Creating liveable Neighborhoods

A Case Study on Social Sustainability in Sydhavnen

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The awareness about the substantial importance of physical and social environments for a thriving, socially active neighborhood is increasingly reflected in current urban renewal efforts. The well-being of people within a city plays a central role in coping with and adapting to environmental and socio-economic stresses.

In this project, the focus will be set on Sydhavnen in Copenhagen, which is identified by the Copenhagen Municipality as disadvantaged neighborhood, which has developed negatively compared to basic social parameters in Copenhagen.

Based on the case of Sydhavnen in Copenhagen, Denmark, this project aims to uncover practical knowledge of factors that matter in relation to social sustainability on a neighborhood-level. Inspired by Berkeley Group's framework in "Creating Strong Communities" (2012), the following research question is explored in this project:

What impact does the physical and social environment have on social sustainability in Sydhavnen?

Sydhavnen's physical environment is rich of contrasts, both supporting and contradicting the theoretical idea of a socially sustainable neighborhood. The neighborhood has an appropriate baseline of amenities and infrastructures that support the social and cultural life within Sydhavnen. The strong sense of belonging and neighborhood identity might take part in Sydhavnen's self-organizational, informal approach to absorb local challenges, and compensate for lacking public efforts in Sydhavnen. The main facilities are based on voluntary work and provide bottom-up services that are tailored around current local needs. Considering that the demand for flexible social services that adapt to local needs is growing in line with municipal financial cuttings, the quality of their crucial service delivery is at risk in the long run. Currently, the capacity of the main community facilities is extremely overwhelmed. Despite some potential for physical improvements in the inner-neighborhood of Sydhavnen, the major challenges in relation to social sustainability are related to external factors such as traffic conditions and social housing policies.

How are the findings represented in the on-going urban renewal efforts in Sydhavnen?

Although the focus points of the on-going renewal efforts are partly aligned with the identified social sustainability factors in Sydhavnen, they clearly prioritize the environmental and infrastructural aspects of social sustainability. The centralization of community facilities eases the negotiation and communication between the local actors and the Municipality. On the other hand, the centralization risks closing down for flexibility in, and enhancement of local networks and cooperation that is of essence for a socially sustainable neighborhood.

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1 INTRODUCTION

More than 50 years passed by since the civil rights activist Jane Jacobs became internationally known for her opposition to New York's powerful chief-planner Robert Moses, who wanted to build a highway through Greenwich Village in Manhattan, a neighborhood that was praised for its vital social structure (Jacbobs, 1961). In the early 60's, Greenwich Village was a place for rich and poor people with a high diversity of small retail shops and a lively arts scene. Since then, human-oriented urban planning approaches have not found much weight in decision-making processes. Challenges such as rapid urbanization processes led to functional cities, in which fragmented land-use and wide traffic arteries should pave the way to the future. The disadvantages of car-dominated and grey cities are increasingly understood. Recent studies indicate that city dwellers have higher rates of mental illnesses like schizophrenia and depressions. These seem to correlate closely with the physical and social environment within cities (Adli, 2011) (Hollstein, 2014).

Only in recent centuries, the social dimension in urban planning has gained increased recognition as an essential component of sustainable urban development (Colantonio & Dixon, 2011). In many European countries, social issues are becoming increasingly considered in urban planning strategies (van Kamp, Leidelmeijer, Marsman, & de Hollander, 2003). In order to argue in favor of human-friendly city designs (including attractive open spaces as social meeting points instead of grey built environments), increased knowledge is needed support the human dimension within sustainable urban planning.

The common understanding of social sustainability is still limited by theoretical and methodological constraints (Colantonio & Dixon, 2011). Nevertheless, the progressive thoughts from Jacobs and others about how the built environment influences the desirability of city living, and how the physical design of a city is essentially determining the social conditions, contributes to the perspectives and approaches that are applied in urban planning today.

Open spaces such as parks and squares are vital for the well-being of a community, since they support social interaction and physical motion. The neighborhood-design alone does not reflect the complexity of factors that influence community well-being. Equally, social factors that strengthen residents' sense of belonging and identity and measurements that address local needs are required to find solutions on how to improve the social sustainability of a neighborhood (Dixon & Colantonio, 2011).

To wrap this up, in the time between Jacobs' words in 1961 and today, a long and muddily path of understanding and debating the essence of the social dimension in sustainable urban planning has finally led to attempts of implementing it in in urban planning and practice.

2 PROBLEM FIELD AND RESEARCH QUESTION

In the previous chapter, the general challenges that occurred from previous and ongoing planning failures are briefly touched upon. The demographic dynamism in cities is continuously changing the requirements for cities to function. Today, we increasingly understand that a successful and well-functioning city is balancing economic competitiveness, social cohesion, and environmental quality in order to be more likely resilient to uncertain challenges in the future. The well-being of people within a city plays a central role in coping with and adapting to environmental and socio-economic stresses. So why have people – the main users of cities – for so long time only played a minor role in urban development projects? Based on the case of Sydhavnen in Copenhagen, Denmark, this project aims to uncover practical knowledge of factors that matter in relation to social sustainability on a neighborhood-level.

In Copenhagen, the Municipality aims to strategically lifting up disadvantaged neighborhoods with large-scale investments. In this project, the focus will be set on one of six identified disadvantaged neighborhoods which in the last decades developed negatively compared to basic social parameters in Copenhagen. Sydhavnen in the southern part of Copenhagen, Denmark, has been increasingly under pressure by socio-economic dysfunctions. Next to being physically bounded and disconnected to the rest of the city through large traffic arteries and train tracks, the neighborhood suffers from socially isolated residents with a high rate of unemployment and drug abuse.

Therefore, the municipality has adopted the "Omraadefornyelse Sydhavnen", further on refered to as 'renewal efforts', and identified key areas to be improved in order to integrate Sydhavnen as a part of the overall positive development in Copenhagen. The vision of the neighborhood improvement is to support the transformation of Sydhavnen into an attractive and liveable residential neighborhood, which is appropriately connected to the rest of the city. But what physical and social factors are relevant for the assessment of social sustainability in Sydhavnen? In order to assess disclose barriers and potentials that relate to social sustainability in Sydhavnen, the following research question (RQ) has been developed:

What impact does the physical and social environment have on social sustainability in Sydhavnen?

   How are the findings represented in the on-going urban renewal efforts in Sydhavnen?

3 THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN AN URBAN PLANNING CONTEXT

Sustainable urban development is a widely accepted conceptual framework among urban policy and development, evolved through powerful environmental movements in the past 40 years. Important publications from the Worldwatch Institute and others, like Meadow's 'Limits to Growth' (1972), has increased the attention on sustainable development as a globally accepted concept (Dixon & Colantonio, 2011). The concept provides a pathway for urban development that *"meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."* (WCED, 1987, S. 45).

The associated aspects to sustainable development – the environmental, social, and economic – are intended to be equally addressed but are giving room for a wide range of interpretations which has led to various urban forms being described as 'sustainable' (Dempsey, Bramley, Power, & Brown, 2011). Although the concept of sustainable development generally refers to balancing the environmental, economic, and social dimensions, the anthropocentric[1] focus has been given least attention to (Murphy, 2012) (Littig & Grießler, 2005). As a starting-point, the following section offers an explorative pathway through the term s*ustainability* and gives considerations about the emergence of the social dimension as an increasingly attended aspect in scientific literature about sustainable urban planning.

3.1 WHAT IS SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY?

To date, current literature and methods do not provide a clear definition and understanding of social sustainability. Mainly, when it comes to the practical world, the focus is set on the environmental and economic conditions of a certain urban development, while the social aspect is under-theorized or overgeneralized (Dixon & Colantonio, 2011). The general agreement that the different aspects of sustainability have not been equally prioritized amongst decision makers is not only reasoned by its emergence through the synergy between the growing environmental movements in the 60s and the 'basic need' supporters in the 70s, but also because difficulties occur to measure the social aspects of urban development (Dixon & Colantonio, 2011). Furthermore, the complexity of factors and aspects of life in combination with social issues and their subjective importance to individuals in a community is currently difficult to define. A study by the OECD

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[1] Definition: *„Interpreting or regarding the world in terms of human values and experiences"* (Merriam Webster, 2015)*.*

(2001) concludes *"that social sustainability is currently dealt with in connection with the social implication of environmental politics rather than as an equally constitutive component of sustainable development"* (Colantonio A. , 2007, S. 4)*.* Sachs (1999) as well argues that it is fundamentally unclear whether social sustainability is standing for a certain social precondition of a development, or that specific structures in communities needs to be sustained (Sachs, 1999). The presentation of terms in table 1, which attempts to explore the evolutionary meaning of social sustainability, exemplifies the traditional and emerging approaches from 'hard' social research and policy areas in the past to 'soft' ones emerging recently. This project will not discuss these terms in great detail, because it would be beyond the scope of this project, but it will provide an appropriate overview of the relevant concepts drawing on existing literature.

Traditional	Emerging
Basic needs, including housing and environmental health	Demographic change (ageing, migration, and mobility)
Education and skills	Social mixing
Employment	Identity, sense of place and culture
Equity	Empowerment, participation and access
Human rights and gender issues	Health and Safety
Poverty	Social Capital
Social Justice	Well-being, happiness, and quality of life

TABLE 1 EXAMPLES OF THE TRADITIONAL AND EMERGING APPROACHES FROM 'HARD' SOCIAL RESEARCH AND POLICY AREAS IN THE PAST TO 'SOFT' ONES EMERGING RECENTLY (DIXON & COLANTONIO, 2011).

3.1.1 TRADITIONAL AND EMERGING ASPECTS
According to Sachs (1999), social sustainability can be seen as a socio-historical process rather than an end-state, which craves a dynamic understanding of human imagination and decisions in relation to a certain area (Sachs, 1999). In other words, the understanding of social sustainability cannot be defined to a still-standing condition.

The shift from *hard* to *soft* measures have been high on the political agenda in recent years, debating on which role governments and policy makers should take when delivering these objectives to the society. In contrast to for example Ormerod (2007), who questioned the ability of governments to steer happiness-oriented policies while being pressured to deliver existing commitments, Layard (2007) argued that the interest about happiness among governments is

growing and recently even begun to be systematically explained and measured (Ormerod, 2007). As explained above, the result of the lacking focus on social sustainability is that it is seen as an emerging field in the built environment and that only a few practical resources have been advocated to measures that stimulates places that a socially sustainable (Palich & Edmonds, 2013).

Thus, growing interest demand better ways to understand the benefits of an anthropocentric approach and should be the central concern of social science. The traditional *hard* aspects of social sustainability, quantitative in their nature, are increasingly expanded by qualitative ones.

3.2 WHY FOCUSING ON SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY?

Commonly in previous city planning approaches, functionality and efficiency in forms of fragmented city designs connected by wide traffic arteries was thought to solve pressuring urbanization processes. It is reasonable to assume that urban planning failures took part in the emergence of social issues like residential disconnection to the physical and social environment.

"The architecture was award winning – but the lifestyle? There's more going on at local cemeteries."

Spiegel Online, describing City Nord, Hamburg (Schaer, 2010)

As the quote about a new master-planned neighborhood in Hamburg indicates, politicians and planners should increasingly focus on people when planning cities, because more knowledge is gained about the far-reaching benefits for the overall city fabric when integrating the social aspect equally into sustainable urban developments. The amount of people living alone is steadily increasing in the developed world, and some might find it paradoxical that social isolation is emerging in high urban population density (Hollstein, 2014). Social isolated people are more likely to suffer from mental illnesses which directly influence the society in general. Despite the fact that people's well-being can have various sources of individual influences, the tools that are available and believed to be on the most updated state of science, are an important step for decision-makers to create, maintain and consistently improve the well-being of current and future residents.

