteristics, he feels branded in with the street gangs. However, he is the only interviewee sharing such an experience. The vast majority of the interviewees consider the area’s reputation to be of minor importance.

Another aspect of Bispebjerg that affects the interviewees’ opportunities in life is generally perceived as a more widespread hindrance. Parent interviewees in deprived housing estates are concerned about letting their children grow up in an area with a high proportion of disadvantaged families. Consequently, they are planning to move out of these deprived estates within the next few years. Other parent interviewees have already made such moves. While the young adults who grew up in Bispebjerg are generally fond of their neighbourhood, they clearly acknowledge safety issues and social problems in certain parts of the area. They too, are planning to move away when starting a family:

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

The local schools are crucial for these concerns. As previously described, certain municipal schools are seen to be troubled by social and educational problems, and consequently some families choose private schools instead. The high proportion of ethnic minority pupils, as well as socially disadvantaged pupils, is perceived as the core issues. Abandoning certain schools
because of their pupil composition is not only seen among interviewees of ethnic Danish background in socially strong positions. Rather, the pupil composition is a key reason why young ethnic minority parents in socially disadvantaged positions move or plan to move out of certain areas in Bispebjerg. A single mother of Afghan background on long-term sick leave moved out of the school district of Tagensbo School to settle in Emdrup instead:

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

To Eloha, moving her children out of the school district of Tagensbo School was crucial for her children’s opportunities in life. In the interviews, pronounced concerns about Tagensbo School are more prevalent among disadvantaged parents than among more affluent parents. This difference emphasises the key role the disadvantaged parents ascribe to schools in fostering or hindering social mobility. This is linked to the socio-economic and ethnic diversity, which is perceived to affect the opportunities of children growing up in Bispebjerg.

In areas of strong social cohesion, mutual help and support between residents can be identified. In such areas, interviewees mention that they assist their neighbours in writing job applications, use each other’s professional networks, etc. However, as previously discussed, extensive social cohesion in the neighbourhood is primarily found in areas housing socially and economically affluent households. In contrast, extensive social cohesion is rarely found in areas housing large groups of socially deprived residents, which is a limiting factor for the residents’ social mobility opportunities. This highlights the role of social inequality rather than social cohesion in limiting the opportunities of residents in deprived areas: inequality and deprivation are the factors that limit the opportunities for both social mobility and social cohesion.

Finally, urban diversity can foster social mobility through neighbourhood support with residents with social and personal resources helping the more disadvantaged residents. This takes the form of individual assistance such as helping other residents with job applications or arranging a trainee programme for a long-term unemployed neighbour. It also takes the form of the initiative Neighbourhood Mothers, in which three interviewees are involved on a voluntary basis. After receiving training on counselling and subjects such as childcare, the job market, the public sector, integration etc., local women volunteer to provide guidance and assistance to disadvantaged and often isolated women in their neighbourhood. The potential of a socially mixed neighbourhood can thus be activated. However, this requires continuous insistence and effort on the part of the stronger residents. Social mix alone will not be sufficient.
The findings support notions of neighbourhood diversity as containing a potential for fostering social mobility. In this regard, local arrangements and public actors can take on the roles of initiators and providers of organisational support for such neighbourhood initiatives. In connection with this, the contextual situations of diverse urban environments affect the role of neighbourhoods in fostering social mobility for the residents: in the Danish case, the extensive welfare system causes the public sector to be a key factor in fostering social mobility.

4.7 PERCEPTIONS AND POTENTIALS OF PUBLIC POLICIES AND INITIATIVES

A wide range of diversity-related policies and initiatives on national, city-wide, area-wide and estate levels have been employed in Bispebjerg by the national government, the Municipality of Copenhagen and various organisations (see chapter 3). Despite a long tradition of public involvement in Denmark, realising ideals to engage local residents in the formulation and implementation of policies is a challenge, and several studies point to the need for rethinking public involvement to develop new forms of collaboration (Agger, 2013). As pointed out by Bolt & van Kempen (2013), policies for creating social mix have become more prevalent over the years. This also applies to Copenhagen, where mixed neighbourhoods are a pronounced goal. Yet, segregation has proved hard to combat, and various structural factors such as social inequality, housing prices, divisions between rental and owner-occupied sectors, housing subsidies and tax exemptions enforcing socio-spatial segregation are not targeted by policies for social mixing (Bolt & van Kempen, 2013; Christensen, 2013; Vestergaard, 2010). The scale and scope of urban policies are therefore highly limited in comparison with the scope of the targeted problems. Fincher & Iveson (2008) point out how some kinds of diversity are unjust and that taking political and administrative measures to target them is imperative. Simply embracing diversity as a positive feature is insufficient. Once again, untangling the relations between diversity, social inequality and social mobility is essential. In this section, focus is on the perceptions and potentials of public policies to influence these issues.

The impact of policies and initiatives on residents’ lives
The interviewees have very limited knowledge about local policies and initiatives related to diversity. They either express little recollection of having heard about such policies or initiatives, or refer instead to physical renovation projects, new construction projects or infrastructure developments. Yet, some interviewees have been personally affected by diversity-related policies and are consequently familiar with these, although their interest is limited to the specific project or policy concerned. These might include municipal policies on school districts, which are important to the lives of many interviewees when choosing place of residence, for instance. Still, there are exceptions: some interviewees are very familiar with diversity-related policies and initiatives being undertaken in their neighbourhood. There are three main reasons for their knowledge and engagement: Firstly, some interviewees take a general interest in society, including social politics, and this concerns their own neighbourhood too. These interviewees generally follow political debates in the city and
in their neighbourhood closely, and they engage in citizens’ meetings or fundraising, write letters to the editors of the local press or are members of their neighbourhood committee. Second, some interviewees are involved in projects and in the organisation of social activities for the residents of their own housing estate. These interviewees all have substantial personal and social resources but live in social housing estates, which are more or less deprived. Third, some interviewees have participated in activities in their social housing estate, such as sports or weekly communal meals with other residents.

While the positive effects of such initiatives are acknowledged by those involved, the effects are nevertheless perceived as small in comparison with the magnitude of the targeted problems. Altogether, the interviews show a general lack of involvement in local diversity-related policies and initiatives amongst the interviewees. A young man who serves on Bispebjerg’s neighbourhood committee comments on such a lack of public awareness:

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

This statement illustrates the exceptions mentioned above: as in the first two exceptions, awareness of local diversity-related policies and projects is limited to citizens in stronger socio-economic positions with political and social awareness regarding their neighbourhood or housing estate. Or, as in the third example, awareness is limited to the target group involved in particular projects. In summary, with the exception of a few socially engaged citizens, the knowledge of the interviewees about the implementation of initiatives reaching beyond their own daily lives is very limited. Considering the previously described attention paid to social mixing policies, involvement of resident and bottom-up approaches by both the Municipality of Copenhagen and the local area-based governance initiatives, the above clearly illustrates the extensive challenges involved.

The potential of diversity-related policies and initiatives

Even though limited familiarity is found among the interviewees with policies and initiatives regarding their local area, the majority express an opinion of the preferable prioritisation of such policies. Overall, diversity-related issues are not their first priority. Rather, public service functions and physical facilities are emphasised, for instance, traffic noise and safety, better infrastructure, accessibility, climate-related issues and waste management. In addition to these, policies and initiatives indirectly related to diversity are stressed, i.e. initiatives in support of particular citizen groups: families with children, the elderly and the disadvantaged. However, some of the interviewees give some priority to different diversity-related issues.
Some interviewees emphasise the importance of creating a mix in their local area in terms of: 1) functions, i.e. mixing dwellings with shops and cultural activities to preserve life in the local area and create vibrant neighbourhoods; 2) schools, i.e. creating a social mix in the pupil composition of Bispebjerg’s six municipal schools; and 3) housing, i.e. various dwelling sizes, a wide price range to allow for lower-income households and a variety of target groups such as young people, families with children, the elderly, disadvantaged households, affluent households etc. All three aspects are currently being challenged: local shops are closing in Bispebjerg’s less central areas, troubled municipal schools in Copenhagen are deselected in favour of private schools, and ensuring a mixed housing stock in terms of prices is challenged by rising housing prices in the Copenhagen area and an increasing pressure on the local housing market. Meeting these challenges is considered imperative. As this chapter has shown, and in line with political priorities outlined in chapter three, interviewees consider social mixing as a positive approach in order to support disadvantaged residents and avoid affluent residents dissociating themselves from their surroundings. But focus is placed on balancing such a mix: the challenges must be matched by resources. For instance, in the case of municipal schools, a socially mixed pupil composition is highlighted as an asset if the proportion of disadvantaged pupils is not too high.

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

“I often end up down at the take away, because there are no other options. So, we need some more eateries and of course some cafés and stuff like that. Because we don’t have anything that makes people connect. We don’t have any meeting places, you know, where people can meet and talk and… We only have the seedy pub” (Jesper, male, 30, unemployed, ethnic Danish background, social housing).

To the interviewees, public and semi-public spaces such as recreational areas, cafés and schools provide important arenas for local encounters and consequently social cohesion, which reflects findings of previous studies (Curley, 2010; Fincher & Iveson, 2008).
In connection with preserving life in the local area, the importance of supporting the particular ambience of Bispebjerg at such new meeting places is emphasised. Newly landscaped and designed parks and squares are considered mismatched with their surroundings and with the residents of Bispebjerg. They are considered too dignified for the motley atmosphere surrounding them. One might see these as both indicators and drivers of gentrification in that they might make the area attractive to more affluent house-hunters. In contrast, an unmown lawn surrounded by graphitised walls in Nordvest is presented as an example of a local meeting place fitting in with the particular ambience of the area. Being located on the plot of a former auto repair shop, the lawn has been used as a park by local residents who have organised its basic maintenance between them. However, creating public spaces that the residents can identify with is complicated by the multifaceted diversity of Bispebjerg’s resident composition. The former auto repair plot primarily attracts the younger residents of Nordvest (often highly educated) or students, and rarely those of ethnic minority backgrounds. Hence, despite being accentuated as fitting in with the scruffy atmosphere of Nordvest, this park predominantly caters to a particular group of residents. Rather than aiming at establishing public spaces for the majority of residents, the programme ‘Metropolis for People’ has a set goal to ensure various public spaces for different groups. The importance of involving local residents in decisions and plans for their neighbourhood, and to some degree taking a bottom-up approach, is considered of great importance. Yet, as previously illustrated, involvement and participation by local residents is not easily achieved. Ordinary approaches to public involvement, such as hearings and citizens’ meetings, seem inadequate to the interviewees:

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

In order to realise the potential of diversity-related policies and initiatives, it is paramount to address the issue of inadequate options for resident engagement. It is this engagement that
secures the involvement of a diverse group of residents, and also that their interests are taken into account in the development of the diverse neighbourhood.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the experience of living with hyper-diversity and how this affects the lives of residents in a diverse urban neighbourhood. A wide range of residents of Bispebjerg were interviewed in order to explore this. The analyses clearly underline the importance of taking hyper-diversity into account. The interaction between various diversities, not only socio-economic, demographic and ethnic, but also in terms of lifestyle, attitudes and activities, is decisive for understanding the experiences of living with diversity. Several aspects of the lives of the residents affect their patterns of activities, their usage of the neighbourhood, and their local social networks. Differences between individuals in some respects may be overcome through similarities in other respects, such as being at the same life course stage. Furthermore, prejudices about, for instance, certain minority ethnic groups are rarely concerned with ethnicity as such, but with cultures, lifestyles, activities and attitudes associated with these groups. Disregarding the impact of hyper-diversity would limit the analyses significantly.

The importance of neighbourhoods might be questioned at a time of increased mobility and population flows within and between cities. However, while the role of the neighbourhood might vary for the residents of an area, its importance for creating spaces of encounters with diversity must not be disregarded. The chapter shows how public and semi-public spaces such as streets, parks, playgrounds, supermarkets, schools and local associations hold a large potential for providing arenas for encounters across differences. Some encounters remain brief and superficial, such as seeing people on the street, but do still offer the opportunity of leading to more interaction and also a basis for general trust and tolerance. Other encounters consist of repeated social interaction, such as between parents of children attending school together.

Still, while even brief public space encounters can, to some degree, positively affect perceptions of urban diversity, the translation of such perceptions into generalised tolerance and openness towards diversity is more complicated. While residents generally consider diversity to be a clearly positive term, which adds liveliness and variety to their daily experiences in the neighbourhood, some express reservations regarding ethnic diversity. However, such expressions are rare among socio-economically affluent residents. The analyses indicate that resources, economic certainty and arm’s-length encounters with diversity make it fairly uncomplicated to express unreserved openness towards diversity. In contrast, some of the older residents of primarily working-class background express concerns about the ethnic mix in certain areas of Bispebjerg. Narratives of the erosion of a familiar Danish culture as well as economic stability in terms of employment, financial support for the elderly, etc., install a feeling of unease towards the ongoing ethnic diversification of their neighbourhood. In contrast, those who spent their childhoods immersed in (ethnic) diversity have experienced diversity reaching far
beyond brief public-space encounters, and the impact of diverse encounters on their attitudes to neighbourhood diversity has been much more extensive. Hence, a certain amount of socialisation to become tolerant to differences and an ability to form cross-cutting social relations can be identified in those residents who grew up in contexts of diversity. They seem to insist on tolerance, underlining the key role of local schools, institutions and associations. However, the potential of such local arenas of fostering diverse encounters is activated only to the extent to which they reflect the neighbourhood diversity.

Centralisation of facilities and businesses outside of the local area, issues of school segregation, and the limited participation of specific groups in associations and activities in the local area challenge the activation of the neighbourhood’s potential to foster encounters with diversity. Additionally, segmentation of the local housing market adds to the division into homogenous entities. In this regard, scale plays a role, as the neighbourhood may be diverse on a larger scale, but at the same time consists of homogenous entities with limited cross-cutting relations on a smaller scale. Furthermore, the chapter shows how different types of built environment (blocks of flats, detached houses, etc.) and different tenure forms seem to foster different types of local social interaction and different norms of mutual support and social bonds in the neighbourhood. The opportunities for local encounters with diversity are affected by the degree to which various types of activities, functions and dwellings are geographically scattered across the area, and the extent to which the local residents engage and participate in neighbourhood institutions.

While policies for creating social mix are currently politically prevalent in Copenhagen, the capability of area-based initiatives and policies at neighbourhood or estate level for combatting large-scale structural problems of segregation must be questioned: local diversity-related policies and initiatives are generally acknowledged by residents as having good intentions and of being efficacious, but the scope of these initiatives as compared with that of the targeted problems is insufficient. Such perceptions mirror findings regarding the working conditions of local governance arrangements in chapter three. Furthermore, despite the clear potential of urban diversity, social mixing alone is not sufficient. One example is that the potential of more resourceful residents in the neighbourhood helping the disadvantaged residents is activated only through substantial and continuous involvement on the part of the more resourceful residents. Public actors and local associations can take responsibility for initiating and supporting such neighbourhood relations. The welfare state could fill a double role: by assisting social mobility through free education and high levels of support; and by promoting the formation of social networks of weak ties cutting across socio-economic and ethnic groups.

The highly mixed housing stock of Bispebjerg and the relatively affordable and easily accessible dwellings are drivers of diversity in many respects. Affluent families with children typically move into the owner-occupied houses, young people move into the flats in inner Nordvest, newcomer immigrants with acute housing needs move into short-term contract private rental flats, and socio-economically disadvantaged groups often move into social housing estates.
due to the relatively cheap rent, the shorter waiting lists and the municipality’s allocation of housing. Such mechanisms enforce the small-scale segmentation of Bispebjerg in many respects. This highlights a key implication of urban diversity: living in a diverse neighbourhood also entails living with social inequality. While the resident composition of Bispebjerg’s blocks of flats may be highly diverse in terms of ethnicity, demography, lifestyle, etc., these blocks house large groups of socio-economically disadvantaged residents.