Clearly, the purpose of sustainable development in general is wider than environmental quality combined with responsible economic growth (Beatley & Newman, 2013). Experiences have shown that highly ambitioned community transformations that lack social concerns did not lead to vibrant and liveable results (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). The fundamental difference in local needs is difficult to predict and to measure and cannot be acquired as easy as standards for

environmental quality or economic parameters (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). Indeed, positive experiences are rather achieved when the physical and environmental factors are combined with social ones. Social infrastructures that connect people and enhance community well-being are at least equally important to the sustainable development of a neighborhood (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). The complexity of factors that relate to social sustainability requires a dynamic and integrated understanding of involved values and interests. The risk of 'forgetting' about the long-term social needs in transforming neighborhoods is that socio-demographic issues occur, which can affect the overall city fabric with far-reaching consequences. Examples include the 'Banlieues' of Paris, Chicago's Cabrini-Green, Park Hill in Sheffield, and many more (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011).

3.3 HOW TO DEFINE SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY?

A socially sustainable society is of equitable, inclusive and influential nature and provides a *"decent quality of life for current and future generations"* (Partridge 2005). A basic and essential dimension of social sustainability is equity (Chiu, 2003). Equity does not mean that all residents have the same amount of resources, but mainly implies considerations of equally fulfilling social and cultural needs of various social groups (Pincetl, 2003). Similarly, social inclusion stands for marginalized residents within a society that "g*ain the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and well-being that is considered normal in the society in which they live. It ensures that they have a greater participation in decision making which affects their lives and access to their fundamental rights* (EU, 2010, S. 1)*.* An influential society is a society with willingness to act to improve the surrounding conditions they live in. A common thread between these elements of social sustainability is social interaction, which is assumed to create a common sense of belonging and identity.

A dynamic understanding of social needs over time is the essence of social sustainable neighborhoods in the long run. Previous scientific work, as described above, identified that social sustainability combines a range of different traditional and emerging ideas about social sustainability (Bacon, Cochrane, Woodcraft , & Brown, 2012). In this regard, social sustainability can be considered as a 'life-enhancing condition', which is linked to fundamental physical and social infrastructures. Therefore, the following definition of social sustainability is chosen, because it highlights the mentioned dynamism between social and physical factors in the process of supporting social sustainable developments in neighborhoods:

"Social sustainability [is] about people's quality of life, now and in the future. Social sustainability describes the extent to which a neighborhood supports individual and collective well-being. It combines design of the physical environment with a focus on how the people who live in and use a space relate to each other and function as a community. It is enhanced by development which provides the right infrastructure to support a strong social and cultural life, opportunities for people to get involved, and scope for the place and the community to evolve." (Bacon, Cochrane, Woodcraft , & Brown, 2012).

Hence, social sustainability in this project is associated to community well-being, which is a notion of *"the social, cultural and psychological needs of people, their family, institutions and communities"* (Wilkinson, 1991, S. 141).

3.4 THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

It is assumed that the extent of social interaction is related to the built environment, offered activities and layout patterns (Talen & Ellis, 2002). For example, residential areas of row-housing and low densities tend to reduce social interaction, whereas u-shaped residential units with higher densities lead to increased interaction, since these provide a common entrance and meeting points for everyone (Karuppannan & Sivam, 2011). Generally speaking, public spaces for passive and active recreation and pedestrian-oriented neighborhoods provide better opportunities for people to interact with each other. The neighborhood design is a key to create socially sustainable neighborhoods. Design elements such as pedestrian-friendly neighborhoods that are socially mixed, and by improving and providing accessible social infrastructure and recreational facilities that is able to fulfil local needs are essential components of a social sustainable community. Indeed, social sustainability is a dynamic process of the relationship between the community's well-being and the built environment. The relationship between the built environment and social sustainability is crucial to be understood since the way we build and organize our communities *"can help or hinder social connection. At worst, failed approaches can 'build in' isolation, with long-term damage to quality of life and physical and mental health"* (Kelly, et al., 2012, S. 3).

4 SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY – A FRAMEWORK FOR MEASUREMENT

Using the concept of social sustainability, and building on previous work by the Berkeley Group and the Young Foundation, the aim of this chapter is to bring together and analyze a range of factors that impact the well-being of a community, and thus the people's well-being in a community.

In the past, a body of research emerged that has tried to conceptualize social sustainability in finding indicators and principles. Grounded in the latest academic and scientific research, the factors that support social sustainability in a community can be categorized as *physical* and *non-physical factors* (See table 2). The connection between these factors is increasingly evident (Roberts, 2003).

Physical factors	Social factors
● Urbanity	● Education and training
● Decent housing	● Participation and local democracy
● Local environmental quality and amenity	● Health, quality of life and wellbeing
● Accessibility (for example to local services and facilities/ employment/green space) Sustainable neighborhood design	● Social inclusion (and eradication of social exclusion)
	● Social capital
	● Safety
	● Mixed tenure
	● Fair distribution of income
	● Community cohesion (i.e. between and among different groups)
	● Social networks
	● Social interaction
	● Sense of community and belonging
	● Employment
	● Active community organizations
	● Cultural traditions

TABLE 2 AN OVERVIEW OF EXAMPLES ON PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS THAT AFFECTS THE SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN NEIGHBORHOODS (BACON, COCHRANE, WOODCRAFT, & BROWN, 2012).

To ensure a consistent and structured analysis, a framework that defines and incorporates the physical and social factors is required. Inspired by the Berkeley Group's framework in the report "Creating Strong Communities" (2012), the physical and non-physical factors that enhance the extent to which a neighborhood supports individual and collective well-being are embedded and categorized into the following three main dimensions:

1) *Amenities and infrastructures,* including past attempts to lay the foundation for community well-being through neighborhood design and the provision of and access to basic services.

2) *Social and cultural life*, including the present, how people experience the community development.

3) *Voice and influence*, including local governance structures that illustrates the potential for residents to shape their future

In order to put the means of these categories into context, a fourth dimension will be reflected upon in the discussion chapter:

4) *Change in the neighborhood*, including flexible planning in terms of housing, infrastructure & services that can adapt over-time.

Due to the time limitations of this project, and due to the fact that this category is about extensive monitoring of the change in the neighborhood over time, future efforts related to Sydhavnen are discussed and carefully compared with findings from the first three categories.

4.1 AMENITIES AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Amenities and infrastructure in general can be defined as long-term physical assets that facilitate the provision of goods and services (NZSIF, 2009). The embedded basic services and social infrastructure usually includes the provision of social services which stimulate social interaction and well-being. Moreover, there is a strong belief that pedestrian-oriented neighborhood design is encouraging people's social interaction (Chan & Lee, 2009) (Oktay, 2004). Street layout, including pedestrian and bike-friendly patterns, and accessible public spaces, such as open and green spaces (e.g. respectively squares and parks), play an important role in improving the social inclusion and interaction of the community (Gehl [1], 2011) and provide a common ground for formal and informal social gathering and interaction for the residents (Chan & Lee, 2009). Next to environmental benefits, it also has the potential of enhancing the social interaction and inclusion, and helps promote physical and mental health.

People-friendly environments promise to stimulate outdoor activities, which can be divided into necessary and optional activities. The design of the physical environment is not influencing the frequency of necessary activities (work, shopping etc.); instead, the optional activities are supported, including recreation, sport and play (Gehl [1], 2011). The combination of a pedestrian-friendly neighborhood as umbrella, embedding appropriate basic services and social infrastructure, and the provision of a physical environment that increases the likelihood of people spending more time outside is vital for a vibrant community and gives its residents spaces to stimulate social interaction and in turn generates sense of belonging (Kavanagh, 2010).

"New communities need services and support, not just buildings."

(Future Communities, 2009)

4.1.1 PROVISION OF BASIC SERVICES AND ACCESS TO SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

The provision of basic services and access to social infrastructure plays an essential role in developing social networks and strengthen social interaction. Hence, also public facilities should not only meet the basic needs of the people but also offer a ground to hold social and leisure activities. Basic services and social infrastructure includes a broad range of basic services that should be provided in locations proximate to the 'point of needs' (NHS, 2006). These include services like schools and childcare, healthcare, retail, and communication systems, and should be accessible for all community residents, based on people's needs to live, work, and participate in leisure and cultural activities. Accessibility refers to *"people's ability to use services and opportunities"* (Litman, 2016, s. 5) at state or in future. Support services that at first sight seem relatively incidental can have extensive consequences. Examples are on mass. Attractive meeting places like green spaces and 'ground-floor zones' allocated for shops, cafés and restaurants are enablers of opportunities for residents to socially interact and recreate (Aspern, 2016). The improvement of the local built environment that encourages walking and cycling enhances health and aesthetic enjoyment, as well as it reduces emissions (Barton, Grant, & Guise, 2003). And measurements to financially support of community outreach workers (e.g. volunteers) is crucial to fulfil local needs and unite residents from different backgrounds (Kavanagh, 2010) (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). The provision of amenities and infrastructures should be established at an early stage of a community since it encourages residents to use local services over those in other neighborhoods (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). Facilitating local services and activities tie the community together. Dedicated local workers with their knowledge

about local needs can support residents to set-up their own local projects and create opportunities to interact through local events, public meetings, and community planning work. The lack of facilitating local services that address local needs has, based on experiences, shown to slow the process of creating a vibrant life in neighborhoods (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011).

4.1.2 TRANSPORTATION AND CONNECTIVITY

A pedestrian-oriented neighborhood design is closely linked to transportation modes that are not based on the use of conventional automobiles. Connectivity relates to *"the directness of links and the density of connections in a transport network"* and affects the extent to which transportation infrastructures, such as streets, walking and cycling paths, link people to their destinations, both local and regional. Good connectivity provides easy access for pedestrians to reach their destination by foot, bike, and/or public transport, and discourages the use of cars which leads to various environmental and social benefits such as less noise and air pollution and health (Healthy Places, 2009). Combining the transportation and connectivity patterns with mixed land use planning, a transportation network that is pedestrian-friendly increases the opportunities for residents to walk while undertake daily tasks. The link between pedestrian-oriented neighborhood design, including network connectivity, and the extent of automobile usage and dependence is proven by previous studies (Healthy Places, 2009), which leads us to the following section.

4.1.3 MIXED LAND USE

The strategies to socially diversify communities have become a central part of sustainable communities. Two different levels of mixing communities have been suggested. Firstly, communities can be mixed in terms of buildings (e.g. their architecture, size and uses like commercial, residential or industrial) and secondly, communities can be mixed in terms of people and their social characteristics (e.g. income, ethnicity, life stages, households). Tunstall and Fenton (2006) have identified specific ways in which mixed communities can contribute to the sustainability of a community. They noted that changes in residential needs and objectives though e.g. life stages, household sizes or income is more likely to be met with a mix of housing sizes, types and tenures (Tunstall & Fenton, 2006). Even though there are arguments for mixed communities, it has to be dealt with carefully. As Butler (2003) says, housing mix does not necessarily mean social mixing between residents. By simply mixing people together, regardless of differences in characteristics and background, it is not ensured that they will interact with each other (Butler, 2003). For example, a study about social isolation found out that young immigrants being relocated from immigrant dominated neighborhoods to wealthier parts of the city have increasingly gotten

depressions (Barthélémy, 2013). Furthermore, too much diversity of social groups may destabilize the existing social networks. Therefore it is important to be sensitive about adequate levels of social mix and socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

4.2 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

The importance of social networks and the provision of a secure and safe neighborhood need to be acknowledged by decision-makers and urban planners. In this project, the social and cultural life is indicated by the sense of belonging and community identity, relationships between neighborhoods, and feelings of safety, as explained in the following.

4.2.1 SENSE OF BELONGING AND COMMUNITY IDENTITY

For transforming neighborhoods - with an influx of new residents without established social connections – the social and cultural life cannot be defined by its shared history (Future Communities, 2009). Hence, local agencies play an important role to support local residents in creating a social and cultural infrastructure that enables a common sense of belonging and community identity. *Sense of belonging* refers to the encompassment of *a person's striving to relate to and care for others, to feel that those others are relating authentically to one's self, and to feel a satisfying and coherent involvement with the social world more generally".* (Ryan & Deci, 1991, S. 243). Community identity is about the existence of distinctive but connected levels. From a planner's perspective, each community has its own unique community ideology that planning professionals should be conscious about (Hibbard & Davis, 1986). Sometimes, conflicts in community ideology can arise between different groups which affect the general community identity. In case of lacking a common sense of belonging and community identity, the risk of social isolation and increased mental health problems occur. Moreover, people would not invest into their community and would, by chance, even move away from the neighborhood.

According to a study made by Livingston et al. (2008), the development of social networks and feelings of safety are crucial to support sense of belonging and community identity (Livingston, Bailey, & Kearns, 2008). Physical places have been of lower importance to surveyed residents. Thus, social relationships and local activities, both formal and informal, are of high essence for a thriving neighborhood and even small changes such as closing a community center can have far-reaching impacts for the community residents. Neighborhood residents relate both to the community they live in and to communities of interest, standing for e.g. common religion or shared identity. Growing

evidence suggests that strong local social networks are related to various outcomes from health to crime (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011).

4.2.2 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN COMMUNITY RESIDENTS

This section describes the benefits of relationships between community residents, that, in order to develop a sense of belonging and provide the feelings of safety for residents, are enabling the capability of supportive, empowered and cultural life (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). Relationships between community residents will be defined by the social capital, which, according to Putnam, grounds the base to enable residents to "*act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives.*" (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011, S. 33). Bridging social capital is certainly important in neighborhoods composed of residents with different backgrounds such as age, ethnicity, religion, lifestyle, culture or social class (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). Benefits of strong local networks include various aspects such as a stronger sense of identity and belonging to a neighborhood, less grime, better educational achievements and better local news and information. Well connected residents are more likely to be living in the midst of life, being healthy and happy, and participate in ordinary activities of the day (Woolcock, 2001).

Weak represented social capital is documented to result in anti-social behavior and dissatisfaction. Therefore, practical ways are found to support social capital in neighborhoods. Community development workers and local-based staff are needed to create spaces for social interaction through local events, public meetings, consultation and community planning work. This will help to build networks between the 'old' and 'new' residents in a neighborhood and organize rituals that give a place a distinctive identity. Furthermore, it supports to negotiate differences between residents, and between residents and their surrounding services, and enables the recognition of a positive sense of belonging (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011).

4.2.3 FEELINGS OF SAFETY

The feeling of safety is a crucial element of social sustainability. Maslow (1954) places safety in his 'hierarchy of needs' as second most important to individual's needs. The hierarchy is equally applicable to neighborhoods. Safety is a basic requirement for neighborhood residents to be fulfilled when talking about social sustainability (HACT, 2015). The feelings of safety are crucial for people to embrace city space that in turn creates life on the streets. In this project, safety is considered in terms of traffic safety and crime prevention.

During car domination in the 20th century, the risk of accidents to pedestrians and bikers has been steadily increasing. The physical patterns, street types and traffic solutions, are decisive in order to design a neighborhood that supports social life. Experiences gained by many European cities that try to reduce the amount of traffic can considerably lead to the reduction of traffic accidents and create a safer and more comfortable environment for pedestrians and bikers (Gehl [2] , 2011).

Social sustainability cannot be considered as achieved when, generally speaking, crime and perceptions of crime within a neighborhood is not explicitly included in planning efforts (Cozens, 2007). As Du Plessis indicates: *"No city can call itself sustainable if the citizens of that city fear for their personal safety and the safety of their livelihood"* (Du Plessis, 1999, S. 33).

4.3 VOICE AND INFLUENCE

Voice and influence reflects the involvement of community residents in decision-making about local priorities and service delivery. Hence, it demonstrates the residents' opportunities to shape their future through local government structures that 1) facilitates residents' influence on decisions, and 2) supports residents' confidence to control local issues (Future Communities, 2009).

First of all, residents - both established and future residents - need to have a *voice* in the shaping of their surroundings and have the ability to influence the local area. The opportunity of residence to *influence* collective decisions and activities in their neighborhood has shown to contribute to the well-being of residents and communities (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). Often, also impacted bordering neighborhoods might have a stake in the transformation of a neighborhood since e.g. transportation and service patterns can change. Ignoring the opinions of involved actors inside and outside of the assessed neighborhood can raise local resistance, delays and opposition to planning objections (Future Communities, 2009).

A report from the UK, called the Local Wellbeing Project, concluded that *"wellbeing is higher in areas where residents can influence decisions affecting their neighbourhood; wellbeing is higher among people who have regular contact with their neighbours, and that wellbeing is higher in areas where residents have the confidence to exercise control over local circumstances."* (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011, S. 39). Also the Young Foundation states that the benefits of opening opportunities for residents to influence decisions and control local circumstances have direct influence on the community's well-being, and that it creates interrelations between neighbors (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). For this, both formal and informal groups can help to strengthen resident's *voice and influence* in planning processes and decision making. Informal

groups can be local activists that independently form campaigns to address on particular life experiences or interests. Formal groups can be created by local groups that establish local organizations or new institutional governance arrangements such as residents associations or neighborhood councils. Both types of groups are essential for thriving community governance and sustaining the *voice and influence* of residents, because it supports engagement that is sensitive to local needs. This includes local services and encouraging community initiatives that base the actions on a wide range of issues related to a neighborhood (Future Communities, 2009).

4.3.1 PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT

Participation and empowerment in the planning processes of urban development is seen as fundamental elements of social sustainability (Dixon & Colantonio, 2011). Community involvement contributes to the transparency of planning processes to democratic conditions in a political system. Participation ensures the expression of community's needs and aspirations which influences the policy making during planning, implementation and maintenance processes of an urban development (Dixon & Colantonio, 2011). Participatory planning approaches contribute to a collaborative governance structure which enables the democratic right to be involved in public policy processes and creates a more efficient policy delivery, since it stands in line with the society's values and preferences. Furthermore, it raises awareness of the social and cultural qualities of a community during the policy making and avoids conflicts regarding neighborhood performances (Dixon & Colantonio, 2011). Instead of having formal sets of structures and procedures, as explained by the traditional institutionalism theory, the new institutionalism rather addresses an institution as "*an established way of addressing certain issues*" where institutions and civil society, and planners and individuals *"becomes merged into collaborative action and social communication."* (Dixon & Colantonio, 2011, S. 26). This ensures horizontal hierarchies in governance and is a way to overcome barriers and tensions between different social, ethnic, and believing groups (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011).

4.4 CHANGE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

According to this theoretical approach, planning authorities should avoid master-planning approaches that propose the ideal future. These approaches are inflexible and don't leave space for ambiguity, uncertainty, and openness to change. The best development in relation to a flourishing social life is to recognize *"that a new community will develop best if it is allowed to be dynamic and to evolve in ways that the planners cannot entirely predict."* (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011, S. 43). When a neighborhood is transformed, planners should enable that communities and

their residents have *space to grow* in a way that a unique character can be developed in a place that meets the local needs and has a possibility to change and adapt to emerging population shifts and new patterns of work and social life. The context of the neighborhood is certainly important to be recognized; different local circumstances in different neighborhoods need varying approaches (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011). Often, the greater emphasizes on design and physical issues in planning processes, and ignorance of community and social needs are resulting in facilities that are inflexible and hard to adapt.

Creative uses of buildings and land can be supported by opportunities for community groups to manage or built their own homes. The suggestion of allowing residents to self-create and -organize their sites would allow neighborhood characters to develop freely and catalyze local action. Crucial conditions here are *"public sector support, political will and community interest, and a social enterprise dimension to the business model"* (Woodcraft, Hackett, & Caistor-Arendar, 2011, S. 44-45)*.* Nevertheless, since the assessment of the change of a neighborhood requires long-term monitoring efforts, this category of the framework will only be addressed in the discussion chapter in order to evaluate the planned and ongoing neighborhood improvements in Sydhavnen.

4.5 LINKAGES BETWEEN THE CATEGORIES

Established *amenities and infrastructures* are efforts in the **past** that reflect the foundations to support community well-being, including both physical infrastructures such as education and healthcare facilities, and social ones like community facilities that targets the local needs of residents. As indicated by the arrows in the figure below, the first dimension, *amenities and infrastructure,* strongly influences the *social and cultural life* of a community, which, in contrast to the first dimension is reflecting the **present** social and cultural condition of a community. Last but not least, the *voice and influence* of individuals is decisive for the ability and willingness to influence decisions that **shapes the future** of the neighborhood. Finally, the ability of a neighborhood to adapt to environmental and social **changes in the future** represents the last category. The categories are summarized in figure 1.

1) Amenities & Infrastructure
Past attempts to lay the foundation for community well-being through neighborhood design and the provision of and access to basic services.

4) Change in the neighborhood
Ability of places and facilities to adapt to meet changing needs.

2) Social & Cultural Life
The present perceptions of resident's sense of belonging and neighborhood identity.

3) Voice & Influence
Local governance structures that illustrates the potential for residents to shape their future.

FIGURE 1 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY (BACON, COCHRANE, WOODCRAFT , & BROWN, 2012)

The framework is intended to be broad, but not infinite. Other factors might influence the community well-being, but it is seen to be a starting point for understanding the factors that influence the well-being of a community and thus creates the baseline for explaining how the physical and social environment is enhancing the community well-being.

5 METHODOLOGY

The last chapter introduced the applied theories in this project. In order to answer the research questions, this chapter presents the research design and methodology of this project. The data collection methods are affecting the results in the analysis chapter; unreliable methods lead to unreliable results (Nielsen, 2014). Therefore, arguments for the different methods are presented, which undermines the value of the interpretation of the results (USC, 2016).

The research takes its departure at understanding and defining the term social sustainability, which led to the identification of physical and social indicators being embedded in the chosen theoretical framework for social sustainability. The framework is inspired by the Berkeley Group's framework in the report "Creating Strong Communities" (2012). The initial attempt of this project is to grab the fundamental elements needed to integrate measurements that enhance social sustainability in a neighborhood. The indicators are divided into three main categories:

- Amenities and infrastructure
- Social and cultural life, and
- Voice and influence

This is the baseline for the framework that guides the assessment of social sustainability in Sydhavnen. A fourth category, change in the neighborhood, is reflected upon in the discussion chapter and relates to future planning issues that adapt to circumstantial changes in the neighborhood.

In this project, a variety of different methods are chosen to investigate the research question. The reasons for the variety of methods are stated below. Lastly, limitations in the data collection due to e.g. scope and time will be discussed in order to critically evaluate the project's validity and reliability (USC, 2016).

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The central topic of this project is to investigate whether the urban environment enhances social sustainability within the neighborhood Sydhavnen in Copenhagen. The neighborhood-scale is chosen to frame the scope of this project. Moreover, investigating neighborhoods over cities are reasonable due to the differences in neighborhood characteristics, enabling deeper insights into the humanely relevant scales in a specific context (Gobster, 2001).

5.2 TYPE OF RESEARCH

A single case-study approach was selected to conduct the study. As this research explores 'how' issues, Robert Yin, a leading researcher in this field, undermines why a case-study approach was considered to be most suitable:

> *In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context* (Yin, 1994, s. 1).

He further defines case-studies as:

> *"An empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident"* (Yin, 2009, s. 14)

Case-studies aim, not like more generalizing methods, to give a more detailed understanding of an individual case, as the case in this project is of specific, unique, and bounded nature (Willis, 2014).

5.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Since the social dimension of sustainability is not well defined and understood to date, a basic understanding of the traditional and emerging factors associated with the problem-field is achieved through a broad scientific literature review. Empirical sources from books, journals, data-bases, interviews, and personal conversations led to an increased understanding of which factors contribute to social sustainability within a neighborhood. Thus, these factors are incorporated into the analytical framework, which ensures a structural and consistent analysis.

5.3.1 MIXED METHODS

Mixed methods research is an emerging research approach in the social sciences that involves combining both statistical trends and personal stories to study human and social problems. The core assumption is that when a researcher combines both statistical trends and stories, that combination provides a better understanding of the problem than either statistical trends or stories alone.