The analyses find substantial differences in the local social cohesion between various types of areas in Bispebjerg, especially between areas consisting of blocks of flats, on the one hand, and areas consisting of detached or semi-detached housing, on the other. The highly diverse resident composition of the former areas as compared with the extensive homogeneity in the resident composition of the latter indicates a strong link between identification among neighbours and the degree of mutual support and social bonds between them. In this respect, diversity poses a challenge to local social cohesion. Furthermore, strong social cohesion in an area is found to be of great importance for fostering social mobility. This connection limits the possibilities for social mobility of the residents living in Bispebjerg’s highly diverse areas of blocks of flats. Given the large groups of socio-economically disadvantaged residents living in these areas, such findings are critical. The analyses show how, despite living in a diverse urban environment, the residents rarely develop social networks that cut across groups. Yet, while these findings may indicate that social cohesion and social mobility are negatively linked to diversity, a substantially larger impact of social inequality can be identified. In other words, social cohesion and social mobility are challenged by socio-economic disadvantage rather than by residents being different from each other in various ways. This is corroborated by the finding that neighbourhood diversity is not a hindrance to mutual trust between neighbours. Even in Bispebjerg’s relatively deprived housing estates, the interviewees generally have a basic sense of trust in their neighbours. Therefore, the key challenge is combatting social inequality while applauding and promoting urban diversity. This paradoxical relationship between urban diversity and social inequality echoes the challenges identified in stakeholder approaches to diversity analysed in chapter three: here, challenges to promoting positive aspects of urban diversity while tackling the negative aspects and aiming to create ‘socio-economic uniformity’ were central. Such findings highlight the importance of taking the local context into consideration when analysing urban neighbourhoods. In Denmark, the extensive welfare system causes the public sector to be a key actor in fostering social mobility, and this situates the neighbourhood within a very distinct context.

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

5.1 INTRODUCTION

High levels of economic growth and increases in the well-being of citizens are the main objectives of urban policies. These are closely connected to levels of entrepreneurship in a given society or city and to the ability of citizens to create new enterprises (Fainstein, 2005; Bodaar & Rath, 2005). In the global era, cities compete for enterprises with high economic performance and talented entrepreneurs, aside from creating the conditions necessary for new start-ups. The literature emphasises that cities open to diversity are able to attract a wider range of entrepreneurs than cities, which are relatively closed (Fainstein, 2005; Florida, 2002; Tasan-Kok & Vranken, 2008; Eraydin et al., 2010). However, empirical research on how local economic performance is connected to urban diversity is quite limited and provides evidence primarily at macro level.

In this chapter, we focus on the economic performance of enterprises in Bispebjerg and on the conditions, which support their competitiveness, sustainability and long-term development. By investigating the relationship between urban diversity and the success of entrepreneurs, we wish to explore how neighbourhoods can provide the conditions for individuals or groups to strengthen their creativity and enhance their economic performance. This chapter examines entrepreneurs starting their own enterprises in diversified neighbourhoods and the factors influencing their economic performance. Furthermore, this chapter explores the main motivations of the entrepreneurs for starting their enterprise and assesses whether neighbourhood diversity was an important factor in choosing Bispebjerg as their location. This leads to an analysis of the economic performance of the businesses and the potential role of neighbourhood diversity in this regard. Finally, the chapter studies the role of institutional support and government policies in contributing to the performance of the enterprises and the entrepreneurs’ perception of such initiatives.

The enterprise landscape of Bispebjerg

Bispebjerg’s diversity is reflected in a highly varied enterprise landscape. This reflects the history of the area as well as its relation to the rest of Copenhagen in terms of residents and visitors to the area, economic conditions, physical facilities and geographical location. Despite Bispebjerg’s advantageous location close to motorways and the city centre, rents in the area are relatively low and access to premises is relatively easy. Such factors attract low-turnover or start-up enterprises. Furthermore, the area offers a great range of premises: small one-room rental spaces along the main shopping streets or on large roads in residential areas attract one-person companies,
while warehouses and former factories provide large, roomy facilities which can be difficult for enterprises to find elsewhere in the city. For production companies, workshops and the like (e.g. auto repair shops), restrictions on land and property use have further limited the availability of physical facilities to just a few areas in Copenhagen, one of which is Bispebjerg. In recent years, Bispebjerg’s old industrial buildings have become attractive for a range of enterprises including wholesale companies, people looking for shared-office space, art galleries and design companies. Nordvest in particular hosts a cluster of creative enterprises such as art studios, film production companies and advertising companies that stand side by side auto repair shops, production companies, facilities for non-commercial activities (e.g. religious organisations) and public facilities such as a municipal job centre. The development of a cluster of creative enterprises has been backed up by local planning with the Municipality of Copenhagen designating it as a so-called ‘creative zone’ (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2014a cf. ‘Addition no. 29 to City Plan 2011, Creative zones’). As previously mentioned, a smaller cluster of urban development enterprises has been fostered by the local area-based regeneration project in Bispebjerg.

Numerous retail shops and eateries are located along Bispebjerg’s main shopping streets in inner Nordvest. Here, Bispebjerg’s heritage as an old working-class area is reflected in several traditional-style businesses still located in this area, for instance, pubs, clothing shops, dry cleaners or traditional Danish lunch shops. However, national or international retail chains such as high-street fashion brands are not found here. Simultaneously, the ethnic mix of inner Nordvest is reflected by traditional Danish style shops existing side by side shops owned by people from Middle-Eastern or African origin, e.g. greengrocers, jewellers, currency exchange shops, hairdressers, gambling halls and shawarma or kebab eateries. Finally, Bispebjerg is home to large groups of self-employed people working from home, typically cleaning companies or IT and telecommunications companies. Naturally, however, the occurrence, size, and location of such enterprises can be difficult to estimate.

**Picture 5.1 and 5.2** Environments in Bispebjerg. Left: A busy shopping street in Nordvest. Right: Hairdresser from a minority background has set up shop in an old Danish style barbershop.
Service businesses constitute the largest sector in Bispebjerg. This sector includes cleaning companies, administration or rental of properties, hairdressers and beauty parlours. Many of these are one-person enterprises with a limited turnover. The second largest sector in Bispebjerg comprises creative enterprises, a recent but growing sector in the area. In addition, major business sectors in Bispebjerg include IT and telecommunications businesses, retail shops, consultancy services and businesses in the health sector and care services.

5.2 THE ENTREPRENEURS AND THEIR BUSINESSES

As Bispebjerg is a neighbourhood of high diversity in terms of population, activities, physical surroundings and functionalities, the landscape of enterprises is also highly diverse. Literature points to marked differences in the attention given to different types of entrepreneurs. In order to realise the economic advantages of diversity, public policies and initiatives tend to focus on entrepreneurs with higher education and higher income, e.g. creative entrepreneurs such as Florida’s ‘creative class’ (2002), rather than on more troubled population groups using entrepreneurship as a means of social mobility (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2011; Collins, 2003; Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009; Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999). Such arguments highlight the importance of cities taking a broad and positive approach to diversity, not only when dealing with economic issues, but in connection with social issues as well (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013a). This section describes the characteristics of local enterprises and the entrepreneurs behind them in order to establish the basis for further analysis of the conditions and contexts under which these enterprises work and the challenges they are facing.

Characteristics of the entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurs interviewed represent a diversity of businesses in Bispebjerg. They include traditional enterprises with a long presence in the area, for example, a small 40 year-old dog grooming parlour. However, it also includes newcomer enterprises with a highly different profile, such as a rapidly expanding entertainment company with a much younger and more upscale client base. Furthermore, the sample includes entrepreneurs of both genders and a variety of ages, large enterprises employing up to 100 people as well as single person companies and enterprises organised as partnerships, single ownerships, family businesses, private limited companies, etc. Additionally, the sample includes enterprises owned by people of ethnic majority backgrounds as well as ethnic minority backgrounds, and it covers enterprises with a broad group of customers as well as enterprises primarily catering to customers within the same ethno-cultural group as the owners. Most enterprises in the sample are small and relatively new: only about one fifth employ more than 10 people (including the owners), and only about a quarter are more than 10 years old; in fact, nine enterprises have only existed for one year or less. Most interviewees live outside of Bispebjerg. Most of them are in their 30s or 40s, but the sample also includes both younger and older interviewees. While there are more male interviewees than female, the level of education of the interviewees is fairly evenly distributed.
between higher, middle and lower levels. Finally, about 40% of the interviewees are of non-Danish ethnic backgrounds, especially Iranian and Pakistani.

The key characteristic of the sample of entrepreneurs is the large variety involved in terms of age, gender, ethno-cultural backgrounds, education, previous experience, sector of enterprise, professional approach etc. The entrepreneurs we interviewed are extremely diverse. This underscores the diversity of the business landscape of Bispebjerg. The interviewees can be roughly divided into five groups:

- **Established creatives:** Ethnic Danish background, 40+, primarily men, high or medium educational level, education relevant to current occupation, extensive experience within the sector, own established enterprise within the creative field, e.g. architecture firms, interior design companies, developing companies and IT enterprises. These entrepreneurs make up around one fifth of the sample.

- **Young creatives:** Aged 25 to 35 with a strong personal interest in the sector of the enterprise. Innovative enterprises in start-up phases, often within creative fields or the entertainment sector. Entrepreneurs are often highly educated, either men or women, of ethnic Danish or other Western backgrounds. This group comprises approximately one fifth of the interviewed entrepreneurs.

- **Low-skilled or unskilled first generation immigrant entrepreneurs:** First generation immigrants (including refugees) from Middle-Eastern or African countries, some with relevant vocational training, some with training from their country of origin in a different field than their current occupation. Small-scale enterprises within traditional commercial sectors (e.g. hairdressers, dry cleaners, newsstands). These entrepreneurs make up a quarter of the sample making this the largest group.

- **Skilled ethnic Danish entrepreneurs:** Mainly women over 35 years of age with vocational qualifications and generally with considerable previous experience within the sector. Enterprises within traditional sectors, e.g. service businesses or skilled trades. These entrepreneurs make up a minor part of the sample.

- **Unskilled ethnic Danish entrepreneurs:** Men over 50 years of age with no training relevant to current occupation. Long-term self-employed or unstable attachment to the labour market. Only a couple of the entrepreneurs interviewed belong to this group.

As illustrated by the characteristics listed above, the level, character and source of the entrepreneurs’ experience prior to starting their current enterprise differs substantially. However, some key sources can be identified. A large number of the entrepreneurs have obtained experience through previous jobs in the sector, providing them with knowledge of this particular field and market. Additionally, previous jobs have helped them identify their main fields of interest, their competencies, etc. However, general experience in having and running an enterprise is highlighted as being as important as professional experience within the sector; understanding the rules and regulations of running an enterprise and knowing which challenges and pitfalls to be aware of are considered to be key resources. However, these are predominantly
entrepreneurs of larger-scale and professionally run enterprises. Furthermore, relevant education is a key source of useful knowledge for the entrepreneurs. It provides them with a specific skill set on which they can base their enterprise. For most entrepreneurs, education and previous work experience are the main sources of experience in their field of enterprise, and often a combination of the two. Another source of relevant experience is that acquired through social networks; that is, the entrepreneurs take over an enterprise from family or acquaintances. This ranges from taking over an enterprise from an acquaintance from the same social circles as themselves to making a traditional generational change in a family-owned business, such as an undertaker continuing the firm started by her grandfather 91 years ago.

Characteristics of the businesses: evolutionary paths and fields of activity
As outlined previously, the sample of enterprises illustrates the changes and developments taking place in Bispebjerg. Using the types of entrepreneurs listed above as a starting point, the following section will develop these types into five categories of enterprises, adding the organisation, the history and the management of the enterprises to the analysis. The five categories are to be considered ideal types, and as expected, enterprises in the sample deviate from the categories to varying extents. Three of the five categories are established enterprises and two are more recent enterprises.

The first category of established enterprises is enterprises reflecting Bispebjerg’s history as an old working-class neighbourhood. These enterprises are typically within retail or skilled trades of more traditional types. They are traditionally organised and are quite stable in character: such enterprises might have been found in Bispebjerg at any point in time. They are owned by ethnic Danes who are 40+ years old, mostly with vocational training within the relevant field. The enterprises have generally existed for several decades and are often family businesses. They cater predominantly to local customers with social, economic, ethnic, cultural and demographic backgrounds that are similar to the backgrounds of the owners themselves. Rather than aiming at economic growth, these enterprises focus on maintaining a stable turnover and keeping the customer base at a level to which the enterprise can cater. Staff numbers at these enterprises vary, and the smaller enterprises in particular, are characterised by having long-term employees. Staff stability is perceived as an important resource. Examples of this category of enterprises include a family-run glazier shop, an auto repair shop that has existed for half a century and a traditional pub run by a woman whose father, the owner, still lives in the upstairs flat.

The second category of established enterprises is enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism. The approach of these entrepreneurs to running a business is very professional and often (though not necessarily) based on their higher-level education. The organisation, staff, products, management, finances, and strategies of these enterprises are all professionally handled. Offering products or services of a very high quality is the key factor. Examples include an architecture firm, an interior design company, a property developer and an IT business. The entrepreneurs in this category are generally male, predominantly of ethnic Danish background and are 35 to 65 years of age. Some of the businesses originally started as innovative enterprises,
while others have provided more traditional products from the beginning. The enterprises have typically existed for 10 to 20 years and are stable and well established. Enterprises within this category often employ highly educated staff with specialised competencies, and for this reason, a central location close to Copenhagen city centre is of great importance. Accordingly, staff for these enterprises is rarely found within Bispebjerg. Furthermore, the customer base of the enterprises is not in Bispebjerg, though it is often located in the Greater Copenhagen area, and local knowledge is not considered to be of major importance for employees; professional skills and knowledge take first priority. A gallerist describes his two directors in the following way:

“They’ve both got really broad knowledge about contemporary art, they both studied art history, and not just contemporary art, but the machinations of the art world, the politics and the network, the structures, the kind of unwritten rules of the art world, they’re kind of invisible unless you know them, and that just comes with time and from working in the art world” (owner of art gallery, male, 40s, higher education, British background, 120).

Finally, the third category of established enterprises is immigrant enterprises with low-innovation services or products. Such enterprises are retail businesses providing well-known services or products, for instance a drycleaner or a newsagent. However, as the entrepreneurs are all immigrants (including refugees) from Middle-Eastern countries, the businesses may also reflect the culture and nationality of the entrepreneur, for instance, an Iranian carpet shop. The products sold by these enterprises are well-known rather than innovative, and the running of the enterprise is static rather than in a process of development. Some of the enterprises do have plans to expand or develop the enterprise to some degree, but in general, the shops are a way of making a living rather than pursuing a certain dream or creating high economic growth. In some cases, the sustainability of these enterprises is challenged by external economic and societal conditions, such as large supermarkets offering similar products at prices below wholesale prices. The entrepreneurs are all male, typically in their 50s and 60s, and predominantly unskilled, but they have generally obtained substantial experience within their fields. Although the enterprises in this category have existed for 10 to 20 years, they are generally small, either with no employees aside from the entrepreneur or with informal assistance from family members.

The first category of more recent enterprises is first-mover enterprises in Bispebjerg, i.e. enterprises with products or services which may not be new to other areas of Copenhagen, but which are new to Bispebjerg. Examples include the development of a mobile app and the combination of a restaurant business with IT services. Enterprises are small with no or few employees, who are often part-time or hired on a freelance basis. The enterprises are often organised as partnerships between two or three people. The entrepreneurs are primarily young, around 30 years of age. They are of Danish ethnic background and have a relevant medium or higher education. The enterprises are generally less than five years old and are clearly in the start-up phase: their products, services, organisation and overall business models are still under development, the customer base is still being built up and turnover is still unstable. These enterprises have a clear innovative element. The general motivation for starting an enterprise was a personal or
professional interest or an ambition to develop new products or business models. For some of these enterprises, such as an urban planning firm solving tasks for municipalities across the country, clients are primarily public institutions or other enterprises. Other enterprises cater to private individuals, for instance, a tattoo artist and a takeaway shop, and their customers predominantly share the same social, cultural, economic and demographic characteristics of the entrepreneurs. Consequently, new groups of residents in Bispebjerg, such as young urbanites with a different lifestyle than the original working class residents, make it possible for these enterprises to find a substantial share of customers in the local area. Still, the enterprises generally base their business on clientele from the entire city and have elaborate professional networks across Copenhagen. Consequently, Bispebjerg’s central location is important to them.

The second category of more recent enterprises in the sample is **low-innovation and low-exploration enterprises**. Although these enterprises may be in a start-up phase, they have not set out to explore new ground in terms of services, products, business models or organisational forms. Rather, enterprises are simply considered a source of making a living. Often the entrepreneurs have experienced substantial difficulties in accessing the regular labour market and have started up their enterprises in an attempt to overcome this problem:

“I was unhappy because no one would hire me. I was so tired, and I said, ‘Why is it like that? Is it because I’m a foreigner? But my work is really good, it is’. My mum said to me, ‘Don’t worry, I’ll help you’, and she gave me money, and then my partner came up and said, ‘I’ll help you’, and he has another hairdresser’s besides this one, and he let me lease this parlour” (runs a small hairdresser’s, female, 40, Iranian background, i7).