"The reality that we as researchers are trying to understand is not ordered and organized" (Nielsen, 2014, s. 41). The application of only one method often leads to a fragmented understanding of the questions. Since social sustainability is a broad term that involves both quantitative and qualitative indicators, mixing methods are believed to be appropriate to find answers on social sustainability issues. This perspective is undermined by researchers such as Bergman (2008), who indicate that quantitative and qualitative methods are reasonable to be combined:

"Specific data collection and data analysis techniques must now be connected far more directly and explicitly to a research focus, research context and research design" thus *"embedding and justifying our selected methods".* (Bergman, 2008, s. 18)

Since there are no inherent links between data collection methods and the research field, it is necessary for researchers to justify the choices of methods. As indicated in the previous chapters, the fundament of social sustainability is to create a physical environment that is adapted to local circumstances and characteristics. The theoretical approach in this project takes its departure from quantitative indicators embedded in the first category of the framework, amenities and infrastructures. These are analyzed through quantitative data sources such as spatial maps and register data. Amenities and infrastructures are perceived as fixed structured elements that support the social and cultural life of residents in a neighborhood. The second category, 'social and cultural life', is dealing with qualitative indicators such as sense of belonging and identity, and relationships between neighborhood residents, which are explored through qualitative data collection methods such as observations and semi-structured interviews. How do people feel about their neighborhood? And how are these qualitative perceptions related to the quantitative nature of amenities and infrastructures within Sydhavnen? Many researchers argue that the combination of methods often result in superior research (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie , 2004) (Jick, 1979). Nevertheless, as Bergman explains, an appropriate research design depends on the research question. In some cases, single method designs are fitting, in others, mixing methods will lead to a more comprehensive view on research questions. In this project, in order to understand the relation between the physical environment and social and cultural life, the mixed methods approach is a suitable tool. Lastly, semi-structured interviews are an appropriate choice in order to assess residents' perceptions of their ability to influence decisions in their neighborhood. Researchers in social science can obtain their data directly from the cases they are researching on. Data sources that are the first hand evidence collected by the researcher in order to answer the research questions are called primary data (CSU, 2016). The secondary data has already been gathered by other researchers and complement the primary collection of data (IWH, 2016).

5.4 PRIMARY DATA SOURCES

An advantage of primary data collection is that it can directly be tailored to the specific purpose of this study project (IWH, 2016). The primary data sources in this project are layout maps and register data, local committee meetings, and semi-structured interviews.

5.4.1 REGISTER DATA

The register data is related to statistical platforms that are used to cover indicators that require quantitative data sources about neighborhood e.g. socio-demographic neighborhood characteristics that are relevant in relation to the theoretical framework. These are obtained through public registers such as 'Danmark Statistik' or the police databank. The Danish registers cover a wide range of themes with imbedded variables that promise longitudinal research on patterns relating to social sustainability. The disadvantage of register data, on the other hand, is limited information and fragmented insights. A special challenge in this project has been that the available register data cannot be applied to the certain case of Sydhavnen. In the public statistics of Copenhagen, Sydhavnen is part of the district Kongens Enghave/Vesterbro, which, in terms of socio-demographic and economic population characteristics differs widely from the defined case.

5.4.2 LAYOUT MAPS

The layout map, provided by the Municipality of Copenhagen, is a suitable tool to get an overview of the set-up of amenities and infrastructures in Sydhavnen. It provides valuable information about the physical environment of any defined area within Copenhagen and suits well to the first category in the theoretical framework.

5.4.3 LOCAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS

The attendance of three local committee meetings relating to 1) urban environment, 2) social issues, and 3) cultural issues gave valuable insights into local needs and values in relation to the neighborhood development of Sydhavnen. It also enabled impressions about the relationships between the representatives of local residents and municipal politicians at Copenhagen City Hall. The Local Committee fosters dialogue between the neighborhood's residents and Copenhagen City Council and is composed of 23 members who are elected as representatives for a period of four years. Each of the political parties that are elected in the City Council will have a local representative in the Committee. Other members in the Committee are appointed at a set-up meeting where members of local associations, organizations, user boards, etc. are voted for. Table 3 gives an overview of the Committee's member composition:

The Local Committee for Social Issues

Anna Rosenblad	Bestyrelsen for Brug Folkeskolen
Joan Røge	EF Kalvebodhus
Junn Ovildsdóttir	Afdelingsbestyrelsen 1046-4, Karré 18
Brian Lentz	Sydhavnscompagniet
Sisse Fagt	Motionsklubben Sydhavn

The Local Committee for Cultural Issues

Paul-Erik Lind	Havebyen Mozarts
Mathilde Lunderskov	Børnenes Dyremark
Benny Pedersen	Karens Minde Kulturhusforening
Hans Præstbro	Skolebestyrelsen Ellebjerg Skole
Per Ramsdal	Sydhavn Sogn, Frederiksholm Kirke

The Local Committee for Urban Environment

Name	Organization
Ann Birk Vikkelsø	Det Grønne Knæ
Dan Jønsson	Bådeklubben Sjællandsbroen
Anne Marie Holm	Badekompagniet Sluseholmen
Kirsten Bjørton	GF Sluseholmen
Jan Fønss	Sydhavnsforeningen
Peter Ravn	Afdelingsbestyrelsen for Karré 8, Frederiksholm

TABLE 3 OVERVIEW OF THE MEMBER COMPOSITION IN THE THREE LOCAL COMMITTEES.

The meetings took around two to three hours, discussing current local challenges. This first-hand information created important knowledge about the research question. Basically, the discussed subjects are highly relevant for all of the three categories in the theoretical framework.

5.4.4 *SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS*
Two semi-structured interviews have been conducted in order to get tailored information about the research topic. The respondents of the conducted interviews are directly involved in neighborhood efforts as described in table 4:

Respondents	Organization	Form & Date
Kirsten Lange	Environmental Officer at the Kgs. Enghave/ Sydhavnen Local Committee	Telephone, 13.04.2016
Harry Ottosen	Housing Association 3B, Chamber Board	Personal, 21.4.2016

TABLE 4 OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS. TABLE 4 OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS.

Kirsten Lange contributed with incredible knowledge about the physical conditions in Sydhavnen. This was certainly relevant for the first category of the framework. In addition, the relationship between the physical environment and social and cultural patterns have been discussed, which was useful to get an impression on the linkage between the first and second category in the theoretical framework.

Harry Ottosen comprised historic local knowledge with information about current development patterns. Due to his long termed relation to Sydhavnen, he gave valuable insights into the governance structures within Sydhavnen, which was certainly relevant for the second and third category of the theoretical framework.

5.5 SECONDARY DATA SOURCES

Compared to primary data, secondary data tends to be available easy to access. The secondary data sources are useful to be examined in addition to the information provided by the primary data. The combination of the two types of data sources often undermines the validity and reliability of the data sources. In this project, the secondary data is including a recent survey conducted by the Municipality of Copenhagen, to be precise, by the local 'Områdefornyelse Sydhavnen', which is a holistic effort which organizes the cooperation between local forces to develop Sydhavnen into an attractive and liveable neighborhood. The survey was carried out in June 2015 and acquired 307 respondents. The survey has a certain importance, since time and scale of this project has been extremely limited to enable a comparative survey. The respondents have exclusively been from Sydhavnen. The composition of respondents in relation to their living conditions is seen to reflect the reality within Sydhavnen. 45% of the respondents live in social housing. In relation to the employment level of respondents, 43% state to be employed fulltime, while 12% are on unemployment benefits.

In sum, table 5 provides an overview of the four categories from the theoretical framework, including indicators, examples and data approaches.

	Categories	Indicators	Examples	Approach of analysis
Social Sustainability	Amenities and infrastructure	• Basic services • Social infrastructure (incl. Community facilities) • Transportation and connectivity • Mixed land use	• Basic services; schools; healthcare; transport links; shared spaces that enable neighbors to meet; space that can be used by local groups; and whether a development/neighborhood can adapt to meet future resident needs and aspirations	Analyzing layout plan
	Social and cultural life	• Sense of belonging and community identity • Relationships between neighborhood residents • Feelings of safety	• How people feel about their neighborhood; sense of belonging and local identity; relationships between neighbors and local social networks; feelings of safety, how people living in different parts of a neighborhood relate to each other; how well people from different backgrounds co-exist.	Analyzing layout plan, observation & interviews
	Voice and influence	• Perceptions of ability to influence local area • Willingness to act to improve area *(Both embedded in 'Participation and empowerment')*	• Residents' perceptions of their influence over the wider area and whether they will get involved to tackle problems. The existence of informal groups and associations that allow people to make their views known, local governance structures; responsiveness of local government to local issues.	Observation and interviews
	Change in the neighborhood	• Creative uses of buildings and land • Space to grow • The ability to change and adapt to emerging population shifts and new patterns of work and social life	• Ability of places and facilities to adapt and flex to meet changing needs; public space that can be adapted to meet changing needs and wishes; future options for residents to shape public and shared space.	Analyzing layout plan, observation & interviews

TABLE 5 SUMMARY OF THE FOUR CATEGORIES FROM THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, INCLUDING INDICATORS, EXAMPLES AND DATA APPROACHES.

6 The Case of the old Sydhavnen
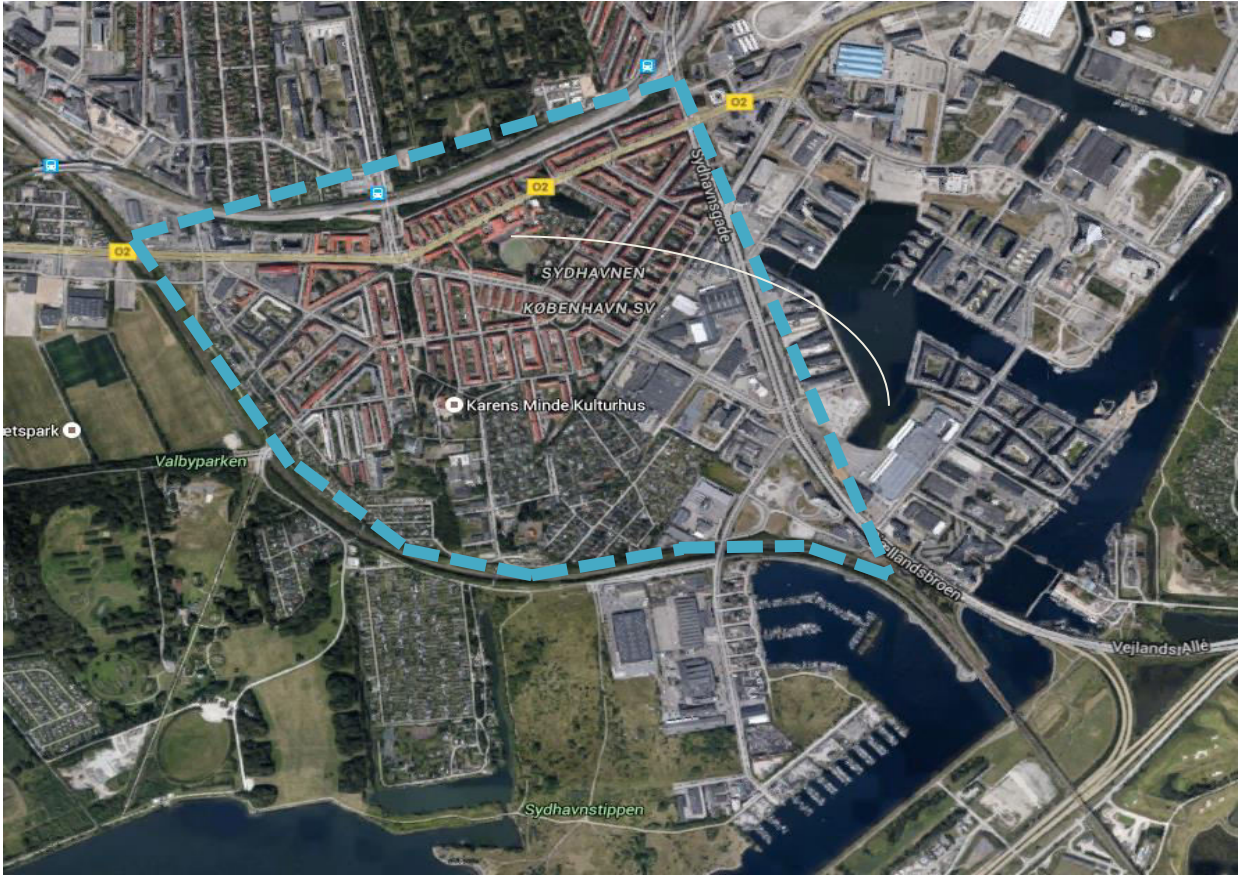
MAP 1 THE MARKED AREA ILLUSTRATES THE CASE OF SYDHAVNEN, WHICH IS PHYSICALLY FRAMED BY STREETS, RAIL TRACKS, BUT ALSO HAS POTENTIAL WITH ITS PROXIMATE WATER FRONTS AND GREEN SPACES (SOURCE GOOGLE MAPS).

The development of Sydhavnen has certainly been accelerated by the industrialization of the harbor-front in late 19th century. Physical and social problems characterized the neighborhood throughout the 20th century. In the 1990's, this led to urban regeneration policies that aim to lift the area to Copenhagen's standard (Copenhagen Municipality [6], 2010). Nowadays, as the Municipality states on their website, Sydhavnen is well-progressing to become one of Copenhagen's new attractive neighborhoods, since the new part of Sydhavnen, the settlements on the water fronts, is attracting residents and businesses with higher income and education (Copenhagen Municipality [7], 2014). Estimated 12.000 jobs and around 2.500 homes are expected in the new Sydhavnen until 2025 (Copenhagen Municipality [6], 2010). While the new Sydhavnen is primary developed with large-scale housings and is kept free of heavy motorized traffic, the old Sydhavnen, the marked area on map 1, is walled by large traffic arteries, which isolates the neighborhood from surrounding areas and decreases the attractiveness of the urban space. On the other hand, the old part can be

characterized as having a more classic neighborhood structure, meaning more variation in its housing facades, streets, and public spaces. This gives the old part of Sydhavnen a sense of more activity with a variation of perceptions and functions.

6.1 URBAN REGENERATION IN DENMARK

In the 1990's, the old Sydhavnen has been addressed by the first wave of urban regeneration efforts in Denmark. Back then, the acknowledgement that urban regeneration should not only focus on physical changes, but also on improving social and economic conditions, has been revolutionary, since the traditional approach until the 90's was mainly targeting physical aspects. Politically, this was the beginning of a new holistic approach, including the integration of various public sectors, local networks and resources, to handle neighborhoods that suffered under physical and socio-economic stresses (Larsen, Andersen, & Kielgast, 2003).

Sydhavnen has always been clearly defined in being bounded by, respectively, large traffic arteries, water fronts, green areas and industry, which geographically isolated the neighborhood to the rest of the city. With the decrease and removal of the industry at Sydhavnen, and with the emerging businesses including prominent international firms such as Samsung and Nivea, higher educational jobs were required than the local residents could offer (Larsen, Andersen, & Kielgast, 2003).

The overall objects of the political efforts in the 90's were to enhance a positive development of the neighborhood based on local needs. It was hoped to create a positive neighborhood identity through the involvement of residents and other local actor and to achieve a more diverse socio-economic composition of the population in the neighborhood. Later on, also environmental concerns and traffic reduction was added to the objectives. As a report from 2003 concludes, there have been numerous detailed objectives in general that has been directed at solving key problems of the neighborhood. However, there have been no goals to improve the private service sector and culture and entertainment, which in that time has been lacking. Also a significant change of the traffic conditions has not been achieved (Larsen, Andersen, & Kielgast, 2003).

6.2 THE OLD SYDHAVNEN TODAY

The old Sydhavnen, being part of the district 'Vesterbro/Kgs. Enghave', is identified as one of six disadvantaged areas designated by the Municipality of Copenhagen (Copenhagen Municipality [9], 2014). In 2014, the old Sydhavnen inhabits approx. 11.000 residents in 6.900 homes (Copenhagen Municipality [8], 2014). In 2014, 53% of the neighborhood represented social housings, which lays above the municipal average of 20.1% (Copenhagen Municipality [10], 2015).

The visual characteristics of the old Sydhavnen is strongly influenced by the red- and yellow-bricked apartment buildings, primary established in the 40's by the worker association 'Arbejdernes Kooperative Byggeforening (AKB) (Kongens Enghave Lokalhistoriske Arkiv, 2015) (Copenhagen Municipality [9], 2015). Figure 2 shows that the old Sydhavnen is predominantly composed by small apartments in need of renovation and modernization. Compared to Copenhagen as baseline, fewer families are living in Southern Harbor and significant differences are shown in the proportion of unemployment, education and income.
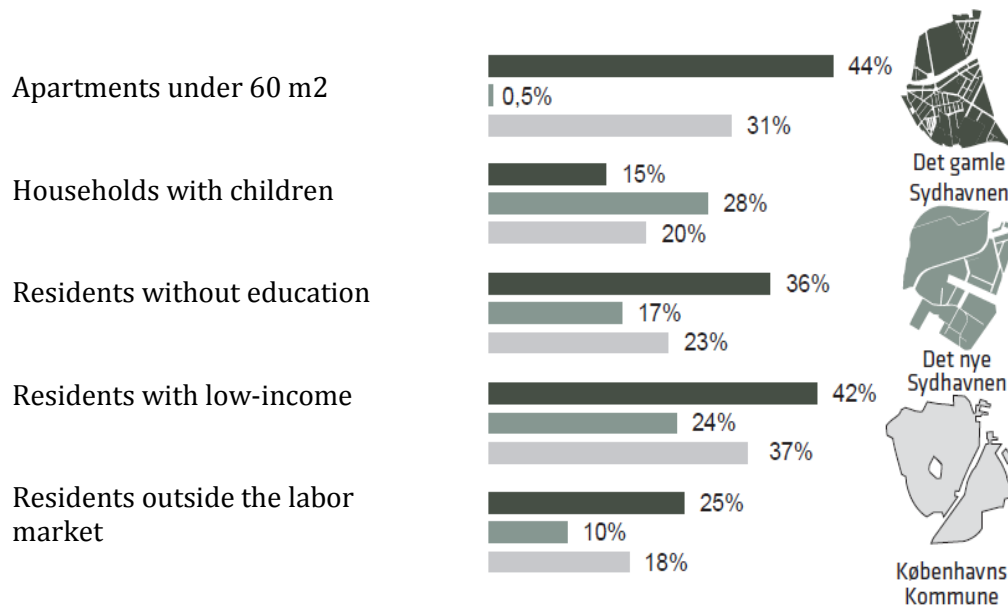
FIGURE 2 SYDHAVNEN IS NOT ONLY PHYSICALLY FRAMED. ALSO THE CONDITIONS OF HOUSING, EDUCATION, INCOME AND ACCESSIBILITY TO THE LABOUR MARKET ARE SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT (COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY [6], 2014).

Nevertheless, socio-demographic patterns tend to change in Sydhavnen. An influx of new residents is perceived [Interview Ottosen, 2016] (Sydhavnstippen, 2016) and also intended by the renewal efforts in Sydhavnen. Its vision is to transform Sydhavnen into an attractive and lively residential neighborhood that is well connected to the rest of the city. This will be elaborated on in the discussion chapter.

7 ANALYSIS

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part explains the set-up of amenities and infrastructure within the old Sydhavnen (from now on called 'Sydhavnen') including the sub-sections *basic services*, *social infrastructure*, *transportation and connectivity*, and *mixed land-use*. The amenities and infrastructures are identified to be decisive for the condition of the second section of the analysis, *the social and cultural life* in the neighborhood.

The social and cultural life includes indicators such as *sense of belonging and community identity*, *relationships between neighborhood residents*, and *feelings of safety.* With the collection of qualitative data it is intended to find a general tendency of the social and cultural life within Sydhavnen. Feelings of safety are further complemented with quantitative data from the police register in order to set feelings of safety in context with the perceived real condition of safety in the neighborhood.

The third part stands for *voice and influence* of residents and includes residents' perceptions of their ability to influence and improve the community, which is embedded into the sub-section *participation and empowerment*. Other factors might influence the community well-being. Nonetheless, these are seen as a reasonable starting-point for 1) understanding the relationship between decisive physical (including institutional) and social factors that influence the community well-being, and for 2) explaining why long-term residents feel connected, respectively disconnected, to their surroundings.

7.1 AMENITIES AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The amenities and infrastructures are analyzed in relation to the identified indicators, mainly obtained through layout maps that illustrate the set-up of basic services, social infrastructure, transportation and connectivity, and mixed land-use.

7.1.1 BASIC SERVICES

Based on the theoretical approach, basic services should be provided proximately to the sources of needs of every resident in the neighborhood. The essential requirements of providing basic services are the set-up of a diverse service network that meets the needs of all residents in the neighborhood. Due to the high rates of social housing in the neighborhood, Sydhavnen is certainly challenged by an over-averaged rate of people troubled by social disconnection, mental illnesses, and unemployment. Next to basic services such as education and health, these local circumstances are acknowledged when assessing the provision of services that fulfill the local needs.

Map 2 provides an overview of the distribution of present public facilities in Sydhavnen that are considered as delivering the basic needs of neighborhood residents. These include educational facilities such as schools and kindergartens, nurseries, and public youth centers. Public health facilities cannot be identified within the neighborhood borders:
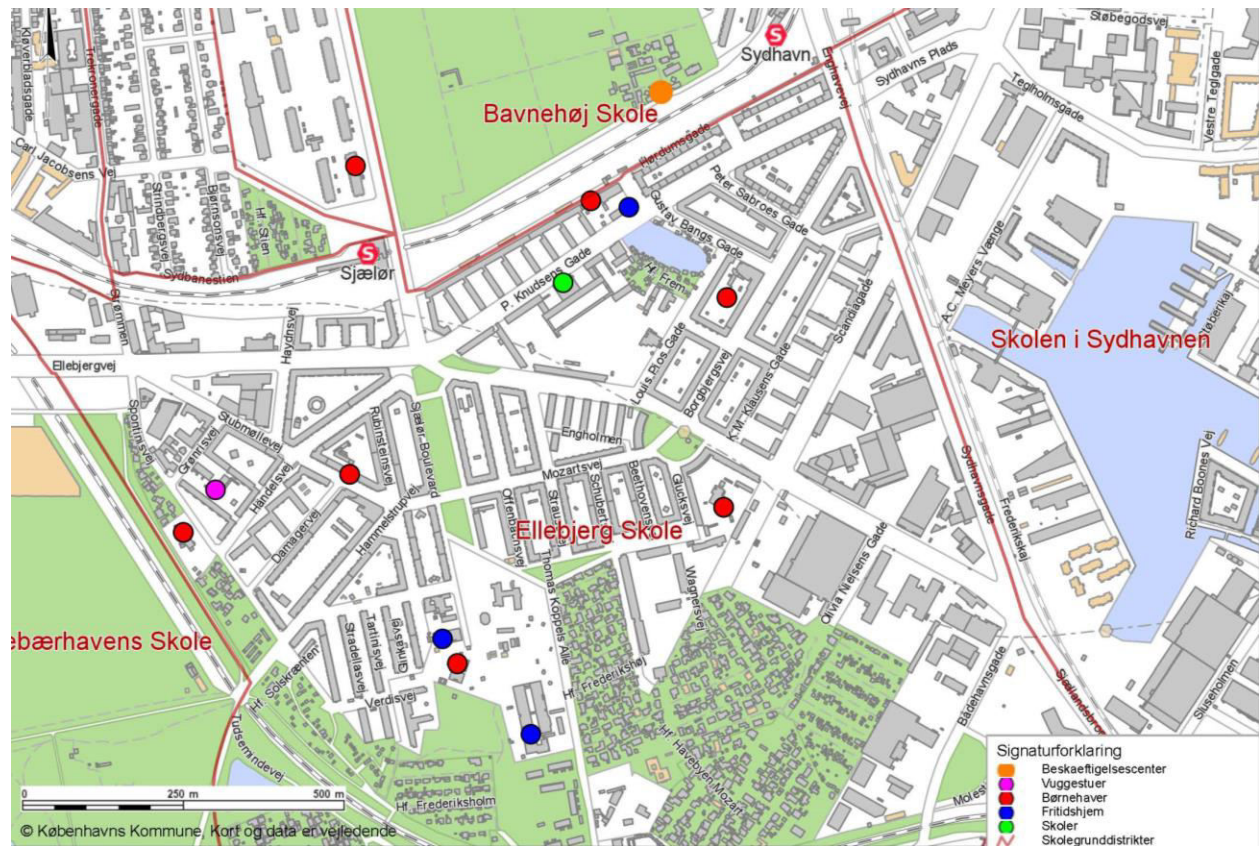
MAP 2 THE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES SUCH AS SCHOOLS AND KINDERGARTENS, NURSERIES, AND PUBLIC YOUTH CENTRES IN SYDHAVNEN (COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY [2], 2016).