Consequently, entrepreneurs in this category have chosen a line of business that is well-known either to themselves (through previous experience) or to their network (family, acquaintances). Examples of this type of enterprise include a gambling hall, a beauty parlour and a greengrocers. They are mainly in sales and services. The sectors, forms of organisation, and sizes of these enterprises are very similar to those of the ‘established immigrant enterprises with low-innovation services or products’; the difference is that they have existed for a shorter time. The entrepreneurs of the two categories are also very similar in terms of ethnicity for instance, but while the more established business owners are all male and primarily middle-aged, the entrepreneurs of the new businesses are younger and are both male and female. They are primarily unskilled, although the women tend to have some degree of vocational training within a relevant field, even if they do not necessarily have much relevant work experience. The enterprises are small-scale, often with no formally hired employees but with occasional assistance from friends or relatives. If they do have employees, they are not usually hired on the basis of formal qualifications but on the basis of personal characteristics such as their cultural or linguistic backgrounds; this is because a large share of the customers are of Middle-Eastern or African origin.

In all, the three categories of established enterprises in the sample reflect the development of Bispebjerg during the 20th century from a working-class neighbourhood on the outskirts of
Copenhagen into a more diverse area into which small-scale entrepreneurs of various ethnic minority backgrounds as well as highly professional enterprises have found their way. The two groups of more recent enterprises reflect the further development of Bispebjerg into a highly diversified neighbourhood in recent years.

Characteristics of the physical premises
A few entrepreneurs own their premises, but the majority rent their space as is common practice for enterprises in Denmark. Entrepreneurs renting premises emphasise the advantage of a flexible tenancy in terms of relocating the enterprise to a differently sized or alternative location, should expansion or cutbacks in the business become necessary. Entrepreneurs who own their premises generally hold on to them tightly, as equivalent facilities would be very difficult to find elsewhere in Copenhagen at a similar price. A large proportion sublet parts of their premises to other enterprises, often in a related sector. In a few cases, the entrepreneurs own several buildings in an area and consider them an investment and development project. Entrepreneurs with smaller enterprises find that the shared space gives them an opportunity for social and professional sparring.

Many of the enterprises are rather small with limited turnover. Consequently, expenses for rent and for interior and other physical facilities must be kept low. Interiors are kept quite basic, and upgrading takes place in small steps over time as the funding becomes available. Despite the limited efforts devoted to decorating, the enterprises can generally be said to reflect the lifestyles, cultures, tastes, and ages of their owners. For instance, some ethnic minority
entrepreneurs have decorated their shops to reflect their cultural and ethnic backgrounds. However, if the customer base of their shop is ethnically very mixed, the entrepreneurs decorate their shops in a more neutral way culturally. Another example is provided by younger creatives: although financial means are often limited, they put work into decorating their premises in a young and urban style, e.g. by using second-hand or homemade fittings. Larger enterprises or enterprises with bigger turnovers are less limited in terms of opportunities to redecorate and adapt their premises to fit the enterprise. In some cases, the physical surroundings are deliberately incorporated in the business strategy, for instance to present the enterprise in a certain way to visiting clients (e.g. urban and trendy, formal and traditional, etc.). Such approaches to their premises can be found among the better established and highly professional creative enterprises, such as a company producing high-end beauty products. Several of these enterprises are located in Bispebjerg’s old industrial buildings, and while the former factories and workshops have been partly modernised and updated, the raw and industrial style of these buildings is deliberately accentuated and incorporated in decorating to create an edgy, urban and trendy style. Alongside these enterprises, the former industrial buildings also house some of the innovative start-up enterprises, due to special tenancy arrangements with the municipality or local regeneration projects which keep rent low to allow these enterprises to develop. In this regard, the old industrial areas in Bispebjerg, which may appear worn-down, represent attractive facilities for highly professional enterprises. Though this trend is not isolated to the Bispebjerg area, it is of particular relevance here. The development of deprived Copenhagen areas into attractive, up-and-coming neighbourhoods reached Bispebjerg at a time when raw industrial environments were becoming ‘trendy’. In this respect, Bispebjerg’s large former industrial areas offered considerable potential.

5.3 MOTIVATIONS TO START A BUSINESS AND THE ROLE OF URBAN DIVERSITY

At first sight, the image of an entrepreneur may be that of a hard-working individual driven by a strong personal interest and an innovative idea. Yet, considering the entrepreneurs interviewed in Bispebjerg and the wide diversity of their enterprises, the accuracy of this image must be examined further. All entrepreneurs may not be driven by the same motivating factors, and all enterprises may not begin under the same circumstances. For instance, several retail shops in Bispebjerg’s high street resemble numerous other shops in the area, in the city or elsewhere. Furthermore, several interviewed entrepreneurs indicate that they have experienced some difficulty in accessing the labour market, and consequently starting an enterprise was a way to secure economic subsistence rather than realising a professional interest.

Research suggests a connection between the social and demographic backgrounds of entrepreneurs and their motivation to become self-employed. For instance, immigrant groups are described as being more weakly and less stably positioned in the labour market than native groups, and overcoming such difficulties is considered a key factor in motivating these groups to become self-employed (Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009; Kloosterman & van der
Leun, 1999:660). In Copenhagen, as elsewhere, such findings are backed up by statistics. Both unemployment and self-employment rates are higher among immigrant citizens in Copenhagen than among ethnic Danish citizens (Municipality of Copenhagen’s Statistics Bank, 2013). Differences exist between the motivation factors of immigrants and of native population groups. Likewise, research indicates that differences also exist between genders and between different age groups (Stanworth and Curran, 1976; Osoba, 2015). Such findings exemplify the importance of paying attention to differences in the characteristics of entrepreneurs and of their situations. As the entrepreneurs interviewed in Bispebjerg form a highly diverse group in many respects, their motivations for becoming self-employed may be equally diverse. The high degree of diversity in Bispebjerg (physical environment, resident composition and functionalities) is shaping the opportunities for, and the limitations to, establishing different types of enterprises. This section will examine the main motivations of the entrepreneurs to establish an enterprise, the source of support for starting it, and reasons for choosing to locate the enterprise in a diverse urban neighbourhood such as Bispebjerg.

Motivations for establishing a business

The entrepreneurs’ motivations to start their enterprises are as diverse as the group of entrepreneurs themselves. Yet, one common feature can be identified across the sample: a positive attitude towards self-employment as a desirable mode of employment. One entrepreneur emphasises self-employment as the main reason for starting an enterprise, describing how he had always wanted to become self-employed. To some degree, the mode of employment is more important to him than working within a certain sector. Nevertheless, the majority of the entrepreneurs who were interviewed consider self-employment per se as an underlying positive feature, and perhaps as a prerequisite, rather than their main goal:

"Most likely, I have an entrepreneurial spirit, otherwise I wouldn't have done this, but I had never imagined myself becoming an entrepreneur before. Rather, it was my profession that started it. I found that I was good at something, and that I liked it and it made sense to me, and I just had a feeling that this was what I wanted to be doing" (owner of a consultancy working with play activities for schools, kindergartens etc., male, 37, master’s degree, Danish background, i38).

Some of the entrepreneurs described that they felt uncomfortable with the normal educational system, whereas being an entrepreneur fitted better with their personal competencies. A key factor in the positive vision of self-employment is the idea of being your own boss. Many of the entrepreneurs emphasise the benefits of running an enterprise on their own terms, organising work in their own ways and focusing on their own interests. Working as an employee, on the other hand, would not open up such opportunities:

"That thing about being your own boss, you know. I felt like I had some ideas and thoughts and ways of doing things that wouldn't be realisable anywhere else, actually. And combined with the things I wanted to work with, then… I think that on the established labour market, it's all about competencies and professional background, whereas I'm more comfortable working with,
you know, cracks and crevices, and then trying to fill them with ideas and stuff like that in a place where I can take part in deciding what would be fun to do and to work with” (partner in an urban foraging project enterprise, master’s degree, male, 30’s, Danish background, 125).

Whereas most entrepreneurs share a positive view of entrepreneurship as such, their main motivating factors differ substantially. In some cases, more than one factor was in play.

For a couple of entrepreneurs, creating a business that can grow and expand was the main motivation. For them, entrepreneurship is a key element, along with factors such as economic performance, growth, expansion, development and innovation. Standing out from the competitors or discovering an unexploited market was often their starting point. Often, these enterprises subsequently developed into rather large and professionally managed businesses, e.g. a fast expanding IT firm with 100 employees with continuous economic growth.

For a handful of interviewees, becoming an entrepreneur was simply a matter of taking over and continuing the family business. These enterprises mostly belong to the category of established enterprises reflecting Bispebjerg’s history as an old working-class neighbourhood. They are older, traditional enterprises with a long history in the area. For these entrepreneurs, the decision was not necessarily a thoroughly contemplated choice. Even though in some cases they had not planned on entering the family business, their familiarity with the enterprise and affection for it caused them to do so after all. For others, taking over the family business was always on the cards:

“I have taken over the enterprise from my father, who opened it 50 years ago. We just made the ordinary generational change. He grew older, and then I could take over, you know, and he could cut back. So the reason why I’m here is probably a bit old-fashioned; my dad was a panel beater, so I was going to be a panel beater as well” (owner of an auto repair shop, male, 48, Danish background, 137).

Furthermore, the specific field or sector of the enterprise was the key motivating factor for a major group of the entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs had substantial professional or educational experience (or both) within the field, along with a strong personal interest in it. They started their enterprises to realise a particular project or idea. Their main motivating factor was not necessarily becoming self-employed; it was the line of business in itself. In some cases, starting an enterprise was a step-by-step process where the entrepreneurs began on a small scale, often alongside studies or paid employment, while gradually identifying a market for their services. The personal interests and competencies of the entrepreneurs were the pivotal elements, which caused the enterprises to grow. For some of these enterprises, connections with the public sector are relatively comprehensive, either in the form of grants and support programmes or because of the public or semi-public sector clients of the enterprises. Consequently, political prioritisations and programmes impact the performance of such enterprises and can make them adjust or adapt their services. However, as these enterprises were initiated on the basis of
long-term professional experience, or of the educational background of the entrepreneurs, the impact of political agendas and programmes on the initial choice of line of business is limited. Enterprises built on personal and professional interest in a specific field were either established enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism or new enterprises, which are first-movers in Bispebjerg. Besides sharing a solid professional or educational background and being motivated by a particular interest or project, the entrepreneurs behind such enterprises have the same ethnic background: with very few exceptions, all of these entrepreneurs have Western backgrounds, predominantly native Danish.

Finally, for a smaller group of entrepreneurs, simply finding a way of making a living is the key motivating factor. These entrepreneurs are all of non-Western backgrounds (being either immigrants or descendants). Obtaining employment had proved challenging, and starting an enterprise had become perhaps their only solution. These enterprises are either established immigrant enterprises with low-innovation services or products or new but low-innovation and low-exploration enterprises. The enterprises are not necessarily highly profitable. Sometimes the turnover is only just enough for the entrepreneurs to sustain their households. The entrepreneurs are generally unskilled, and despite attending courses and working as interns, obtaining employment had proved impossible. These entrepreneurs have experienced great frustration with some of them feeling discriminated against due to their ethnicity. Becoming financially independent of government subsidies and the social security system was to some sufficient motivation to start an enterprise.

The division of entrepreneurs based on their motivation for starting their enterprises leads to a key conclusion already indicated. A distinction between types of enterprises can be identified along ethnic lines between entrepreneurs of Western, primarily ethnic Danish backgrounds, on the one hand, and entrepreneurs of non-Western, primarily Middle-Eastern or African backgrounds, on the other. When starting the enterprise and choosing a line of business, this latter group of entrepreneurs were not following a personal interest or creating an innovative product. For some of these entrepreneurs, the line of business was determined by the opportunities that presented themselves:

“The man who owned the shop before me, I know him. He is also from Iraq. I asked him to teach me the workings of being self-employed, the rules and systems, how to work. And he said, ‘OK, you’re welcome to come here’. (…) I told him, ‘when you become tired or want to change jobs, when you want to sell the shop’. He said, ‘ok, we have an agreement’” (owner of newsagent's, male, 57, unskilled, Iraqi background, 15).

Others chose a line of business similar to that of other entrepreneurs in their social network. Several relatives of the owner of a greengrocer’s have similar shops in Copenhagen, making this line of business a familiar and safe choice, with the family offering help and guidance in the start-up phase. Yet again, others chose their line of business on the basis of previous experience or education, even if this was very limited, such as short-term employment or abandoned
courses within a given field. Finally, a couple of entrepreneurs used their own cultural backgrounds as a resource in entering a given field of business. A man of Iranian background chose to run a Persian carpet shop: despite being inexperienced in this line of business, he was able to use his own social network in Iran to learn about the traditional Persian carpet industry. This is evidence that social networks in their country of origin can also constitute a resource for the entrepreneurs.

The importance of location and place diversity
Few of the interviewed entrepreneurs chose Bispebjerg because of its diversity. For those who did, their decision related to the wide variety of people using the area regularly. For a couple of retail shops selling products from Middle-Eastern, African or Asian countries, Bispebjerg’s diversity of residents and visitors creates a large group of potential customers. These businesses target customers descending from Middle-Eastern, African or Asian countries as well as customers of an ethnic Danish background. To reach all these customer groups, the entrepreneurs have located their shop in an area that has an ethnically diverse population and is known for this throughout the greater Copenhagen area. In other words, being located in Bispebjerg expands their customer base. Such findings support arguments made by Kloosterman & van der Leun (1999), claiming that certain areas provide the necessary critical mass of customers for certain types of enterprises to succeed. However, only a couple of entrepreneurs were aware of this and deliberately chose Bispebjerg for its ethnic diversity. One of them is the owner of a greengrocer:

“The reason is that on this street people come from everywhere, so it's a very busy area, I know so many people, Pakistani, Indian people, Nepali people and also Danish, from everywhere! And from everywhere in Denmark” (owner of a greengrocer’s shop offering products from India, male, 32, Pakistani background, i35).

Other entrepreneurs who deliberately choose Bispebjerg for its diversity are those attracted by the urban atmosphere created by the diversity and the neighbourhood’s up-and-coming character. One of these is a new restaurant and bar in inner Nordvest (R26). While the enterprise largely caters to a very new group in Bispebjerg, namely a younger and more urban clientele, its owner is highly aware of Bispebjerg’s history and is trying to expand the customer base to other groups as well and to reflect the local atmosphere of Nordvest in the style of the restaurant:

“I was certain that it was possible to create a mix, to keep some of the old, you know, the charm of a traditional Danish restaurant. I think that fits with Nordvest and the people living here. From the very beginning, we agreed that there would be no WIFI, no café lattes. Because Nørrebrogade [street in a hip district nearby] is full of that, and we don't need that out here. (...) With this restaurant we've filled a gap, added something that was missing, something which provides what I think Nordvest deserves” (owner of a new restaurant and bar, trained in service management, female, 30, German background, i26).
As described previously, the arrival of a younger and more urban clientele to Bispebjerg is a new development that has changed the composition of people using the area. These new residents of Bispebjerg perceive the area as containing very few cafés and bars targeted to their group. In other words, they constitute a new market, which still has substantial room for expansion.

Other reasons were generally more important for the interviewed entrepreneurs with regards to locating their businesses in Bispebjerg. Although in a much more indirect way, these factors are also connected to the diversity of Bispebjerg. Firstly, several enterprises need large-scale facilities, storage for instance, and have settled in the former industrial areas with warehouses and factories. Second, several enterprises are located in Bispebjerg because of the comparatively easy access to offices, workshops or shops. A woman starting a small shop would have preferred a location in the neighbouring district of Nørrebro, as she sells African products and this district is known as an ethnically diverse area of Copenhagen. However, Nørrebro has become very popular in recent years, which has made accessing available premises here very difficult. Third, Bispebjerg is located close to important main roads and motorways as well as to Copenhagen’s city centre. Fourth, rent levels in Bispebjerg are low compared with other districts in Copenhagen. Altogether, Bispebjerg’s physical, social and economic characteristics attract certain types of enterprises, even though they may perceive settling in Bispebjerg as quite coincidental; they did not set out to find a place in this particular area in preference to others. For certain types of enterprises, Bispebjerg’s diversity in terms of the built environment, population, facilities, history, and image creates opportunities, which are not present in other urban areas. This is similar to the effects of Bispebjerg’s diversity on attracting certain groups of residents to the area identified in chapter four.