The provision of educational facilities promotes social interaction primarily between the young residents of a neighborhood. Educational facilities as an opportunity for social interaction are valuable for children; they learn appropriate social behaviors such as sharing and cooperating with others. Encouraging children with e.g. different ethnic backgrounds to play together is of extreme importance for the relationships between children and their personal development (Changnon, 2016).

As the map illustrates, the defined neighborhood is located in the school district called 'Ellebjerg Skole' and has one homonymous public school situated at P. Knudsensgade, an intensely polluted street (elaborated on under the subsection 'Transportation and connectivity'). For the young

residents, six kindergartens and nurseries, and three youth-centers are fairly distributed in the area. Nevertheless, a significant issue in relation to socially diversify and thereby stimulate social tolerance among students with different ethnic and social backgrounds is the choice of parents to put their children on private schools. A common argument in favor of private schools is that families have a wider choice of schools, and that private schools are of better educational quality. Opponents disagree, saying that private schools generally worsen social exclusion and equity in the educational system (Lauglo, 2010).

According to Harry Ottosen, these arguments play a crucial role in relation to social diversity in educational facilities in Sydhavnen. A certain issue in Sydhavnen is that the attractiveness of the public primary school is shrinking. Ellebjergskolen, the only public school in the district, has problems to attract ethnic-Danes, as Ottosen states:

"There was a time when my grandchild was the only Dane in the class, being happy about the diversity of ethnic and social backgrounds."

[Interview Ottosen, 2016, s. 30:30]

Many of the ethnic-Danes choose to put their children on private schools, such as Strandparkskolen, where ethnic-Danes are more represented and the quality of education is assumed to be higher. The same phenomenon can be observed on other ethnicities, as many minorities, e.g. the Muslim minorities, rather choose the private Turkish or Arabic schools in the area, which in total accommodate more than 500 students.

For residents with special needs, the neighborhood provides a school and a kindergarten for disables children. Furthermore, a treatment clinic for drug addicts lies at Frederiksholm, which is crucial in terms of present rates of drug abuse in the old Sydhavnen (Copenhagen Municipality [3], 2016). Nevertheless, mental health services can only be found in Valby, which according to Harry Ottosen is not appropriately approaching patients from Sydhavnen:

> *"When mentally disturbed people from Sydhavnen need help and outreach the psychiatry in Valby, often they do not get any feedback on their calls."* [Interview Ottosen, 2016, s. 19:25].

The certain issues relating to unemployment in the neighborhood are moreover reflected through opportunities for residents to get consultancy on recruitment processes. Close to the Sydhavn St., there are two departments of the municipal employment center that works with the recruitment,

and annual training for young people under the age of 30 with language barriers, which after a professional assessment can be led further to a language school.

7.1.2 SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Social infrastructure implies community facilities and shared spaces like green and recreational spaces that enable neighbors to socially interact while enhancing the sense of belonging and identity of residents to their neighborhood.

Next to previous outlaid basic services, social infrastructure is crucial to create socially sustainable neighborhoods. To a high extent, social infrastructure is based on visible basic services such as education and health facilities, but also on less visible types of support that creates a sense of belonging and neighborhood identity. Local knowledge is important to establish services that fulfil local circumstantial needs and that catalyze the well-being in a neighborhood. Community facilities play a central role in meeting the issues that a neighborhood is struggling with.

As shown in the survey, the social and cultural opportunities that community facilities and associations deliver are not well recognized by the residents of Sydhavnen. 34% of the respondents never use any of the offered community facilities, and 28% claim to use them less than monthly. Nevertheless, more than a half (55%) are very satisfied or satisfied with the cultural offerings in Sydhavnen, and 24% are neutral. In the following, the two main cultural institutions that are identified to be decisive for social and cultural offerings in Sydhavnen are outlined in the following.

KARENS MINDE KULTURHUS

Karens Minde Kulturhus is a community-driven, but municipal supported, cultural facility that is located in the south-west of Sydhavnen, being surrounded by well-maintained green spaces, which gives room for a range of other facilities like the Children's Animal meadow (Børnenes Dyremark), Sydhavnens Library, a theater, and 'Boernekulturstedet'. Overall, the range of events and activities that are related to Karens Minde Kulturhus are based on voluntary work that enhances the diversity of cultural and recreational opportunities for residents of all ages.

Karens Minde Kulturhus is one of the few cultural centers in Copenhagen that is driving by an independent cultural organization. The organization is supported by a broad ranged network of actors, both individual residents, institutions and organizations that seek to remain Karens Minde Kulturhus as a strong meeting space in Sydhavnen. The sponsors and supporters include powerful actors like the Municipality of Copenhagen, Tuborg, Sjeldani Boligadministration, and Statens Kunstfond, and many local actors like Sydhavnen's pharmacy, some cafes, supermarkets and other

local businesses and organizations. After all, voluntary work is the backbone of the efforts done in relation to their service delivery.

Karens Minde Kulturhus, built in 1879 to 1914 as an institution for mentally ill people, is in terms of service delivery the most important cultural facility in Sydhavnen and well-known among Sydhavnen's residents. 95% of the respondents answered to be familiar with the facility, and the most known services that it provides are the library (63%), single events (56%), the café (43%), and the animal meadow (29%). In the same chronology, people have used these offers in the period of the last year. The library was used by 43% of the respondents, single events have been attended by 36%, and the café covered 24%. Still, 30% of the respondents have not used the offerings at all Copenhagen Municipality [10].

BOERNEKULTURSTEDET
Boernekulturstedet is an important institution that has recently been established in Karens Minde Kulturhuset. It provides cultural and leisure activities for children and young people in the school holidays. In cooperation with organizations and associations (preferably local ones), opportunities are provided that engage young people in local activities in Sydhavnen. The initiative 'Holiday-Camp' (Orig.: Ferie-camp) is started by a broad range of interdisciplinary professionals that are deeply rooted into the neighborhood and have knowledge about local circumstances and needs. These mainly include social workers such as inclusion-teachers, employees from culture and leisure centers, and librarians that have experiences with kids and young people. The choice of local staff that organizes the cultural activities and events can be a main reason for the success of the holiday camp: During the winter holidays, the first camp attracted more than 1.000 children, mainly from Sydhavnen.

"It has been a little shocking, but also touching, to see how great a need there have been for these holiday camps, because it toppled into the doors with children."

(The Local Committee for Cultural Issues, 2016)

Through conversations with all teachers from all schools in and around Sydhavnen, including private schools, and through talking the majority of educators in youth centers, the message has been spread widely and took part in the numbers of attendances. Mainly, the events are free, without registration, and accessible for all groups of age, which is assumed to be a critical reason of

the high attendance rates in the activities. The general demand of the place is high, and of certain importance for stimulating the social interaction between neighborhood residents. There has been a large group of people that have never been at Karens Minde Kulturhus before. Karens Minde Kulturhus is functioning as a hub and meeting space for residents to socially engage in local activities through the diverse range of workshops and events (The Local Committee for Cultural Issues, 2016). These are contributing to support the sense of belonging to a place that meets the needs of involved residents. Boernekulturstedet fosters the social tolerance and interaction between residents with different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, and facilitates accessible means of including all residents in Sydhavnen (certainly those which are free and without registration).

"It was clearly a new audience [in the holiday-camp], it was young 'brown' boys that I would have been uncomfortable standing alone with, and they were insanely sweet without any problems."

(The Local Committee for Cultural Issues, 2016)

As the holiday-camp has shown, these kinds of events are crucial for not only social interaction between neighborhood residents, but increasing the awareness about local cultural opportunities. The holiday-camp for instance led to more committed young residents, who formed a youth committee which is willing to set-up activities in a self-organizational matter. Those who signed up for the planning committee of future events have never been engaged in Boernekulturstedet. Partly they were known for criminal tendencies. The place stimulates the encouragement of newly involved residents to plan and be committed to neighborhood activities that 'get the youth from the streets' and creates a common identity among residents (The Local Committee for Cultural Issues, 2016). But what do current political tendencies in cultural terms mean for the future of the holiday-camp? First of all, the camp is very attractive for both users, mainly the local youth, and providers, primarily local associations that aim to be involved. The applications from new associations that have never taken part in the Camp are in full swing, which catalyzes the urgent need of the Camp administration to employ staff. The municipal provision of 4.000 DKR per week for cultural activities during the Camp makes it extremely complicated to deal with. As Ditte Arnth, the leader of the Camp explains, the addition of money from other pools in order to sustain a degree of profession in the activities is required. The cultural associations are certainly under pressure in delivering services that are crucial for the social and cultural life in Sydhavnen.

Sydhavns Compagniet is another non-profit community center that was established 15 years ago. It aims to improve the social inclusion and motivate residents to participate in a wide range of leisure activities and projects. Currently, the Center consists of about 25 voluntary staff with various backgrounds and qualifications. Through combining voluntary work with advocacy- and employment promotion-work, a synergy effect has been achieved to strengthen the opportunities for social inclusion and participation of 'all' residents within the local community. The provided community work is adapted and organized to address local needs, certainly for socially excluded and marginalized residents. A social café, a public charity kitchen, anonymous counseling about health and employment, nature projects, holiday camps, creative workshop-oriented activities, tours and excursions, only to name a few (Sydhavns Compagniet, 2016). Although the initiatives are highly credited by local politicians and residents, their dependence on funding will be a major upcoming issue. The center has a loss of 1.5 million kroners and many funds are running out, which according to Brian Lentz, the leader of the center, is the most difficult situation the center ever have faced. The demand of their offers is rapidly growing while the core funding is originated on the time when Sydhavns Compagniet was much smaller. In the meanwhile, Sydhavns Compagniet is getting a strong community center that plays a major role in the social and cultural life of Sydhavnen, but without external support, the maintenance of the variety of services provided by Sydhavns Compagniet is threatened.

"Actually, we did not want the Municipality to keep the whole together, but now, we already faced scarcity of human resources in many years, and the demand of our services is growing."

<div align="center">
Brian Lentz, leader of Sydhavns Compagniet
(The Local Committee Meeting for Social Issues, 2016)
</div>

Professional qualified employees are difficult to be held without an appropriate salary, and the core funding does not even cover basic expenses for e.g. cars, insurances, and rent. The savings by the Municipality on the social and cultural area will not make it easier for community centers like Sydhavns Compagniet to provide services that covers the local needs. Additionally, the new social assistance reform, which was established in 2014 and certainly affects young people without education (Ministry of Employment, 2016), will have direct impact on these services. As Sydhavnen is a neighborhood that already has many citizens on social assistance, the demand for social and cultural services will most likely increase. As Lentz explains, the complex issues of poverty, mental

illnesses and drug abuse in Sydhavnen cannot be withstood without an increased core funding. According to Lentz, related negotiations with the Municipality are entangled (The Local Committee Meeting for Social Issues, 2016).

7.1.3 GREEN AND RECREATIONAL SPACES

Sydhavnen is surrounded by, and well-connected with various green spaces. Map 3 illustrates the total provision of different types of green and recreational spaces in the neighborhood, including parks, natural areas, cemeteries, and allotment gardens.

Despite the fact that there are no precise data-sets available, Sydhavnen has most likely one of the highest shares of green spaces per inhabitant in Copenhagen [Interview Ottosen, 2016]. Also the respondents of the survey tend to experience their neighborhood to a great extent as a green area (70%). Only 7%, respectively 1%, agree on this to a lesser degree or not at all.

MAP 3 THE PROVISION OF GREEN AND RECREATIONAL SPACES INCLUDING PARKS, NATURAL AREAS, CEMETERIES, AND ALLOTMENT GARDENS IN SYDHAVNEN (COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY [2], 2016).

Green and recreational spaces are important meeting places for neighborhood residents, and different types of spaces indicate different intensity of usage (Sammen om Byen, 2015). Table 6 shows parameters that determine to what extent the different types of municipal green spaces impacts the intensity of usage, the extent of multi-functionality, and the maintenance level needed. These parameters indicate the efficiency of green spaces as meeting places of neighborhood residents and can be useful to identify certain types of green spaces that support the interaction between, and well-being of neighborhood residents.

Four categories are embedded in municipal green spaces for recreational purposes. These are parks, cemeteries, natural areas, and green urban spaces:

	Intensity of usage	Extent of multi-functionality	Required maintenance level
Parks	High	High	Medium
Cemeteries	Medium	Low	High
Natural areas	Low/Medium	Low	Low
Green urban spaces	High	High	High

TABLE 6 OVERVIEW OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF GREEN SPACES AND THEIR INTENSITY OF USAGE, EXTENT OF MULTI-FUNCTIONALITY, AND REQUIRED MAINTENANCE (SAMMEN OM BYEN, 2015).

All of the four categories are well-represented in Sydhavnen. The major green and recreational spaces are municipal and include a park (Valbyparken), a large cemetery (Vestre Kirkegaard), a natural area (Sydhavnstippen), and allotment gardens based on municipal ground. Furthermore, many public green spaces and trees between the buildings and streets can be identified in the neighborhood.

Multi-functional places have a certain effect; the high extent of multi-functionality, such as a park or green urban spaces, is more likely used by residents for recreational purposes. People in public spaces create life in the neighborhood through more social interaction. The following major municipal green spaces, which are significantly supporting social life in Sydhavnen, are briefly described in the following.

VESTRE KIRKEGAARD
In the north, by crossing P. Knudsensvej, the residents have the opportunity to go to Vestre Kirkegård, a cemetery of the size of 537 km², which is the largest of its kind in Denmark (Langhoff & Brakchi, 2014). Being beautifully landscaped with its well-maintained green and recreational spaces, two lakes, monuments, and artworks, it serves as an important open space for surrounding residents (Fejerskov & Valente, 2016).

VALBYPARKEN
Valbyparken offers large, open spaces, a natural playground, a rose garden with more than 12.000 roses, and other themed gardens that neighboring residents can access to recreate. Valbyparken is a large green area that both consist wild nature and tended parks. In some areas, forest-like nature and highly grown grass ensures diversity in perceptions and activities. In other areas of the park, the grass is maintained and fine theme-gardens are established. The natural playground in the park

is staffed and a Frisbee course and a café, Café Rosenhaven, are providing opportunities for residents to be physically active while interact with people and nature (Copenhagen Municipality [4], 2016).

PICTURE 1 ACTIVITIES IN VALBYPARKEN **(VILJE, 2014)**

SYDHAVNSTIPPEN

Sydhavnstippen is owned by the Corporation for Development of City and Port I/S and represents a unique natural area. It is grounded by landfilled building materials and soil from construction work in Copenhagen during the first half of the 19th century. Subsequently, the area was left for the wild nature spreading over it and is partly (0.32 km² of 0.58 km² in the southern part of Sydhavnstippen) protected by the Conservation Regulations that imply a limitation in building permissions. Only small constructions are allowed, which conserves the natural area and gives room for social and cultural activities for residents (Gerion, 2015).

For families, Sydhavnstippen is an attractive place for excursions, where the sea view and fresh air can be enjoyed from the area's unique blend of wild nature and man-made landscape (paths, benches, etc.). Sydhavnstippen is centrally located in a bird protection area and various events such as role plays, art exhibitions, and theater performances, guided bird-watching, among others, are attracting visitors, while children and child-care organizations are benefitting from courses provided by the miniature school at the north end of Sydhavnstippen. Importantly, Sydhavnstippen is directly accessible from Valbyparken to the vest and Amager to the east via green walking and biking routes, which connects Sydhavnstippen to its surrounding areas (Sydhavnstippen, 2016) (Copenhagen Municipality [5], 2016).

The provision of a wide range of activities that are easily accessible for surrounding residents is not taken for granted. And again, previous voluntary groups that maintained the area, e.g. through cleanup and planting activities, are increasingly challenging to engage with [Interview Lange, 2016] (The Local Committee for Urban Environment, 2016). Possible reasons will be elaborated in the sub-section 'Voice and influence'.

PICTURE 2 ONCE A LANDFILL, TODAY RICH OF NATURE THAT IS OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE FOR SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN SYDHAVNEN (SYDHAVNSTIPPEN, 2016).

ALLOTMENT GARDENS

Sydhavnen is characterized by allotments, both in the inner-neighborhood and towards the water front in the south of the neighborhood. The allotment gardens emerged in the 20's, when Sydhavnstippen was landfilled with materials from construction work in Copenhagen. Already back then, people lived year-round in the small lots, and when the unemployment periods in the 30's and 50's hit Sydhavnen, the allotments got home for unemployed people from the rural areas all around Zealand. Back then, the community feeling was strong, because many of the inhabitants knew each other from the countryside. The Municipality, which could not provide other places for them to inhabit, accepted the dwelling, as it does today. The first inhabitant of the allotment gardens extracted their income from the landfill on Sydhavnstippen: *"Even today it is hard to forget what lies beneath us, because when we are digging in the garden, many things from the past appear: Bottles of all kinds, pottery, other fragments, batteries, bicycle saddles, shoe soles (...)."* (Kalvebod, 2016).

Chemical residues are also found in the soil in amounts which are assumed to harm health. Although the Danish Environmental Protection Agency (Orig.: Miljoekontrollen) has conducted various analyzes and studies to find relations between the poisoned ground and human health, no evidence could be found that residents have taken direct damage in health. Nevertheless, the Agency recommends some precautions, such as 'Do not let children play directly on the ground' and 'wash your hands, when you've been in the garden', etc. (Kalvebod, 2016).

Today, the allotment gardens are attractive for new people which are not related to the rich history and culture that was created during the last almost hundred years. The allotments don't serve the function of inhabiting homeless and unemployed people anymore, but rather reflects a harmonic, rural and familiar atmosphere that seem inviting for future residents. Nevertheless, tradition is high weighted in the allotment garden associations. E.g. in one of the prominent allotment garden association, Kalveboden, houses can only be sold to family members, or to people on the waiting list. The waiting list is divided into an internal list for the association's residents, and into an external. The internal is prior to the external, which means that when a house is put up for sale, the price is determined by the association committee and first offered to people on the internal waiting list (Kalvebod, 2016).

PICTURE 3 AN EXAMPLE OF AN ALLOTMENT GARDEN IN THE MIDDLE OF THE URBAN FABRIQ OF SYDHAVNEN (COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY [1], 2014).

7.1.4 SQUARES AND PUBLIC SPACES

Sydhavnen has always been a place of spaciousness, meaning that the neighborhood is less dense compared with many other neighborhoods in Copenhagen and provides many public spaces between the buildings that can be used by residents to socially interact and recreate. Squares and public spaces that are perceived as inviting, both in terms of aesthetics and function, are assumed to catalyze the intensity of usage and therefore also the potential of social interaction among residents.

According to the survey, the respondent's satisfaction with public spaces representing squares, benches, or parks is mainly perceived positively: 67% are satisfied or very satisfied with Sydhavnen's public spaces, 20% are neutral while only 8% are unsatisfied or very unsatisfied.

Nevertheless, the mainly positive perception of urban spaces in Sydhavnen is not significantly reflected in the responses about the intensity of usage. Only 14% use the urban spaces daily, while 34% use them weekly, and 16% of the respondents only use them monthly. These results can be reasoned by other aspects that influence the intensity of usage such as climate conditions, site quality and accessibility of spaces, and which daily activities the respondents prioritize.

MOZARTS SQUARE

Mozarts Square is the geographic center of Sydhavnen and functions as an important public space for cultural activities and social interaction. Mozarts Square is well known among Sydhavnen's residents (Copenhagen Municipality [10], 2015). The square provides space for temporary events like festivals, flea markets, or concerts.

Due to the previous dilapidated condition of the square, the site has undergone a spatial transformation in 2010, where the entire space got covered with grass, much to the delight of previous unsatisfied residents. Now, since the Copenhagen metro will be established at Mozarts Square, the place will be renovated another time. The local housing associations, 3B and KAB, are working closely with the Kgs. Enghave Local Committee to plan the renovation of the square (Copenhagen Municipality [9], 2015).

The tolerance among neighborhood residents and the spacious characteristic of Sydhavnen plays a significant role in attracting alcoholics from around the city. Mozarts Square is certainly important for these people, because in other neighborhoods of Copenhagen they are often banned or fined. Being the neighborhood center, Mozart Square provides a valuable space for activities and events, where local actors organize dialogues between the users of the Square, local associations, and

municipal representatives. Just recently, more than 200 participants, many of the Square's users, exchanged their values in relation to the renewal efforts during a barbeque event.

PICTURE 4 A FREE SOCIAL EVENT WITH LIVE MUSIC AND BEER, ORGANIZED BY A LOCAL CAFÉ CALLED WOLFIE **(POLITIKEN, 2015)**.

7.1.5 TRANSPORTATION AND CONNECTIVITY

Empirical evidence shows that good transport connections are important for residents to easily access their daily destinations such as work, shops, and social relatives such as family and friends (Litman, 2016). Public and sustainable transport networks are a relevant aspect of social sustainability, since a lack of transport and connectivity makes residents feel isolated and cut off. Moreover, the reliance on cars generates air and noise pollution which harms the environment and increases stress levels of residents. The following map illustrates the present transportation condition in Sydhavnen, including the extent of noise and air pollution from transportation and the degree of noise-plagued homes:

MAP 4 LARGE STREETS ARE FRAMING THE NORTH-EAST PART OF SYDHAVNEN. THIS MAP ILLUSTRATES THE EXTENT OF NOISE AND AIR POLLUTION FROM TRANSPORTATION, INCLUDING THE DEGREE OF NOISE-PLAGUED HOMES (COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY [2], 2016).

TRANSPORTATION

The transportation issue in this section is limited to what is considered as relevant in relation to social sustainability. Instead of focusing on different transportation modes, their impacts on Sydhavnen's residents in forms of environmental and social aspects are addressed here.

The transport and connectivity issue in Sydhavnen has been captured in the neighborhood development efforts in the 90's. Certainly the transportation issues are extremely relevant for the neighborhood well-being in Sydhavnen. Due to the 'transitional' location of Sydhavnen (further elaborated below) a wide range of involved interests are challenging traffic solutions. The process of finding solutions that imply all involved opinions is muddily, and often, these serious problems were pushed aside by responsible actors, certainly by politicians [Interview Ottosen, 2016]. Indeed, the reduction of motorized traffic was addressed in the past development efforts in Sydhavnen. Borgmester Christiansensgade e.g. was heavily used as connection to Amager. Through narrowing it down, a trade-off effect emerged that increased the traffic on P. Knudsensgade, a school street

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that leads out of Copenhagen and is used by many industrial trucks and personal vehicles. An experiment that included a speed reduction to 50 km/h and had many opponents among police and politicians, led to be permanently sustained. Trade-off situations are typical in transportation planning and involve cross-border responsibilities [Interview Ottosen, 2016].

The effort in the 90's included architectural and organizational planning solutions. These led nowhere due to the lack of municipal funding. Also other projects relating traffic reduction and safety were assessed and feasible but not implemented (e.g. a roundabout at the big intersection at Sjaeloer Boulevard and P. Knudsensgade) [Interview Ottosen, 2016].