Another aspect of the link between location and diversity relates to the governmental focus on regeneration and support for deprived areas. A small group of entrepreneurs have received grants from public sector actors to start their enterprise. These enterprises can all be categorised as first-movers in Bispebjerg; they are new, small-scale partnerships in the urban development
field, run by highly educated and young entrepreneurs. Grants have come from the Ministry of Environment and Food of Denmark or the local area-based regeneration project among others. The latter also provided guidance and assistance for the entrepreneurs in locating physical facilities and applying for other grants. These enterprises were granted public funding because their fields of activity matched political and administrative agendas, and most of them are non-profit enterprises, which may have helped them to obtain funding as well. These enterprises and their location are based on the need for urban development and regeneration caused by social inequality in particular. As shown, this is one aspect of diversity, and the location of these enterprises is therefore highly connected to the diversity of Bispebjerg.

5.4 ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND THE ROLE OF URBAN DIVERSITY

According to the literature, a key component in the performance of an enterprise is the capital of the entrepreneurs, i.e. their social and personal as well as professional capital. According to Schutjens & Völker (2010), the social capital of entrepreneurs has a positive effect on the performance of their enterprise. This applies to local, as well as to more general, social capital. For enterprises targeting local markets, local social capital is more important than general social capital. However, the higher the educational level of entrepreneurs, the more local social capital is found to decline. Such differences illustrate the importance of the personal characteristics of entrepreneurs. However, personal status and prestige have not been found to have any substantial effect on the economic performance of enterprises. Rather, Schutjens & Völker (2010) point to entrepreneurial skills such as identifying challenges and strengths as well as possibilities for innovation and development. Furthermore, the importance of the professional experience of entrepreneurs has been emphasised, especially in combination with local knowledge and social capital (Dahl & Sorenson, 2012; 2014). Activating the social capital of a local area and combining professional experience with local knowledge gives entrepreneurs a powerful start. Furthermore, Dahl et al. (2005) underline the importance of professional networks and professional knowledge for the success of entrepreneurs and point to the advantages for new enterprises in being part of geographical clusters in which start-up enterprises are able to build upon the success of existing enterprises. In brief, entrepreneurial skills and professional experience along with social capital and knowledge of local markets and conditions are key elements to include when examining the economic performance of enterprises. The following section will focus on the effects of the location in Bispebjerg on the economic performance of the enterprises; it will examine factors affecting the success or failure of the enterprises and the role of the neighbourhood in this regard.

Economic performance of the enterprises

Making money is often not a goal in itself for the interviewed entrepreneurs. There are exceptions; some entrepreneurs are driven by the idea of developing a business and seeing it expand. However, the main goal for most entrepreneurs is either simply making a living, working within a particular field or providing a particular service. Nevertheless, the economic
performance of the interviewed enterprises differs substantially: some are expanding and experiencing economic growth, whereas others are barely making ends meet.

The new enterprises which are first-movers in Bispebjerg generally describe the economic performance of their enterprises as undergoing a positive development. After a rough beginning with deficits and the fact that many entrepreneurs work ‘for free’, the enterprises are gradually beginning to generate a profit and are in many cases seeing profits increase. The working conditions during the start-up phase underscore how these entrepreneurs are driven by a strong personal interest in and commitment to their enterprises. According to the entrepreneurs, the main reasons for their enterprises experiencing a positive development are that they provide a unique product or service or are in line with a current trend or meeting a current need. A shared office space for students located in an old industrial building has a long waiting list, which attests to a large demand for such a facility. Yet it is the only one of its kind throughout the city. Providing a unique product or service that fills a gap and fits the zeitgeist is seen as a key factor for success:

“Sofie [the owner] is from this neighbourhood, and she came back here to teach the locals how to eat proper food, you know, some good salads and some home-cooked meals, Danish food with her own twist. She believes there is way too much junk food in this area. And it’s going very well; we’ve been here for seven years now, and we get a lot of support from the locals. (…) There are no other restaurants like this one in the area.” (Head waitress and relative of the owner, restaurant and takeaway shop, female, 50’s, Danish background, i i i).

Enterprises experiencing good performance with a stable profit are predominantly either established enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism or established enterprises reflecting Bispebjerg’s history as an old working-class neighbourhood. The enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism vary in size from single-person businesses to very large enterprises with a large annual turnover. These entrepreneurs perceive a high standard of services and products as a key factor for success, often in combination with a distinct profile in comparison with rival enterprises. The owners of the largest enterprises
emphasise the importance of having a basic understanding of running an enterprise as a key factor determining success or failure. For the enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism, the local area is of minor importance as customers may come from all across the region, from anywhere in the country or even from abroad. The strong connection to the surrounding world is underscored by the fact that structural external factors matter quite a lot to these enterprises. They can be affected by markets going up or down, by the need to provide a stand-out product in an otherwise uniform market, and by public sector programmes and priorities. Additionally, the recession following the crisis of 2008 had a sizeable impact on several of these enterprises, causing a decline in their economic performance. These setbacks were however only temporary, and performance is currently up again.

The established enterprises reflecting Bispebjerg's history as an old working-class neighbourhood vary significantly in size and consequently in turnover and profit; however, they are generally performing well, and economic growth is not necessary for their survival. For these enterprises, as for the enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism, securing a stable and reasonable turnover is often more important than economic growth, and this is clearly reflected in their history and development. The entrepreneurs see the key factors for success as a solid professional standard and the establishment and maintenance of a good reputation, which can take time to accomplish. For the traditional working-class style enterprises in particular, trust and familiarity are key words, and regular customers make up a large part of their clientele. The challenges of larger chains are met by offering familiarity, knowledge and good service:

“Large supermarket chains with thousands of shops can sometimes sell things at prices way below our wholesale cost prices, but on the other hand, they have very little knowledge of the products they sell, and besides that, you can never seem to find any shop assistants when you need them. But we, as a specialised shop, we study the products we sell, and over the years we've gained knowledge about the quality and durability of different products and so on. Of course, some people just buy whatever products are the cheapest, but others value proper service and guidance”

(long-term owner of hardware shop, son of a self-employed hardware merchant, male, 58, unskilled, Danish background, i31).

A smaller group of entrepreneurs describe their economic performance as being at an acceptable level: their enterprises generate just enough for the entrepreneurs to make ends meet. Most of them belong to the category of established immigrant enterprises with low-innovation services or products; established enterprises with a rather static approach or service and relatively stable economic performance. The owners have all been in the sector for several years, either because they have owned or worked in other similar enterprises, or because their current enterprise has existed for a long time. In addition to their professional experience, these entrepreneurs generally have an opinion about how their enterprises stand out from their competitors, for instance by their location in a different area than similar shops. The entrepreneurs’ reflections upon the strengths and weaknesses of their enterprises may also contribute to their success. They are aware that positive changes in the local area will benefit their own businesses: as many
sell products of Middle-Eastern or Asian origin, the growing association of the area with ethno-cultural diversity attracts customers in search of such products.

Finally, a handful of enterprises are barely scraping by. This applies primarily to enterprises of the *new but low-innovation and low-exploration enterprises* category. These all lack a sufficient volume of customers to generate a profit that is large enough for them to make a living. The entrepreneurs express no concrete strategies for attracting more customers. The majority of these enterprises are indeed very new, having existed for less than one year, and this may be a reason why they are struggling. Still, a common characteristic of these entrepreneurs is their lack of previous professional experience within their field of business. A 46 year old woman has recently taken over the management of a shisha lounge, her only prior experience in the restaurant business was to manage a restaurant 15 years ago. By contrast, a 38 year old woman of Iranian origin who has worked in hairdresser shops for several years in Denmark and Iran has recently opened her own shop in Bispebjerg. This is already performing well economically, and has reached the level of far more established enterprises already. This indicates the importance of relevant professional experience for successful entrepreneurship, as pointed out by Dahl & Sorenson (2014).

**Markets, customers and suppliers**

Whereas some enterprises have hardly any customers from the local area, others practically base all of their enterprise on local customers. These are more traditional and often small enterprises, including a newsagent, a traditional style pub and a hardware shop. The entrepreneurs typically consider their success to rely on service, presenting themselves with a friendly attitude to customers and enjoying a good reputation in the local area. Being located in a diverse area can bring advantages as well as disadvantages, and this is the case for these enterprises. Often, they are relatively small enterprises with limited turnovers and limited possibilities for expansion, primarily due to the large group of low-income residents in Bispebjerg. The purchasing power of these groups is relatively low, which is a limiting factor for the economic performance of enterprises with a local customer group. On the other hand, such enterprises generally provide services or products that fit with the lifestyles, tastes and financial capacities of the residents. A local pub presents an illustrative example:

*Picture 5.7 Greengrocer in the Nordvest neighbourhood.*
“The regulars, well, often they buy themselves a beer and then head over and get the newspaper, and then they come back here to read it and drink the beer. And it’s definitely locals. (...) Many of the locals in this area, you know, they live alone, they have very small flats, so the others here at the pub are their friends in a way, who they come down and chat with, you know, just being with other people, which they can’t do at home” (owner of traditional Danish pub run by her family for 40 years, female, 33, skilled, i36).

Another example of neighbourhood diversity benefiting enterprises with local customers is provided by enterprises targeting ethnic minority groups (e.g. an Islamic clothing shop selling hijabs) and enterprises offering products from foreign countries, such as a greengrocers selling Asian products. These entrepreneurs gain by locating their enterprises in an area that has an ethnically diverse population, and that is known as an ethnically diverse neighbourhood across the greater Copenhagen area. This attracts customers looking for certain products. Their location in Bispebjerg expands their customer base in terms of local customers, as well as for customers from the region in general. A Senegalese woman is running a shop with African specialities and explains that her customers include both Africans buying familiar household products from their home countries and ethnic Danes buying these products out of curiosity or because they have encountered them on their travels in Africa. Altogether, the enterprises that base their clientele in the local area are predominantly either established enterprises reflecting Bispebjerg’s history as an old working-class neighbourhood, established immigrant enterprises with low-innovation services or products or new but low-innovation and low-exploration enterprises.

Hardly any of the enterprises belong to the established enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism or new enterprises which are first-movers in Bispebjerg categories, which have a clientele based in the local area. However, one exception can be identified: the restaurants or cafés, which fall into the category of first-mover enterprises. The diversity deriving from Bispebjerg’s highly mixed housing stock opens up a market for everyday-style high-quality meals that offer value for money in targeting both lower and higher income groups living in Bispebjerg’s various neighbourhoods. One example is a restaurant and takeaway shop that aims to provide a healthier and higher-quality alternative to the plethora of fast-food eateries in the area. Other enterprises benefit from the changing resident composition in Bispebjerg, such as a coffee shop, which targets the new groups of young artists or creative professionals coming to the area.

In contrast, other enterprises do not attempt to target local customers. The enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism and the first-mover enterprises rarely base their clientele on the local area. In fact, the location of the enterprise is almost irrelevant to some of them because they primarily trade on the Internet, work in wholesale or cater to large companies or public institutions located across the country or abroad. These enterprises are primarily located in Bispebjerg because of its spacious yet centrally located facilities for a relatively low rent. For others, being located close to Copenhagen or in the Copenhagen region...
is indeed of importance, either because they have built up a large professional network in the area, which is key to their sustainability, or because the Copenhagen area constitutes their main market. The owner of a sound recording studio describes how his target group of musicians primarily live in the city. Nonetheless, the clientele of these enterprises is not locally based, nor are they aiming to attract local customer groups:

“Well, our clients are not located here; we’re not based in this neighbourhood. To be honest, we might as well be located somewhere else. I mean, it’s a nice area, it’s not too posh and all that, but there are no commercial arguments for us to be located here” (partner in a large-scale IT firm, male, 49, higher education, Danish background, i27).

A local estate agent constitutes an exception among these types of enterprises. Of course, the local area is very important to the agency because locals selling or buying homes constitute a large customer group, but also because the area itself is in fact the product: according to the estate agent, the neighbourhood is just as important as the properties for sale, if not more so. Vital factors here include the resident composition, the reputation, the physical environment, and the street life in the area. Consequently, the development of Bispebjerg, including its neighbourhood diversity, significantly affects the workings of this enterprise. In particular, the local estate agents stand to benefit from new groups of people, such as students and families with children, being attracted to the area.

The entrepreneurs interviewed generally report of looking outside of their local area for supplies for their enterprises, apart from their daily shopping for milk or buying lunch at a local sandwich shop. They often need specific products or services provided by relatively few suppliers. Consequently, the likelihood of these being available in Bispebjerg is limited. For the entrepreneurs, the main aim is to find the best service or buy the best product, and enterprises often stay with the same suppliers, building up a relationship with them over time. Thus, the location of their suppliers is less important than other considerations. As one entrepreneur points out, most products are ordered online and then delivered by post or a freight company, and delivery prices do not necessarily increase with physical distance. Several entrepreneurs buy their products abroad. According to a hardware merchant who has worked in the industry for several decades, the patterns of supply have changed: previously, any neighbourhood would have several local suppliers because the suppliers were small and relatively specialised, whereas today these have been replaced by larger and fewer suppliers who are not necessarily located in the local area.

Relations amongst entrepreneurs: competition or cooperation?
The co-presence of shops or businesses in an area can be considered an advantage or a disadvantage for the individual enterprise. The general opinion among the interviewees is that co-presence offers a clear advantage, attracting attention and potential customers to the area. Moreover, enterprises in the area provide a wide variety of services or products, and consequently, they do not necessarily compete with each other:
“It’s nice that there are several other enterprises located close by, I think. It draws more people to the area. Someone once asked me, because a massage therapy clinic opened on this road, if I didn’t see it as competition, but I am of the opinion that things will pull each other up, you know, that we can support each other. And that will bring in more work for all of us” (physiotherapist and acupuncturist, self-employed for nine years, female, 58, Danish Background, i19).

In cases where other enterprises providing the exact same product or service are located nearby, the entrepreneurs tend to view them as competitors and are very aware of factors such as price levels, service and product quality of their own enterprise in comparison with that of others.

Since local networks of entrepreneurs are predominantly based on physical proximity and belonging to the same local environment rather than on similarities between the enterprises, relationships in networks do not normally become competitive. In most cases, across different types of enterprises, entrepreneurs know of the other enterprises on the same street or in the neighbourhood: they recognise each other, they say hello when they meet, and perhaps they chat occasionally and use each other’s shops. For more extensive professional and social support, entrepreneurs tend to use former colleagues and school acquaintances or friends and relatives (in line with points made by Schutjens & Völker (2010). In some cases, entrepreneurs barely know the faces or the names of neighbouring enterprises. In other cases, networks are relatively extensive, and entrepreneurs help each other by directing customers to each other’s enterprises, for instance, mentioning the presence of a competent auto mechanic around the corner. However, only a small share of the entrepreneurs network extensively with other entrepreneurs in the neighbourhood.

In two cases, comprehensive networks between local enterprises can be identified. The first is a group of enterprises located on the same premises in inner Nordvest. The local area-based regeneration project run by the Municipality of Copenhagen is also located on these premises, and they administered the leasing of this formerly empty state-owned property on the basis of a strategy to attract small-scale creative entrepreneurs. Consequently, most enterprises on the premises are start-ups working with some form of urban development project. The strategy of the area-based regeneration project was to assist the redevelopment of the neighbourhood...
by establishing a creative epicentre in these former industrial buildings (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2013b). Consequently, this cluster of small start-up enterprises within the same field is the result of municipal intervention. However, the enterprises themselves have gradually developed a community of interests and values between them:

“It’s the idea of a partnership which is not based on the exchange of services and fees, like with clients or for consultants. We are building up a relationship; we have chats over coffee, we exchange thoughts and ideas, and then things like joint projects can evolve from that. Such things take time, but step by step you get a feeling of who each of us is and what we do” (partner in an urban foraging project enterprise, male, 30s, higher education, Danish background, i25).

The second example of a comprehensive network of local enterprises is that of a courtyard in inner Nordvest housing a handful of creative enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism. A cluster of creative enterprises has developed around Rentemestervej, the road on which this property is located. Some of the enterprises are in the start-up phase; others are more established. Although this did not start as a result of municipal action, the Municipality of Copenhagen supports a creative zone around Rentemestervej. All interviewed enterprises located around this road seem to have some form of contact with other local enterprises, albeit to varying extent, and the courtyard represents a very comprehensive enterprise network. In comparison with the network of the small-scale start-ups described in the previous paragraph, however, the enterprises located in the Rentemestervej courtyard are more established and are characterised by a high degree of professionalism. Consequently, they do not use each other for sparring regarding entrepreneurship and finding their way in the industry. Rather, they help each other with practical matters and socialise, they eat lunch together in the courtyard, for instance. They organise joint Christmas fairs, warehouse sales etc., which offer products from several brands at one event. In this way, the cluster of enterprises from roughly the same sector is utilised for attracting a larger group of customers.

Despite the existence of informal networks between local enterprises, most entrepreneurs report that their networks with other local enterprises are relatively limited. Furthermore, unlike other districts in Copenhagen, Bispebjerg can boast no formal networks such as local trade associations. According to the local council in Bispebjerg, attempts have previously been made by the Municipality of Copenhagen to especially organise low-turnover single-person businesses (such as greengrocers’ or newsagents’) in an association. In line with the points made previously, the financial strain of making ends meet was too heavy for these entrepreneurs to focus on anything other than running their enterprises. Furthermore, immigrant entrepreneurs from different cultural backgrounds were unfamiliar with the purpose and norms of associations, which caused them to be hesitant about engaging in such formal networks. Similar cultural challenges were identified previously regarding club life and associations. Interviewed municipal staff perceived the networks in Bispebjerg in a way which was similar to that of the interviewed entrepreneurs themselves; as a result, very few comprehensive networks between local entrepreneurs can be found, and the only type of networks currently emerging in the area
involve small communities of creative start-up enterprises, often in the form of shared offices or the like.

**Long-term plans and expectations of the entrepreneurs**
The plans of the entrepreneurs for the future of their enterprises differ markedly. In a handful of smaller enterprises, typically within the traditional sectors, entrepreneurs are planning on winding up their enterprises within a foreseeable future as they are approaching retirement age. Other entrepreneurs wish to continue running their enterprises. However, while some have comprehensive plans for development or expansion, others wish to continue in their current form of business. Generally, the latter are primarily entrepreneurs who are satisfied with the current state of their enterprises, their performance, size and organisation and the scope of their activities. Expansion in terms of markets, products, turnover or staff is not considered a goal in itself. These enterprises have typically existed for a decade or longer and have become well-established within their field. Their customer base is solid, and their economic performance is generally good. However, a couple of entrepreneurs primarily run their enterprises to make a living and to avoid living off government subsidies. They have no larger-scale strategies for expansion or development, even though they are sometimes struggling to make ends meet:

> “I'll always dream about really learning how to cut up fabric and make clothing, but that won't do here, because tailored clothes are very expensive, you know. (...) I just wanted to get away from the social security system [when starting the enterprise], I wanted to work for myself, and I never wanted to have to apply for cash benefits again” (owner of an Islamic clothing shop and sewing business, female, 35, unskilled, Iraqi background, i33).

About half of the interviewed entrepreneurs have concrete plans for developing their enterprises. The new enterprises that still perceive themselves to be in the establishment phase consider it crucial to be continuously developing and evolving. These are primarily first-mover enterprises, and strengthening the foundation of the enterprise, along with developing or expanding its services, are central to the current work of these entrepreneurs. For instance, they are aiming at switching from part-time to full-time self-employment, engaging paid employees, expanding the enterprise to markets abroad, improving the physical facilities of the enterprise or developing the services provided to include more or new functions. Some of these plans are already being implemented, while others are on hold until the enterprise is better established. However, their plans are considered as a realistic next step.

For a couple of the low-innovation start-up enterprises, i.e. small retail shops which have only recently opened, expanding the range of products offered are seen as dreams and wishes for the future rather than scheduled next steps. Given that these shops have only been open for a few months, getting the business ‘up-and-running’ and testing the market is the main focus currently. The possibilities for realising their future dreams have not been examined. The more established, and typically larger enterprises, are already implementing strategies for expansion. These are predominantly enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism, and
several of them are run by entrepreneurs with a clear knack for entrepreneurship. The owner of a relatively large company within the entertainment industry has started several enterprises over the years and is constantly looking for new business ideas to develop. Typically, the enterprises are already experiencing economic growth, some at a fast pace, and their current plans include opening new branches, expanding their businesses to foreign markets and engaging in new fields of business. The owner of an interior design company has also engaged in property leasing and development and is continuously expanding his portfolio:

“We’ve turned our attention to this large building which has a lot of galleries on one floor, and then we’ll establish an office hotel as well and then a restaurant in the ground floor, a large restaurant, and some more galleries” (owner of an interior design company and runs a couple of property leasing companies, male, 44, higher education, Danish background, i8).

Generally, the future plans of the interviewed entrepreneurs address the concrete products and services of their enterprises and the markets and clientele targeted. Being located in a high-diversity neighbourhood is of little importance to these plans. While some entrepreneurs express an interest in becoming more involved in their local area, their reasons for this relate to ideas of ‘giving something back’ to the neighbourhood in which they work or live; for example, a gallerist is looking to include local youths in the creation of artworks in an attempt to cut across ethnic, religious and socio-economic divides in the local area. In other words, such interests in local involvement are ideologically or personally motivated rather than thought of as improving the competitiveness or the performance of the enterprises.

Future plans entail considerations as to where the business will be located in the future. Paradoxically, the positive approach to urban diversity and the branding of Bispebjerg, in particular Nordvest, as a diverse area can lead to less diversity. The perception of the area as increasingly attractive will lead to higher rental unit prices which not everyone will be able to afford, which in turn could push less financially strong businesses out:

“Unless we keep growing, we will take part in creating a development which we can’t ourselves be part of. Then we will be the ones who will have to move out, because the rent starts to increase. And that is definitely their [the landlord’s] purpose. They get us in to get us out again. We become sort of a tool in a process of commercialisation or capitalisation of the area; [a process] we can’t necessarily be part of” (joint owner of newly started urban development consultancy, female, 30, higher education, Danish background, i3).

Consequently, the positive branding of Bispebjerg as a diverse and attractive area can be one cause of a gentrification process, which would eventually limit the diversity of the area with respect to entrepreneurs and businesses. Since these are linked, this would limit the area’s socio-economic diversity as well as the ethnic diversity. At the same time, the future of some businesses could be challenged by a gentrification process. The entrepreneurs who are struggling the most would likely also need to struggle to establish themselves elsewhere, especially due to
the high prices of rental units in Copenhagen. Paradoxically, their positive approach to diversity might eventually lead to less diversity.

5.5 INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES

The attitude and policies of the public sector and NGOs at city, regional and state levels shape the conditions under which entrepreneurs initiate and subsequently run their enterprises. In a country with a large public sector such as Denmark, it is especially important to analyse both the approach of local and central government actors to enterprises and the contribution of policies, initiatives and organisations to the economic performance of enterprises. According to the literature, policies aimed at realising the economic advantages of urban diversity generally present a narrow understanding of population diversity, and as a consequence, they focus solely on higher-skilled and higher income groups (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2011). Furthermore, existing research points to the potential of entrepreneurship as a way to escape long-term unemployment, especially for ethnic minority population groups (Collins, 2003; Ram & Jones, 2008). Given the possible positive effects of policies on the rates of formation and success of enterprises and the possible effects on the neighbourhood of these enterprises, Kloosterman and van der Leun (1999) find it problematic that very few policies are dealing directly with ethnic enterprises and their limited success in improving the conditions of success and sustainability.

To analyse the context of entrepreneurship in Bispebjerg, the following section will examine the entrepreneurs’ perceptions of various policies and organisations, their contributions to entrepreneurship, and the requests of the entrepreneurs for policy priorities.

The political context for enterprises in Bispebjerg

As described previously, the Municipality of Copenhagen is the primary government actor at city level for urban planning, the regulation of property use and the management of practical conditions in the city. On the other hand, national-level government actors are in charge of legislation governing employment, taxes, finances, etc. These are the public sector actors with the greatest impact on running an enterprise in Copenhagen, as regional and neighbourhood level actors have limited decision-making authority with regard to enterprises. A few factors

![Picture 5.9](image). The street Rentemestervej contains a mix of workshops and production sites along with transformed factories, creative businesses, newly constructed owner-occupied housing, public institutions and cultural organisations.
must be highlighted regarding the political context for enterprises in Bispebjerg: firstly, an area-based regeneration project is underway in the neighbourhood of Fuglekvarteret. This five-year project is run by the Municipality of Copenhagen, and its overall policies and strategies are laid out by the city council, yet the policies and strategies are implemented by a project team that is located in the area. Although entrepreneurship is not a key focus of the project, the strategy includes supporting creative enterprises and enterprises with a social purpose. Second, the area around Rentemestervej has been designated a ‘creative zone’ as part of the city-wide municipal strategy aimed at preserving urban areas with a distinct physical character and with attractive conditions for start-up entrepreneurs. The area has been selected for its old factories and workshops, which offer low-rent facilities for businesses. Third, unlike other districts in Copenhagen, no specific strategy has been formulated by the municipality for the development of enterprises and business life in Bispebjerg. According to administrative officers of the local council and Business House Copenhagen and to policy documents (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2014b; Municipality of Copenhagen, 2011b), no initiatives or strategies for promoting certain types of enterprises or sectors are being undertaken, apart from the two already mentioned. Consequently, today’s enterprise landscape in Bispebjerg is not a result of political strategies or policies at neighbourhood level. Rather, the administration of enterprises and the management of applications, regulations etc. take place at city level. In terms of guidance for and communication with enterprises across the city, Business House Copenhagen is the responsible municipal actor.

Views on business support provided by local and central governments

A substantial group of the entrepreneurs have positive experience with local government actors, the main actor being the Municipality of Copenhagen. This typically applies in cases where entrepreneurs have built up relationships with particular individuals. However, the majority of the entrepreneurs also have critical comments about public actors and their cooperation with them. This applies to state-level actors and national authorities as well as to city-level actors, primarily the Municipality of Copenhagen. The most prominent point made by entrepreneurs is that the public sector is a slow, ineffective and bureaucratic administrative system (in line with the findings of chapter three). In terms of setting the conditions for running an enterprise, authorities are perceived as either passive and lacking in initiative or as almost obstructive to entrepreneurship. By inexperienced start-up entrepreneurs in particular, authorities are perceived to be focusing on collecting fees and pointing out violations of rules, rather than communicating expectations and demands in a start-up phase. Public sector actors are described as being uncooperative and unaccommodating towards entrepreneurs, almost attempting to obstruct them rather than being encouraging and supportive of their efforts. A local property developer and company owner is very pronounced in his criticism:

“We do a lot for this neighbourhood, you know, we’ve created 100 jobs here, and we spend a lot of money on renovating buildings and creating jobs. And all we get in return is a long list of points to take note of, all sorts of things about fire precautions and smoke detectors and; you know the CrossFit gym over there [of which he is the landlord], I mean, CrossFit is all about
running back and forth, and we were obliged to install a disabled persons toilet. I don’t know how many disabled people do CrossFit. Something seems to be wrong, there ought to be some sort of exemption, and this should receive prompt attention. But it just doesn’t. (…) The authorities really ought to come out here and say ‘oh, we see you’ve bought these premises, how can we help you develop them and attract people to the neighbourhood?’ We see nothing of that. Only a long list of points to take note of” (owner of property leasing companies and an interior design company, male, 44, higher education, Danish background, i8).

A young entrepreneur explains how she and her partner spent substantial resources over a long period of time on contacting one politician or administrative officer after the other to convince them of the advantages involved in their business project. She perceives such circumstances to be highly excluding, as they will cause many entrepreneurs to simply give up and abandon their projects. A similar point was raised in chapter three by the non-governmental actors who identified the size and bureaucracy of the municipality as a challenge to realising their diversity efforts.

While the degree to which entrepreneurs express critical views on public authorities varies, such views can be found across different types of enterprises in terms of sector, organisation, size, turnover and characteristics of the entrepreneur. However, no entrepreneurs of an ethnic minority background express such views. Generally, they tend to say only little about public authority attitude towards enterprises, and as several of them express limited knowledge of public sector actors in general, this may explain why. A certain amount of knowledge about the workings of the public system is a prerequisite for criticising it. Furthermore, for several of these entrepreneurs, their motivation to become self-employed was a wish to escape government subsidies and the social security system. Consequently, looking to the public sector for support for their enterprises may seem highly unappealing or at least less obvious.

Wider awareness of organisations and initiatives supporting entrepreneurs

Around two thirds of the enterprises interviewed are members of, or in some way involved in, associations, organisations, networks, programmes or initiatives related to entrepreneurship or the running of an enterprise. However, only around one in six enterprises is involved in activities at city or neighbourhood level.

Two types of local level (city level or lower) involvement can be identified: firstly, some enterprises have been comprehensively engaged in entrepreneurship programmes or courses or have cooperated closely with the Municipality of Copenhagen. All of these are new enterprises, which can be categorised as first-movers in Bispebjerg. They are run by young people with higher educational backgrounds, and most of the enterprises operate within the urban development sector. To most of these enterprises, cooperation and contact with local authorities have been key components from the outset, and the entrepreneurs have quite extensive knowledge about the existence of public sector programmes and funding for entrepreneurs. The initiatives in which these enterprises have been involved are predominantly at city or regional levels,
with the exception of the local area-based regeneration project at neighbourhood level. Initiatives have focused on the building up of an enterprise from the development of ideas, concepts, products, services and the organisation and structure of the enterprise to the legal and financial issues involved. Entrepreneurs perceive such programmes and support to be mostly, though not exclusively, of good value and quality. Personal relations with public sector staff, e.g. administrative officers at the municipality, are accentuated by the entrepreneurs as highly valuable. However, public-sector actors are criticised for being rigid and unrealistic in their perceptions of entrepreneurship by some of these first-mover entrepreneurs, especially with regard to the Municipality of Copenhagen. Criticism typically concerns counselling and guidance, both perceived as irrelevant to the enterprises.

Second, two well-established enterprises have been involved in various initiatives regarding entrepreneurship and neighbourhood development in their capacity as advisors, resources, committee members etc. While one of these is a more traditional family-owned glazier workshop and the other is a fast-growing IT firm, they are both large enterprises in terms of number of employees, facilities, portfolios, performance etc. and are solidly established companies. Even though these entrepreneurs relay similar negative experiences from their cooperation with public sector actors, it is important to them to engage on issues of neighbourhood development and the running of enterprises, as well as offering their support and resources to others.

The remaining entrepreneurs did not report any involvement in programmes, organisations or initiatives focusing on entrepreneurship at a local level. A couple of the enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism are involved in national trade associations or business networks. Their main motivation for involvement in such associations or initiatives is the access to valuable networks of enterprises in similar sectors or of company managers. These enterprises are all well-established, and programmes on entrepreneurship or courses on running an enterprise are regarded as less relevant. Rather, the networks, the exchange of experiences and the discussions with peers in similar situations or positions are considered valuable. Yet, to these entrepreneurs, as well as to those involved in local-level initiatives, involvement in such activities takes time and resources, which have to be taken from their day-to-day management of the enterprise. The value of such involvement must (more than) make up for the possible loss of time and money.

Besides these enterprises, a number of the remaining are members of national level associations, typically trade associations. Their level of involvement is limited, however. More than a third of the interviewed enterprises are not members of any associations or involved in any programmes or initiatives. Some entrepreneurs do not feel a need for affiliation with an organisation or other body and as such have not looked into the options. In addition, a small group of entrepreneurs in small, single-person enterprises express limited knowledge of existing associations, programmes, etc. These are primarily women of immigrant backgrounds with limited educational or professional experience in Denmark. They are challenged by the Danish language
as they arrived in Denmark at adult age, and consequently, their knowledge of the public sector and the organisation of trade associations etc. is limited. Some express a reserved attitude, but most of these entrepreneurs are positive towards becoming engaged in relevant programmes or organisations. However, they cannot find the resources to explore the options or the operations of these. Keeping the enterprise afloat and making ends meet financially are daily challenges, which take up all their time and resources. Finally, a relatively large group of entrepreneurs express reservations about the quality and relevance of existing associations, programmes, etc. Some regret this, as they would like to become more affiliated with relevant networks or receive useful support from trade associations or the public sector; others consider their own personal and professional networks and contacts along with their professional experience sufficient for their enterprise to be successful. To this latter group of entrepreneurs, being a self-made person and an architect of your own fortune are valued qualities. They tend to express strong criticism of public sector actors.

Non-Danish ethnic entrepreneurs often have very limited knowledge of trade associations, public support programmes or other initiatives aimed at entrepreneurs. These findings reflect arguments found in existing literature (Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999; Syrett & Sepulveda, 2011): policies for entrepreneurship in diverse urban contexts often focus solely on higher skilled and higher income population groups rather than on more disadvantaged groups. The diversity of the entrepreneurs is not taken into account, despite the ideals of the municipality in this regard.

**Policy priorities for entrepreneurs**

Around half of the entrepreneurs have no comments on subjects such as requests, wishes and demands for public sector involvement. The reason may be that they do not feel a need for support by the public sector, or that such concepts are too distant from their daily lives. The other half of the entrepreneurs express three main lines of requests.

Firstly, in line with the criticism referred to previously, several entrepreneurs perceive public authorities as having an almost restrictive impact on entrepreneurship. A more flexible and less rigid and bureaucratic approach towards enterprises is sought after: improved cooperation, a more accommodating approach, faster and more effective processing of applications etc. and a more transparent and easily accessible administrative system. Furthermore, a simplification and reduction of rules and regulations is necessary and requested. Understanding the procedures can be challenging, and the procedures are perceived to be unnecessarily limiting and sometimes even obstructive to the running of an enterprise.

Second, some of the new enterprises have been missing more general and overall guidance on practical, legal, financial and formal matters regarding the starting of an enterprise. Becoming acquainted with, and navigating the complex field of legislation, regulations and formal requirements regarding the running of an enterprise, is perceived as highly demanding. Many inexperienced entrepreneurs find it impossible to obtain a general overview of the field.
Consequently, programmes or courses on these issues are requested. These may be either general guidance packages covering all aspects of entrepreneurship or easily accessible, compact courses on legal and administrative requirements, for instance. Some of the interviewed start-up entrepreneurs had attended programmes and courses offered by initiatives such as Business House Copenhagen, whereas others perceived such initiatives to be non-existent. This observation is both interesting and important to note. Whether the latter entrepreneurs felt that the initiatives available were not relevant to them or were of poor quality, or whether they were not aware of their existence when starting up an enterprise, it is important to note that such programmes and initiatives for entrepreneurship have not provided support to all entrepreneurs in their start-up phases.

Third, a request brought forward by some of the more established enterprises aiming at expansion and economic growth (mostly major enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism) is that local authorities, for instance the Municipality of Copenhagen, should function as a catalyst.

“It wouldn’t hurt the municipality to send out some notification once a year or arrange a conference or something like that, like an event, you know, something which signals ‘let’s create growth together, let’s create an environment which brings together all the key people of business life here in Nordvest’. Who knows, maybe it will generate even more business. It would be so easy for the municipality to do so, like, every six months or once a year. They don’t do anything; we never hear anything about that. I really think that is a pity” (partner in a graphic design and printing service enterprise, male, 31, higher education, Danish-Palestinian background, 134).

The entrepreneurs request that the municipality actively engages in boosting enterprises within a particular neighbourhood or sector or of a particular type. In this regard, focus should not only be on guidance and consultancy in a start-up phase, but also on the boosting of already functioning enterprises.

All in all, policies and approaches of government actors must be flexible and sufficiently open to creativity and entrepreneurial initiative to flourish, while at the same time providing a framework of regulations and policies, which support the less resourceful and allow for weaker voices to be heard. Currently, both aspects constitute a challenge.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter has been to examine the relationship between urban diversity and the success of entrepreneurs by investigating how neighbourhoods can provide the conditions for supporting entrepreneurship and enhancing economic performance. The chapter has examined a wide variety of enterprises located in a highly diverse – and diversifying
The Case of Copenhagen

– urban environment. The characteristics of Bispebjerg, its position relative to other areas in Copenhagen, and the developments taking place in the area contribute to the area’s diversity and shape its enterprise landscape and the conditions under which local enterprises function.

Five ideal types of enterprises were identified: enterprises reflecting Bispebjerg’s history as an old working-class neighbourhood; enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism; immigrant enterprises with low-innovation services or products; first-mover enterprises in Bispebjerg; and finally, low-innovation and low-exploration enterprises. Altogether, the analysis showed the diversity of enterprises and entrepreneurs in Bispebjerg in terms of enterprise type, sector, organisation, size, turnover, history and performance, as well as the approaches of the entrepreneurs to the running of an enterprise along with their social, demographic, economic, ethnic, cultural, professional and educational backgrounds, their life situations, previous experience and motivations for becoming entrepreneurs.

The large differences between entrepreneurs exert a great impact on the economic performance of their enterprises and the extent to which they benefit from diversity. Relevant knowledge, experience and skills are particularly important factors for success; for example, knowledge about the elements involved in the running of a business, about the market in which an enterprise situates itself and its relative position to competition, and about the context of the enterprise in terms of the structural conditions of the surrounding society. These findings are in line with arguments put forward by the literature (Schutjens & Völker, 2010; Dahl & Sorenson, 2012; 2014). Relevant competencies can be generated in different ways: through previous experience within the field; previous experience with entrepreneurship and the running of a business; local knowledge; social capital (in the local area as well as within the sector); and through relevant education. Accordingly, the ways in which entrepreneurs have obtained their competencies and the types of competencies on which they base their enterprises vary.

However, some entrepreneurs possess only very few of the competencies which can impact positively on the economic performance of their enterprises. Consequently, they are struggling to make ends meet. This applies in particular to entrepreneurs lacking knowledge about the structural conditions and societal contexts of their enterprise such as legislation and procedures, finances, expenses and taxes, public sector actors and relevant policies, market and customers, local environment, and social and cultural contexts. These entrepreneurs are all first-generation immigrants originating in countries that are very different from Denmark in terms of in particular socio-political organisation, governance and culture. The analysis shows how such a lack of familiarity becomes a disadvantage for these entrepreneurs. For instance, hesitance towards, and in some cases, rejection of trade associations or hesitance towards the public sector may prevent entrepreneurs from benefitting from networks and associations, support programmes and policies etc.

Entrepreneurs offering products from foreign regions or targeting ethnic minority customers may benefit from being located in an ethno-culturally diverse area like Bispebjerg. However,
these entrepreneurs are often unaware of such advantages and have not used them strategically in their businesses. All these findings support arguments in existing literature (Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009; Dahl et al., 2005; Dahl & Sorenson, 2012; 2014; Schutjens & Völker, 2010). Addressing the financial struggles of immigrant entrepreneurs is imperative. However, the chapter has shown how there are no policies or programmes directed at this particular group of entrepreneurs, and as their contact with public or semi-public sector actors on their own initiative is limited, these entrepreneurs receive hardly any support. Political attention to the diversity of the entrepreneurs and their diverse needs is required. Furthermore, the chapter has shown that the motivation for these entrepreneurs to start an enterprise is often to escape long-term unemployment and financial dependence on government subsidies. This means that their life situations will become critical if their enterprises are struggling economically, as pointed out in existing literature (Baycan-Levent & Nijkamp, 2009; Collins, 2003; Ram & Jones, 2008; Osoba, 2015). Success is imperative.

In contrast, other entrepreneurs receive substantial attention and support, especially small start-up enterprises run by highly educated entrepreneurs. Many have participated in courses, programmes and networks. Furthermore, the settling in Bispebjerg of some of these enterprises was supported by municipal policies for attracting creative resources to the neighbourhood, e.g. the local area-based regeneration project. The goal of such policies is to generate a spill-over effect of creative, innovative and successful enterprises boosting the surrounding neighbourhood more generally. Such programmes and initiatives are based on concepts of neighbourhood effects and social mixing (Friedrichs, 1998; Bolt & van Kempen, 2013). However, literature has criticised such approaches by arguing that entrepreneurship policies focusing on higher skilled and higher income population groups in diverse urban contexts will overlook more disadvantaged groups, for instance immigrant entrepreneurs such as those mentioned above (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2011; Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999).

The fast-moving processes of change taking place in Bispebjerg call attention to the question of whether diversity is only a temporary feature of an urban neighbourhood. Will the urban diversity of Bispebjerg diminish over time if more advantaged groups of residents, entrepreneurs and visitors continue to find their way into the area? Although such processes are still at an early stage in Bispebjerg, issues of potential gentrification must be considered along with their effects on the entrepreneurs of the area.
6 CONCLUSIONS: DEALING WITH URBAN DIVERSITY

The DIVERCITIES project has as its point of departure the growing diversity of today’s cities. Cities are becoming increasingly diverse in that more types of diversity are shaping the lives of residents and entrepreneurs as well as their neighbourhoods. These different diversities interact in creating the living conditions of individuals, businesses and neighbourhoods. The situation of increased and interacting diversity is captured by the term hyper-diversity. It builds on Vertovec’s notion of super-diversity (2007), taking this further by capturing the conditions of today’s hyper-diversified cities.

6.1 BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT

The purpose of this book was to present the empirical findings of the Danish part of the DIVERCITIES project. DIVERCITIES is a major international research project financed by the European Commission under the 7th Framework Programme. It brings together researchers from across Europe to study diversity and its potential positive and negative consequences as regards social cohesion, social mobility and the economic performance of today’s hyper-diversified cities.

More specifically, the aim was to discover if diversity “works”. Are there advantages for those who are directly confronted with it and who live within it? An important part of the research was focused on the influence of policy instruments and governance arrangements: how are these formulated? How important is diversity in policies aimed at improving cities, neighbourhoods and the social and economic situation of people who live in them? How do residents profit from these policies and arrangements? On the basis of interviews with residents of diverse urban areas, the aim was to explore how they deal with living with diversity. Do they see advantages of diversity in the places where they live? Do they encounter negative effects? And do they care? Interviews with entrepreneurs in the research areas focused on their reasons for starting their enterprise there and their perception of diversity: did diversity have an effect on their decision to settle in the area? To what extent do they form networks in their neighbourhood? And do they profit from diversity?

The Danish part of DIVERCITIES was based in Bispebjerg in Copenhagen. Bispebjerg was chosen for its diversity in terms of residents, entrepreneurs, businesses and activities, as well as the diversity between the neighbourhoods of Bispebjerg. Furthermore, it was chosen for its relative deprivation and high levels of social disadvantage as compared to other parts of
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Copenhagen, for its dynamic development with high rates of immigration and emigration and for the range of governance arrangements and municipal and national policies that affect the development of the area. All in all, Bispebjerg is one of the most diverse districts of Copenhagen and a district undergoing substantial development, which makes it a highly relevant and interesting district to study.

The empirical material that this book is based on is substantial. The empirical data that has been collected is based on more than 120 interviews including a range of different actors: municipal employees and NGOs in Copenhagen as well as representatives of initiatives and projects, residents and entrepreneurs from Bispebjerg. Our findings cover policy discourses on diversity in Copenhagen, governance arrangements centred on diversity in Bispebjerg, analysed in chapter three, as well as perceptions of diversity among residents and entrepreneurs, respectively, analysed in chapters four and five.

In the empirical material, five broader findings stand out. These will be presented below and the crucial question will be discussed as to whether diversity is an asset or a liability.

6.2 URBAN DIVERSITY AS AN ASSET OR A LIABILITY

In a sense, asking whether urban diversity is an asset or a liability is asking the wrong question. Based on the Copenhagen case, the answer is neither. Urban diversity in itself is not an asset or a liability. Rather, it can have positive or negative consequences, depending on how it is dealt with. It can become an asset or a liability depending on the approach taken to it by
relevant actors such as politicians, policymakers, municipal employees, NGOs, residents and entrepreneurs. Therefore, a more relevant question to ask is how can urban diversity become an asset rather than a liability through the approach taken to it. Asking this question also entails differentiating between question recipients: whose point of view is in focus? The above mentioned relevant actors deal with diversity at different levels, and this must be taken into account when formulating answers to the question. Finally, it is crucial to acknowledge the potential pitfalls of diversity, as neglecting to do so would entail the risk of urban diversity becoming a liability. Rather, facing them will be helpful in securing that diversity becomes an asset.

The positive consequences of diversity and the challenges in realising them

Diversity can indeed have positive consequences. This is echoed throughout the data and across the four empirical parts of the study. Living with diversity offers a clear potential for creating positive attitudes through encounters across differences. Even rather superficial public-space encounters with diversity are perceived to be breaking down prejudices and fostering more positive and tolerant attitudes towards differences. However, this positive attitude towards diversity based on brief encounters does not automatically translate into more general openness and tolerance. Individuals may have a positive perception of diversity as a phenomenon without translating it into more open acceptance of people who are different from themselves. Consequently, a positive perception of diversity prepares the ground for openness and tolerance, but does not automatically cause them to grow.

Turning to the entrepreneurs, it is clear that only some of them know how to benefit from diversity and use it as a business opportunity. Some have branded their businesses to the entire neighbourhood rather than to one ethnic group or one age group. As a result, they are benefiting from the diversity of their neighbourhood. Some of the entrepreneurs have become part of a trend such as that promoting ethnic food, whether intentionally or not. Some of these entrepreneurs do not, however, seem to capitalise on this, while others adopt the trend and change their business so as to cater to a new or different group of customers and exploit the potential of the trend of which they are now part.

Local arenas or institutions, such as associations and municipal schools, offer a potential in terms of creating meeting places across differences, thereby supporting the positive consequences of diversity. However, this requires a fairly equal representation of the diverse neighbourhood groups in these arenas. This can be a challenge due to segmentation of housing as well as to the unequal participation of different groups as the resourceful citizens choose private schools rather than the local municipal schools. Entrepreneurship in diverse areas also entails a positive potential of creating relations across differences, based on the shared situation of being entrepreneurs in the same neighbourhood. The challenge is, however, to create arenas that can support relations across, rather than within, groups of the same ethnic background or within the same line of business, for instance. Relations seem to develop primarily between those who are similar to each other (strong ties). However, the full potential of diversity as
regards both residents and entrepreneurs is found in relations between those who are different from each other (weak ties) or similar in other areas than those that seem obvious, such as ethnicity. Furthermore, the potential of local arenas is challenged by segmentation of the housing market and unequal participation.

Another key finding is that the resident groups differ substantially as regards the perception of diversity and the consequences of it. The resourceful residents are very positive; they perceive diversity as a strength and see it as a positive characteristic of the area they live in. However, their 'exposure' to diversity is limited, as they tend to concentrate in smaller, homogenous enclaves. It is therefore relevant to ask whether it is 'free of charge' to be positive about diversity if you do not actually meet and live with diversity in your everyday life. The older generations are generally more sceptical of diversity, linking it in particular to ethnic diversity, which some of them perceive as a challenge or a negative consequence of diversity. The older residents fear the erosion of Danish culture as well as less financial security through the overstraining of the Danish welfare system. Some even fear physical harm by ethnic minorities. To these residents, the overall diversity of their neighbourhood might be good but ethnic diversity is not. Finally, a third group that stands out are those who have grown up with diversity. They express the most positive attitudes regarding diversity and actually have a diverse circle of friends. Diversity was a given condition of their childhood. It has become integrated into their lives, and as a consequence these residents express the most unreserved positive attitude towards diversity. They seem to have been socialised to diversity. This means that urban diversity will become an asset if an increasing number of children grow up with it. This entails growing up in a diverse neighbourhood and actually being confronted with this diversity in your everyday life through the local arenas of diverse neighbourhoods. Again, local arenas become pivotal.

Hyper-diversity

Diversity must be understood in a much broader sense than the traditional focus on ethnicity and socio-economic differences. Many other aspects differentiate people – or unite them in other ways across traditional diversities. The situation of the individual arises through a range of circumstances and characteristics. This hyper-diversity must be acknowledged at a general level when formulating policies, but also in dealing with specific individuals through an employment project, for instance. At the same time, hyper-diversity can become a key to social cohesion: differences in one area can be overcome by similarities in other areas. People are different in numerous ways, and their diversity causes them to be similar, you might say. Through acknowledging the differences within the traditional diversities of ethnicity and socio-economic situation, it becomes possible to focus on the aspects, which unite people across groups, rather than on those that cause people to be different. Ultimately, acknowledging the hyper-diversity of individuals, groups, neighbourhoods and society more generally could enable the focus to be shifted from differences to similarities and shared conditions among people.

Taking the notion of hyper-diversity to heart also means that everyone is diverse. A focus on the traditional diversities often causes some groups to be understood as mainstream (the ethnic
majority and the affluent) and others as outsiders (the ethnic minorities and the disadvantaged). This in turn can lead to the latter groups being perceived as ‘the odd ones out’ who need to fit in better by integrating into society in general, and into the work force or educational system in particular. The integration responsibility is placed on the shoulders of the outsiders. Acknowledging hyper-diversity and truly taking it seriously would mean that diversity involves everyone and not just those who do not ‘fit in’ with mainstream society. The responsibility would then rest with everyone, and all citizens would be perceived as equals. This is linked to the ambition to focus on inclusion rather than integration; broadening the concept of integration and freeing it from its ethnic link.

Currently, focus is to a large extent on the traditional diversities. For the majority of actors, ethnic diversity and socio-economic inequality are seen as the diversities with the greatest impact on the individual’s life and on society. It is essential that this understanding of traditional diversities is not ignored. Rather, the importance of other diversities alongside the traditional ones should be acknowledged. If the potential of hyper-diversity is utilised, urban diversity can become an asset and a key to social cohesion.

**Differences between ideals and reality**
The positive approach to diversity is challenged in several ways by a gap between ideals and reality. This relates especially to the municipal approach to diversity and to some extent to the governance arrangements. Five gaps stand out.

Firstly, in governmental and non-governmental approaches to diversity, the ideal is to coordinate efforts across administrations, areas of responsibility and fields in order to take hyper-diversity seriously and make a difference for individuals and entrepreneurs and consequently for the neighbourhood. However, it is problematic to actually achieve this coordination in the everyday work of the administrative units. The ideal seems not to have sufficiently permeated the municipal organisation and reached the front-line workers who are supposed to carry it out. Even if this is the case, finding the time to achieve coordination becomes problematic in an everyday situation with a heavy workload. Different professional agendas are at play as the front-line workers view individuals differently; focusing on their employment situation, their family situation, the area they live in etc. Therefore, coordination does not just happen. It requires attention, education, skills, time and a mutual understanding of the administrations different approaches to the individual citizen.

Second, the ideal as expressed directly by all of the professional actors, and more indirectly by some of the residents and entrepreneurs, is to have a broad understanding of diversity, i.e. as hyper-diversity. In reality, however, focus is on ethnicity and socio-economic differences and the link between these. It seems that these two traditional diversities prevail in the minds of all actors as they lead to the most evident and important consequences. This overlaps with the challenge of focusing on the positive aspects of diversity while tackling the negative consequences, as will be described below: the overall, positive approach to diversity relates to the
broad understanding of diversity as hyper-diversity, while the potential negative consequences are linked to socio-economic inequality and perceptions of ethnic differences.

Third, the ideal of mainstreaming diversity efforts and making them part of the everyday work of all municipal employees is difficult to achieve in reality. A key reason for this is that the ideal of mainstreaming and the consequences of doing so do not reach the front-line workers who are supposed to implement the ideals. Therefore, they are unable to give preference to less affluent communities and to see diversity as an inherent aspect of their everyday work. Moreover, to the front-line workers who actually receive the information they need, it becomes a challenge to implement the ideals, in that this would necessitate coordination and cooperation across administrative units and responsibilities, which as mentioned initially, is problematic to achieve.

Fourth, in line with the broader understanding of diversity, policies as well as employees expressed an ambition to focus on inclusion rather than integration. The latter was perceived as connected to ethnicity alone and placing the responsibility of integration on the shoulders of ethnic minorities. The ambition was to include all groups in society and that all should take responsibility for the process. However, in reality, the focus in policies as well as in expressed opinions was on integration. This is corroborated by the later change, which reversed policies from inclusion to integration; in this process, however, the unchanged ambition of understanding diversity as more than ethnicity was emphasised. This gap between ideal and reality underlines the importance of discourses and the challenges involved in refocusing them.

Finally, a broad understanding throughout the empirical material is that diversity includes all citizens and institutions in society. In reality, however, some groups are very difficult to reach, such as the marginalised and the most resourceful. This challenges the ambition for inclusion of all citizens and the basis for social cohesion. Therefore, it becomes an essential task of governmental and non-governmental actors to work continuously and relentlessly on including everyone. This requires local knowledge and the flexibility to shape local initiatives to fit local needs and meet local challenges.

All in all, realising the ideals is crucial if urban diversity is to become an asset. However, as the analysis have shown, these ideals are much easier to voice than to realise. If they are not realised, the risk that urban diversity will become a liability is increased. Serious attention must be given to translating ideals into practice, and not least, the reverse process: letting ideals be formulated on the basis of experience gathered from real-life practice-based analysis. This study is based on such extensive analysis, and therefore provides a foundation for formulating ideals based in reality.

**Focusing on the positive while tackling the negative**

Throughout the empirical material, focusing on the positive aspects of diversity while tackling the potential negative consequences poses a challenge. Diversity does entail potentially negative consequences. These are especially clear in relation to socio-economic differences and the risk of
marginalisation, cultural conflicts and discrimination. The negative consequences may easily be overlooked if focus is exclusively or primarily on the positive aspects of diversity. This in turn entails a risk of the negative consequences becoming more severe. The balanced perception and simultaneous acknowledgement of the potential positive and negative consequences of diversity are a prerequisite. Nonetheless, it may be difficult to find the language to speak about both aspects of diversity.

An additional and connected risk is that the celebration of diversity can turn into the positive rewriting of socio-economic inequality. If socio-economic inequality is perceived as diversity, and diversity is celebrated as a positive feature of urban society, inequality can come to seem acceptable. Furthermore, socio-economic inequality overlaps with ethnic diversity, as ethnic minorities are over-represented among the most disadvantaged residents. Consequently, the celebration of diversity can implicitly become the acceptance of ethnic, socio-economic inequality. This would be an intolerable consequence of the positive approach to urban diversity, and efforts must be made to prevent this development. While socio-economic inequality is unavoidable, substantial differences are unacceptable, especially if they hinder social cohesion and social mobility.

Consequently, a major – maybe the major – risk of urban diversity becoming a liability lies in ignoring the potential negative consequences of diversity. This leads to unrecognised concern among residents and entrepreneurs of diverse areas, causing the aggravation of the negative consequences to become a risk.

The built-in paradox: successful celebration of diversity can lead to less diversity
The focus on creating a positive approach to diversity and the simultaneous attempt to brand an area as an exciting urban area precisely because of its diversity can eventually contribute to a gentrification process in the area. This process would affect both residents and entrepreneurs. The most disadvantaged residents and the hardest struggling entrepreneurs run the risk of being pushed out of the area. This will lead to less diversity as the socio-economic differences become smaller, not through the general heightening of the socio-economic situation of the most deprived, but rather through the displacement of the disadvantaged residents to other, less popular and less expensive areas. As disadvantage overlaps with ethnicity, a gentrification process would lead to less ethnic diversity in the area as well.

The political focus on physical improvements (of housing, streets, parks etc.) pushes the gentrification processes further as the improvements make the area more attractive, and as a result more expensive. The question will be whether attempts can (and should) be made to avoid this process, or at least to achieve a more gentle version of it in which the area is improved without displacing (too many) residents. Moreover, additional knowledge is needed as to how and to what extent the municipality and other key actors can control processes of gentrification once these have been set in motion. What might affect an area such as Bispebjerg is the substantial share of social housing which will be less affected by such processes as the most
affluent citizens rarely select social housing (despite this being available to them in Denmark). Nevertheless, it is paradoxical that a positive focus on diversity can eventually become a contributing factor in limiting an area’s diversity.

6.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS: HOW TO USE THE RESULTS?

As demonstrated, the consequences of urban diversity may be positive, causing diversity to become an asset to urban neighbourhoods. However, the potential for positive consequences needs assistance in being realised. The suggestions for policy makers are closely connected to the five key outcomes presented above.

Local arenas and area-based efforts
Local arenas are important and need to be supported politically through financial support, maintenance and attention to securing the continuous involvement of all residents and entrepreneurs. Availability is not sufficient for all groups; active outreach is essential and must be prioritised. The diversity of local arenas is imperative, such as offering different types of physical meeting places and different types of networks for entrepreneurs. It is in reaching the least reachable citizens and groups that the biggest effects are realised. While our findings support notions of neighbourhood diversity as containing a potential for fostering social mobility, social mix in itself is not sufficient. Continuous engagement on the part of the residents is required for social mixing and for diversity to have a positive effect.

A crucial part of an area-based effort is to allow for bottom-up initiatives shaped by the residents and adapted to local needs. These initiatives need to be flexible in structure to allow adaption to local changes and dynamics. Adaption, in turn, can play a key role in realising the potential of urban diversity to lead to social cohesion, social mobility and improved economic performance. Policies must assist such initiatives and allow them the necessary flexibility. This also entails loosening or rethinking the need for effect documentation and the requested types of this documentation required by the municipality in return for financial support. Being unable to prove the quantitative and short-term effects of an initiative does not mean that the effects are not present.

Local arrangements and public actors can take on the role of initiating and providing organisational support for neighbourhood initiatives, therefore assisting the positive impact of urban diversity on social cohesion and social mobility in particular. The extensive Danish welfare state should play a role in this. As mentioned, the potential of local arenas is challenged by the segmentation of the housing market and by unequal participation. Meeting this challenge and facilitating encounters across diversities are part of assisting the translation of the positive perception of diversity into general openness and tolerance. Essentially, governance discourses need to acknowledge the potential of local meeting places in diverse neighbourhoods and the encounters that take place here – even those that are brief – for facilitating a positive
perception of urban diversity amongst residents. Even if this does not automatically translate into general openness and tolerance, it does prepare the ground for it to bloom.

The gaps identified between ideals and reality refers to a large extent to the organisational structure and daily workings of the municipality. In a substantial welfare state such as Denmark’s, it is therefore imperative to close the identified gaps. This relates, for instance, to securing coordination across administrations and the broad understanding of diversity as described above. The welfare state and the size of it can become a challenge if this limits the flexibility, room for innovation and the possibilities for adjustment to the local ever-changing context. Nevertheless, it offers the possibility of coordination between actors and an indispensable safety net. Political attention on the inherent risks of a substantial welfare state is warranted. One way of dealing with this is to allow for the flexibility of initiatives, another is to secure cooperation between administration units. The aim of mainstreaming diversity efforts can be a useful tool, however not when it is merely an ideal. The aim must be realised. This requires spreading the ideal to all sectors in the municipal system and assisting the employees in discovering where they incorporate diversity considerations in their day-to-day work. Changes to the municipal procedures require action and attention, not just discursive shifts and intention statements.

**Utilising the potentials of hyper-diversity without neglecting potential negative consequences**

Urban diversity offers entrepreneurs a branding and business strategy that could potentially improve their economic performance. As mentioned above, however, not all entrepreneurs, especially the ethnic entrepreneurs and those struggling to get by, manage to capitalise on this. Nevertheless, they would indeed benefit the most from this as it might increase the chances of survival of their business and make it more profitable, to the benefit of the individual as well as of society. Paradoxically, they are unlikely to reach out for assistance themselves, sometimes because they are unaware that networks and municipal support are available. Indeed, the municipal focus is on creative businesses, and less support is offered to more traditional businesses. Policies need to reflect this unmet need, both through offering the needed support and through securing that this actually reaches those who need it most. All actors need
to take into account the diversity of the entrepreneurs when shaping the approach to them and to develop more informal and easily manageable tools that can assist the professionals in reaching and supporting this exposed group of businesses. This would have a positive impact on the diversity and on the economic performance of the entrepreneurs as well as of the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, policymakers need to take hyper-diversity seriously when formulating policy approaches to urban diversity. In particular, this entails applying the broad perception of diversity and inclusion rather than focusing on traditional diversities and integration as something required by the minorities. It also entails looking across different administrations when working with individuals and groups and in relation to NGOs and private actors. The municipality needs to confront and change the seven-headed nature of its administrative units. As mentioned above, this requires attention, time and a mutual understanding of the administrative units’ different approaches to individuals. These different approaches can hinder cooperation. However, it is also essential in order to assist individuals and the neighbourhoods they live in: each individual and their situation should not be defined by one single characteristic, but rather by all of them. A common ground for working across administrations must be identified. This does not happen automatically or just by identifying it as a goal. It must be prioritised politically and may require funding be set aside for it, at least initially when norms and procedures are changed. As this will cause the individual and neighbourhood efforts to become more focused, the funding should repay itself in the long term. A focus on aspects other than those which are traditionally targeted could cause new relations and common interests to be identified. This might take place through the establishment of activities based on cross-overs in terms of lifestyles and interests, thereby cutting across socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds.

All in all, establishing urban diversity as an asset requires the discursive framing and persistent voicing of diversity as an asset. This should permeate the approach of governmental and non-governmental actors in order for it to trickle down to the residents and entrepreneurs of diverse areas. However, the celebration of urban diversity must never lead to the neglecting of the potential negative consequences. The language for speaking about both the positive and negative consequences of diversity must be found, and politicians across the political spectrum must not be reluctant to voice negative consequences as well. If these are not voiced, they cannot be dealt with. Furthermore, the residents immersed in diversity who experience the consequences first-hand must not feel that they are being overlooked. This would likely lead to more aggravated consequences. Acknowledging the potential negative consequences also entails addressing the built-in paradox that a successful celebration of diversity can lead to less diversity. While social mix and a changed residential composition of disadvantaged neighbourhoods are sometimes needed, it is the duty of policymakers to confront the consequences for residents who will be displaced and who have very few alternative opportunities in the housing market. This particularly applies in the case of residents of hyper-diversified cities in tight housing markets.
The potential negative consequences must be acknowledged and tackled, and not simply discursively constructed as diversity always being seen as an asset. Finding the language to voice both aspects is a challenge, but this challenge must be met in order for urban diversity to become an asset. Furthermore, it is necessary to assist mutual understanding to make sure that residents who are faced with diversity, and the potential negative consequences of it in their everyday lives, are assisted in gaining a mutual understanding of each other across diversities.

In conclusion, achieving a high degree of social cohesion and social mobility as well as strong economic performance in today’s hyper-diversified cities demands the understanding of diversity as including all the residents of the city, not just those who do not fit in with mainstream society. Consequently, all actors, governmental as well as non-governmental, residents as well as entrepreneurs, must strive for the inclusion of everyone. Sustainable long-term policy approaches require efforts that take into account the needs and interests of all residents, allowing for the hyper-diverse nature of neighbourhoods, groups and individual situations. Hyper-diversity is a condition of today’s cities. With the right approaches it may also become part of the solution to urban issues.
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## APPENDIX I: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES, CHAPTER 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position at time of interview</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>For 3.3: Sources for periodisation of national policy (August – October 2013)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>Department of Sociology &amp; Anthropology, University of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative worker/caseworker</td>
<td>Social housing association (Formerly: Administrative officer at the Technical &amp; Environmental Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>For 3.4: Governmental sources (August – October 2013)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project manager</td>
<td>Area-based urban regeneration project, Technical &amp; Environmental Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Business House Copenhagen, Employment &amp; Integration Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Technical &amp; Environmental Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project manager</td>
<td>Children &amp; Youth Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Centre for Inclusion &amp; Employment, Employment &amp; Integration Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of Office</td>
<td>Ministry of Housing, Urban &amp; Rural Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Children &amp; Youth Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Finance Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special consultant</td>
<td>Health &amp; Care Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>For 3.5: Non-governmental sources (August – October 2013)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing director</td>
<td>Social housing association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Voluntary organisation working with employment, mentor programmes etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of department</td>
<td>The National Building Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Association for highly educated foreigners in Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Voluntary social organisation based in a Copenhagen neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR partner</td>
<td>Large supermarket chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head of department</td>
<td>Large cleaning company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>For 3.6 Governance arrangements and initiatives (March – June 2014)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant A</td>
<td>BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project manager</td>
<td>Residents’ Project Bispebjerg, Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project coordinator</td>
<td>Young 2400, Save the Children Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>Pastry Hill Integration House, Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>DesignLab Råstof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project manager</td>
<td>The Parental Association Use Your Local School, Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project coordinator</td>
<td>The Parental Association Use Your Local School, Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
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### APPENDIX II: LIST OF THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE ROUNDTABLE TALK, CHAPTER 3

**Date:** 11 June 2014  **Place:** Aalborg University, Copenhagen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position at time of interview</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>The Technical &amp; Environmental Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project manager</td>
<td>Lab2400 Talents, Business House Copenhagen, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Voluntary social organisation based in a Copenhagen neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant B</td>
<td>BL – The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project manager</td>
<td>Neighbourhood renewal project, the Technical &amp; Environmental Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance arrangements</td>
<td>Short description of arrangement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents’ Project Bispebjerg (1)</td>
<td>A community regeneration master plan with social and physical interventions for nine social housing departments in Bispebjerg. Organised as a collaboration between the housing association, the municipality and local residents. Resident Project Bispebjerg focuses on children, young people and families, vulnerable citizens and residents’ democracy. Running from 2013 to 2016.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club Guides (2)</td>
<td>Project funded by the Danish Refugee Council, the Municipality of Copenhagen and Resident Project Bispebjerg which aims to help children from ethnic minority families in the process of finding leisure time activities with the assistance of volunteer guides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market Day in Fuglekvarteret</td>
<td>An annual one-day market in June hosted by the master plan for community regeneration called Residents’ Project PULSE(3). The day offers market stands (free of charge), food stands and music by local musicians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parental Association Use Your Local School (4)</td>
<td>Association of parents working on convincing resourceful parents to enrol their children in the local municipal school, rather than a private school. The activities are based on voluntary networking between parents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab2400 Talents</td>
<td>Three month training programme in entrepreneurship for young people in Bispebjerg, who are at the fringe of the education system and labour market. Funded by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural, organised by the Municipality of Copenhagen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastry Hill Integration House (5)</td>
<td>Association that offers language courses, child care, social activities and a number of courses for young women and girls from ethnic minorities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young 2400</td>
<td>Storytelling project organised by Save the Children Youth. Young people from ethnic minorities act as role models for other young people through presentations and stories at schools in Bispebjerg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glad Foundation (6)</td>
<td>Socio-economic enterprise with headquarters in Bispebjerg that employs and trains people with cognitive disabilities in media production, theater, design, catering, café operation, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DesignLab Råstof (7)</td>
<td>Offers courses for unemployed people in creative fields such as design, architecture, art, crafts etc., and focuses on cooperation between designers and craftspeople.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dansk Supermarked Group (8)</td>
<td>Dansk Supermarked Group has numerous shops and employees in Bispebjerg and they have the explicit objective and strategy to promote diversity in their workplaces.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S C = Social Cohesion; S M = Social Mobility; E P = Economic Performance

* = low contribution; ** = medium contribution; *** = high contribution

Sources:
(1) Fsb’s master plan for community regeneration of the social housing initiatives in Bispebjerg 2013-2016
(2) Fsb’s master plan for community regeneration of the social housing initiatives in Bispebjerg 2013-2016
Aiming to reflect the development processes in Bispebjerg as described initially in chapter 2, the residents selected as interviewees for the analysis include:

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

As mentioned above, these are not to be considered fixed categories, but rather guidelines for broadening the sample.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name*</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>Household situation</th>
<th>Income group**</th>
<th>Dwelling type</th>
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<tr>
<td>Agnes</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Student nurse (registered)</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aisha</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Danish-Indian-Turkish</td>
<td>Lives with two daughters, one lives at home</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anders</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Consultant at professional</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Owner-occupied detached house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anja</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Consultant at professional</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with wife, expecting first child and three children</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Cooperative housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bent</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Retired telephone technician</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Cooperative housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecilie</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Retired driver and caretaker</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with wife, children are grown up</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Retired driver and caretaker</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Owner-occupied terraced house</td>
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<td>Elisabeth</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single mother of three children</td>
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<td>Elsea</td>
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<td>Eva</td>
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<td>Farha</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>On sick-leave</td>
<td>Danish</td>
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<td>Gerda</td>
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<td>86</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with husband and their two children</td>
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<td>Heidrun</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>Student</td>
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<td>Heini</td>
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<td>Jane</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Elementary school teacher</td>
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<td>Lives with husband and children are grown up</td>
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<td>Jens</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Retired telephone technician</td>
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<td>Single</td>
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<td>Owner-occupied detached house</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jelmer</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>Retired telephone technician</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>Private rental flat</td>
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<td>Jytte</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>On early retirement benefit, former office clerk</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single, children are grown up</td>
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<td>Karsten</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Retiree</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Shared living community, social housing estate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td>Household situation</td>
<td>Income group**</td>
<td>Dwelling type</td>
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<td>Kasim</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kasper</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>School teacher</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with girlfriend and their small child</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Owner-occupied flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathrine</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>University student</td>
<td>Danish-Israeli</td>
<td>Single, lives with roommate</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Private rental flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knud</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Retired administrative officer</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Widower, children are grown up</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Social housing terraced house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laurent</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Retired machine operator</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Lives with wife</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Owner-occupied terraced house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Works at a bakery</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with boyfriend and two children</td>
<td>B/C</td>
<td>Social housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Trade union officer</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single, children are grown up</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Social housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnus</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Retired removals man</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Widower, children are grown up</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Cooperative housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahesh</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>University student, works as a cleaner</td>
<td>Nepalese</td>
<td>Lives with wife and their son</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Cooperative housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandjeep</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Lives with wife, children are grown up</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Owner-occupied detached house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Illustrator, takes additional unskilled jobs</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Private rental flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabil</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Manager of fitness centre</td>
<td>Algerian</td>
<td>Lives with wife and two small children</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Cooperative housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naila</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Unemployed, in activation</td>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>Lives with husband and three children, one grown son</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Social housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasiba</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Finishing lower secondary education</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>Single mother of two small children</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Social housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nick</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Single, children are grown up</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Social housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernille</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>In vocational training</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with boyfriend</td>
<td>B/C</td>
<td>Cooperative housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poul</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Retired university professor</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with wife, children are grown up</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Owner-occupied detached house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salina</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Export adviser</td>
<td>German-Polish</td>
<td>Lives with husband and teenage son</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Owner-occupied detached house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra***</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30’s</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Family with children</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Social Housing+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name*</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td>Household situation</td>
<td>Income group**</td>
<td>Dwelling type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Management consultant</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with husband and two small children</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Owner-occupied detached house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signe***</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30's</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Family with children</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>SocialHousing+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Søren</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with wife, children are grown up</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Owner-occupied detached house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suresh</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>University student, works as a chef</td>
<td>Nepalese</td>
<td>Lives with wife and their small child</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Cooperative housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suzanna</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Retired secretary</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Widow, children are grown up</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Cooperative housing flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulrik</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Retired salesman</td>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>Lives with wife, children are grown up</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Social housing terraced house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zainab</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Student, upper secondary general education</td>
<td>Iraqi</td>
<td>Lives alone with her son (husband works abroad)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Social housing flat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Pseudonyms

** Income groups approximating quartiles of Copenhagen citizens’ annual pre-tax income. A: Less than € 26,872 (DKR 200,000); B: € 26,873-40,308 (DKR 200,000-300,000); C: € 40,309-67,181 (DKR 300,000-500,000); D: More than € 67,182 (DKR 500,000).

*** Some information on the interviewee is withheld due to considerations of anonymity: the SocialHousing+ estate in Bispebjerg, where this interviewee lives, only contains 80 dwellings. See chapter 2 regarding this special dwelling type.
## APPENDIX V: LIST OF THE INTERVIEWED ENTREPRENEURS, CHAPTER 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Type of enterprise*</th>
<th>Type of entrepreneur</th>
<th>Enterprise category (see below)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Combination of IT services/restaurant business/network platform. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Ethnic Danish background, higher-educational level, semi-relevant professional experience.</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i2**</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Jewellery shop. Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Son of owner, student, family of Iraqi background.</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Urban development consultancy. Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Two partners, recently completed higher education within relevant field, ethnic Danish backgrounds.</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i4</td>
<td>60’s</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Dry cleaner. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Runs enterprise with assistance from husband on retirement, both of Pakistani background, un/low-skilled.</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i5</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Newsagent’s/kiosk. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Unskilled, Iraqi background, long-term self-employed, no prior experience within the sector.</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Recording studio. Small-/medium-scale.</td>
<td>Higher-educational level and professional experience within relevant field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>B (smaller-scaled than usual for cat. B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Hairdresser’s. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Semi-skilled within relevant field, limited professional experience, Iranian background.</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i8</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Interior design company, property developer. Larger-scale.</td>
<td>Ethnic Danish background, higher-educational level within relevant field, runs other enterprises as well.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Consulting, courses and catering within the entertainment industry. Larger-scale.</td>
<td>Skilled within other fields, runs other enterprises as well, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i10**</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Gambling hall (sports betting). Small-scale.</td>
<td>Employee (relatively new), student, Pakistani background (owner is male, around 50 and Pakistani as well).</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i11**</td>
<td>Approx 50</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Takeaway/restaurant (food made from scratch). Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Manager/employee, waiter, ethnic Danish, relative of the owner (who is young, female and trained in the restaurant business).</td>
<td>D (more established than usual for cat. D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i12</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Undertaker. Larger-scale.</td>
<td>Ethnic Danish background, skilled within different field, has taken over family business.</td>
<td>A (larger and more professionalised than usual for cat. A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Tattoo parlour. Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Ethnic Danish background, skilled within different fields, runs other branches as well.</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Type of enterprise*</td>
<td>Type of entrepreneur</td>
<td>Enterprise category (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i14</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Dog grooming salon. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Skilled within relevant field, long-term self-employed, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i15</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>African specialities shop (foods). Small-scale.</td>
<td>Senegalese background, skilled within other fields, enterprise is part-time.</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Shared office space for students. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Two partners, university students of relevant subjects, ethnic Danish backgrounds.</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i17</td>
<td>40's</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Estate agent. Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Skilled within relevant field, long-term professional experience, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>B (still partly under establishment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Hairdresser's. Small-/medium-scale.</td>
<td>Skilled within relevant field, relevant professional experience, Iranian background.</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i19</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Physiotherapist and acupuncturist. Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Skilled within relevant field, long-term professional experience, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>A (working-class element less pronounced than usual for cat. A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i20</td>
<td>Approx 40</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Art gallery. Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Higher education, previous experience within relevant field, British background.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i21**</td>
<td>Approx 40</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Beauty products (wholesale production). Larger-scale.</td>
<td>Head of operations (relatively new), higher education, professional experience within relevant field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i22</td>
<td>Approx 60</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Architecture firm. Larger-scale.</td>
<td>Higher education, long-term professional experience within the field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i23</td>
<td>50's</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Second hand furniture shop. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Ethnic Danish background, long-term professional experience, educational background unknown.</td>
<td>E (stronger capital of professional experience than usual for cat. E and different socio-demographic characteristics of entrepreneur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i24</td>
<td>60's</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Sewing business and clothes repair. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Skilled and experienced within relevant field, Swedish background, on part-time retirement.</td>
<td>D/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i25</td>
<td>30's</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘Urban foraging’ project (picking eatable plants etc.) – app service and courses. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Higher-educational level within relevant field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Type of enterprise*</td>
<td>Type of entrepreneur</td>
<td>Enterprise category (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Bar/restaurant (old school hip). Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Skilled within relevant field, newly qualified, German background.</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i27</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>IT firm. Larger-scale.</td>
<td>Higher education, long-term professional experience within the field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i28</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Shisha lounge. Small-/medium-scale.</td>
<td>Limited experience within the field, education unknown, Iraqi background.</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i29</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Property developer. Medium-/larger-scale.</td>
<td>Higher education, long-term professional experience within the field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i30</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Glazier shop. Larger-scale</td>
<td>Ethnic Danish background, skilled and experienced within different field, has taken over family business.</td>
<td>A (larger and more professionalised than usual for cat. A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i31</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Hardware shop. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Unskilled, long-term professional experience within the field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i32</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Carpet merchant (Persian carpets). Small-scale.</td>
<td>Professional experience within relevant fields, semi-skilled within different field, Iranian background.</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Islamic clothing shop and sewing business. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Unskilled, limited prior experience, Iraqi background.</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i34</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Graphic design and printing service. Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Higher education within relevant field, Danish-Palestinian background.</td>
<td>B (smaller-scaled than usual for cat. B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Greengrocer's shop (with Indian and Pakistani specialities). Small-scale.</td>
<td>No prior experience, one year of college in Pakistan, Pakistani background.</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i36</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Traditional Danish pub. Medium-scale.</td>
<td>Ethnic Danish background, skilled and experienced within different field, runs family business part-time.</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i37</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Auto repair shop. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Skilled and long-term experienced within the field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i38</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Consultancy working with play activities for schools, kindergartens, etc. Small-scale.</td>
<td>Higher education, professional experience within relevant field, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i39**</td>
<td>50’s</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Stone masonry chain with branch in the area. Larger-scale.</td>
<td>Head of PR for all branches, ethnic Danish background, higher education.</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Type of enterprise*</td>
<td>Type of entrepreneur</td>
<td>Enterprise category (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i40</td>
<td>50’s</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Café run by a foundation working for people with learning disabilities. Larger-scale.</td>
<td>Higher education, long-term professional experience, ethnic Danish background.</td>
<td>B (new enterprise, yet part of well-established foundation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* To denote sizes of the enterprises, each is categorised as either small-, medium- or larger-scale (or a combination of two). These categorisations are qualitative estimations based on the number of employees, the size of enterprise turnovers and (to a lesser extent) the premises of the enterprises.

** Interviewees are employees, not owners, of the enterprises. The majority of the interviewees are entrepreneurs, i.e. initiators and (co-)owners of their businesses (in three cases, the businesses were started up by the parents of the interviewees), but a few interviewees are only employees. However, in this book, the collective designation of the interviewees is ‘the entrepreneurs’. Please note that in some interviewees, an employee was present in addition to the entrepreneur. In such cases, this is not mentioned in the table, and the listed data refer to the entrepreneur.

**Enterprise categories (see description in chapter 5):**

A. Established enterprises reflecting Bispebjerg’s history as an old working-class neighbourhood
B. Established enterprises characterised by a high degree of professionalism
C. Established immigrant enterprises with low-innovation services or products
D. New enterprises which are first-movers in Bispebjerg
E. New enterprises with low-innovation or low-exploration services or products
APPENDIX VI: LIST OF INTERVIEWS WITH KEY ACTORS, CHAPTER 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position at time of interview</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project manager</td>
<td>Business House Copenhagen, the Employment and Integration Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special consultant</td>
<td>Bispebjerg Local Council, the Finance Administration, Municipality of Copenhagen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX VII: MEMBERS OF THE DANISH POLICY PLATFORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place(s) of employment during membership of the policy platform</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Current place of occupation listed first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birgitta Gomez Nielsen</td>
<td>DAB (social housing association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BL – Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecilie Brøndum Boesen</td>
<td>Business House Copenhagen, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Deichmann Haagerup</td>
<td>Danish Business Authority, the Ministry of Business and Growth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Knowledge Centre for Housing Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claes Nilas</td>
<td>The Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Shahamak Rezaei, Ph.D.</td>
<td>Roskilde University, Department of Social Sciences and Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roskilde University, Department of Society &amp; Globalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunvor Christensen, Ph.D</td>
<td>SFI – The Danish National Centre for Social Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kraks Fond. Institute for Urban Economic Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakob Hjuler Tamsmark</td>
<td>Technical and Environmental Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Settlementet (voluntary social organisation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathrine Bek Nyboe</td>
<td>KL, Local Government Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leif Tøiberg</td>
<td>The National Building Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lene Hjorth</td>
<td>BRFkredit (building society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>René Brandt</td>
<td>BONOVA (previously NCC Bolig A/S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Kjær Hansen</td>
<td>Urban Design Department, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solveig Hvidfeldt</td>
<td>The Finance Administration, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Susanne Bjørn Leire</td>
<td>Dansk Supermarked Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sven Buch</td>
<td>Himmerland Boligforening (social housing association)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Bisballe</td>
<td>Business House Copenhagen, the Municipality of Copenhagen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vanessa de Oliveira Stephensen</td>
<td>Novum (voluntary social organisation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Later in this chapter we will elaborate on these concepts. Here we only give some very general definitions.

3 Large parts of this text have been published earlier in Tasan-Kok et al. (2013a).

4 The support of local businesses and entrepreneurs was previously undertaken by Copenhagen Business Service but has now become part of Business House Copenhagen.

5 Plot ratio is the size of a building relative to the size of the plot on which it is located. In Denmark, limitations on plot ratios are set by legislation depending on the type of land, its surroundings, and the purpose of the building.

6 An informal telephone interview was conducted with the chief consultant from the third office ‘Business, Integration and Equality’ in the Employment and Integration Administration (3 June 2016) to clarify matters.

7 This is a part of a status report (2013) of the city’s “Inclusion Policy”, and the figures are estimates of resources spent on “inclusion and integration” as formulated in the status report (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2013a).

8 Closed in 2014 after a reorganisation of the administrative units. However, according to the municipality, the activities of the department are still taking place in the new structure.

9 See Appendix V for the characteristics of each of the entrepreneurs interviewed.

10 A table of the listing of all enterprises into the five categories can be found in the appendix.
This book is one of the outcomes of the DIVERCITIES project. It focuses on the question of how to create social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in today’s hyper-diversified cities. The project’s central hypothesis is that urban diversity is an asset; it can inspire creativity, innovation and make cities more liveable.