Calculated annual daily traffic (ADT) is the daily traffic calculated as an average over the whole year, taken from the latest traffic statistics of the Municipality of Copenhagen. Motorized vehicles include passenger-cars, vans, trucks and buses. Equally, bikes are also calculated through ADT, while the numbers of pedestrians are the latest counting between 07:00-19:00 o'clock, made by the Municipality of Copenhagen (table 7).

Traffic census

Transport modes	Amount per location				
	P. Knudsensgade	Sydhavnsgade	Scandiagade	Mozarts Plads	Borgbjergsvej
Motorized vehicles	30.400	20.000	23.400	3.300	4.800
Bikes	2.300	7.200	400	1.500	1.600
Pedestrians	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3.100

TABLE 7 TRAFFIC LOAD BY TRANSPORTATION MODES IN DIFFERENT LOCATIONS IN SYDHAVNEN (COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY [2], 2016).

The major street arteries in Sydhavnen (P. Knudsensgade, Sydhavnsgade, and Scandiagade) are chosen because they strongly influence the environmental quality on the edges of the neighborhood, which in turn affects the social and cultural life of residents. In contrast, the neighborhood center (Mozarts Plads) and the major commercial street with shops and cafes (Borgbjergsvej) are chosen to set the numbers in context. The most traffic of motorized vehicles is on the three major roads. The amount of motorized vehicles is significantly lower in the inner-neighborhood. The higher noise and air pollution and noise-plagued homes are therefore at the edges of the neighborhood and mostly lying above the recommended noise levels of 58 dB (Danish Environmental Protection Agency, 2016). According to Danish Environmental Protection Agency (Orig.: Miljoestyrelsen), exceeding these levels can lead to sleeping problems, fatigue, headache,

increased blood pressure, hormonal effects, stress and increased risk of heart disease. It also indicates that children exposed to persistent external noise are at risk to develop difficulties in learning (Danish Environmental Protection Agency, 2016). The only public school in the neighborhood is situated at P. Knudsensgade, next to Sydhavnsgade the most exposed street, being exposed by transiting traffic flows from external areas.
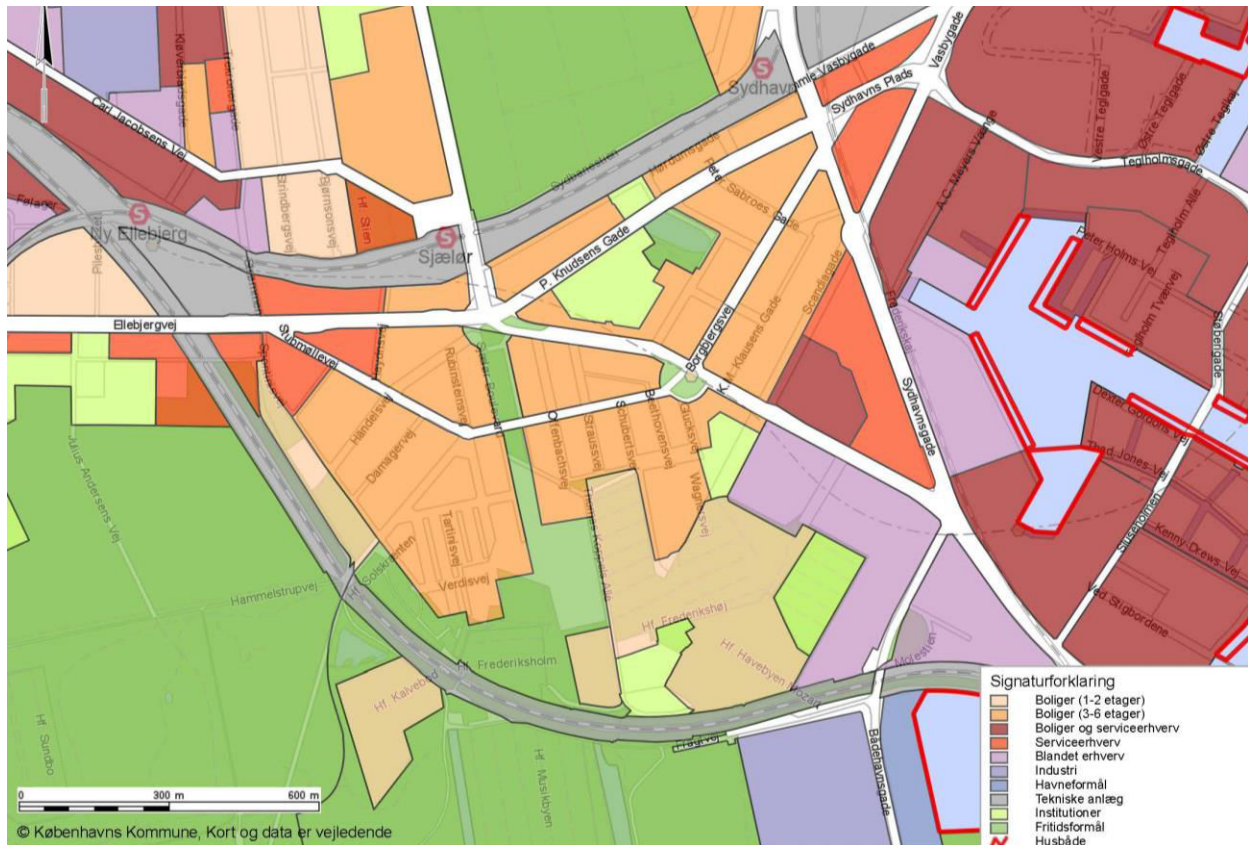
CONNECTIVITY
Before the renewal efforts in the 90's, Sydhavnen was divided into three isolated neighborhoods that were not well connected, both social and infrastructural. The lift in the 90's was planned by working-groups from the different part-neighborhoods; Bavnhoej, Frederiksholm, and Musikbyen. These working groups played a major role in integrating the varying values from the different part-neighborhoods into the neighborhood development. Today, the communication and relations between the residents from the three part-neighborhoods are intensified, also reasoned by the working-groups that unified the opinions from the three neighborhoods. Despite two s-train stations at the edges of Sydhavnen, the neighborhood is geographically framed and rather isolated to surrounding neighborhoods through large streets and railway tracks. In the old part of Sydhavnen, there may be a tendency to forget that the entire harbor front (the new Sydhavnen) actually is part of Sydhavnen vice versa. Physical places are important for arrangements to entice the new residents of Sydhavnen into the old part of the neighborhood in order to get a more connected and mixed neighborhood composition [Interview Lange, 2016].

7.1.6 MIXED LAND-USE
As indicated in the theoretical framework, mixed land-use has not only environmental benefits in that it reduces the dependence on cars which in turn has a wide range of other benefits such as less congestion and air and noise pollution. It also prompts pedestrian movements in the neighborhood which increases social interaction among residents (Nabil & Abd Eldayem, 2015).

Map 5 gives an impression on the land-use dedicated for different purposes in the neighborhood. Municipal planning and building regulations are concretizing the policies and objectives for the area development. The regulations establish rules for land-use and construction in each part of the municipality, which new local planning strategies must be drawn up to.

Signaturforklaring
- Boliger (1-2 etager)
- Boliger (3-6 etager)
- Boliger og serviceerhverv
- Serviceerhverv
- Blandet erhverv
- Industri
- Havneformål
- Tekniske anlæg
- Institutioner
- Fritidsformål
- Husbåde

MAP 5 OVERVIEW OF THE LAND USE IN SYDHAVNEN, DIVIDED INTO HOUSING, BUSINESSES, SERVICE SECTOR, INSTITUTIONS, AND LEISURE (COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY [2], 2016).

While the new part of Sydhavnen is dominated by high apartment buildings, the old Sydhavnen is of a much more diverse composition. The compact classic city structure in the old part of Sydhavnen, with its small streets, squares, public spaces, and richness of variation in buildings and forms, is more of a smaller, human scale and has many overlapping functions, which stimulates social interaction and life in the public sphere. The district is strongly influenced and characterized by the certain time period in which the neighborhood evolved - with only a few additions over time (Real Dania, 2014).

The housing facades on the main streets in the old Sydhavnen are active and variating with various different visual impressions. The residential buildings are not as high (mostly 3-6 floors). In the southern part of the neighborhood, only 1-2 floor houses are allowed, since the area's special character with the traditional allotments are to be maintained. The allotments can only be used for permanent residential purposes when the conservational and environmental conditions are clarified. Furthermore, areas dedicated for institutions and leisure; mixed businesses; and the service sector can be found at the edges of the neighborhood, similarly as areas for industrial and

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harbor purposes close to the water front. Specific areas dedicated for arrangements can be found at Mozart Square and in Valbyparken.

RETAIL SERVICES

The specific description of the retail services in Sydhavnen is relevant since they, contrary to housing, stimulate the activities on the streets. The shopping patterns of survey respondents have shown that 53% of the respondents are shopping daily in Sydhavnen, and 42% use the shopping opportunities weekly. Hence, more than half of the respondents use the retail offers daily, and 95% weekly. This indicates that the basic demand of everyday products is met in Sydhavnen. But when it comes to the variety of retail services, the answers are more of a controversial nature: 29% of the respondents do not agree that Sydhavnen has an appropriate variety in retail services.

So what does this tell us about the retail landscape in Sydhavnen? Even though many of the respondents buy their daily products within the neighborhood, the demand for a better variety of retail services is evident. The main retail types that are lacking in the neighborhood are stated to be clothing and shoe stores (29%) and restaurants and cafés (27%), which should be acknowledged when planning further land-use regulations. According to the theoretical framework, the extent of fulfilling the desires of neighborhood residents determines the pedestrian activities on the streets, which more likely will affect the social sustainability in the Sydhavnen. Instead, lacking fulfilment of residents' desires about the variation of retail services would dissuade social activities on the streets of Sydhavnen. This is undermined by the survey, which significantly indicates that 84% of respondents are using services in surrounding neighborhoods instead of in Sydhavnen.

Nevertheless, this issue is currently targeted by the Municipality in tight cooperation with local actors such as the Local Committee. An analysis about the retail landscape of Sydhavnen has been conducted, which compares Sydhavnen with Fisketorvet, a neighboring area, in order to understand the retail composition and demand of Sydhavnen and its surroundings. The results were presented by an employee of the responsible consulting firm, which came from Sydhavnen and thereby understands the theoretical aspect of increasing the retail quality, but also knows about the local conditions needed to implement future retail strategies. The amount of retails in Sydhavnen is increasing. In total, 25% of the retails in Sydhavnen (measured in m^2) are in the catering business, including cafés and restaurants. A board is determining which types of retail services are going to be established in the neighborhood. Currently, the composition of catering businesses is of rather monotone nature, mostly representing fast food takeaways. As the Local Committee for Urban Environment debates, there is a need for variation and better quality food. An

idea that has been discussed in the Committee meetings is to make Sydhavnen to a 'Recycling-Neighborhood', which is an innovative approach that suits well to the current neighborhood characteristics. The vision of Sydhavnen as a Recycling-Neighborhood could support and combine workshops for local entrepreneurs, and deliver products of more diversity for many of Sydhavnen's low-income residents (The Local Committee for Urban Environment, 2016).

7.1.7 PART SUMMARY

Regarding basic services in Sydhavnen, an appropriate distribution of public educational facilities such as schools and kindergartens, nurseries, and public youth centers are identified. A major issue in relation to socially diversify and thereby stimulate social tolerance among students with different backgrounds is threatened by family's subjective choices of educational facilities, which fragments the socio-demographic composition of students and thereby deter the interaction between students with different backgrounds.

In general, the social infrastructure is dominated by 'bottom-up' facilities that are community driven with municipal support. This dominance indicates that Sydhavnen has a strong self-organization, which is deeply rooted in the neighborhood's history as an underserved part of Copenhagen. Self-organization is crucial to absorb local challenges and compensate lacking public efforts. The main facilities, Karens Minde Kulturhus and Sydhavns Compagniet, are supported by a network of local actors. Considering the growing demand of their services in line with municipal financial cuttings, their crucial service delivery can be at risk in the long run.

Sydhavnen is surrounded by, and well-connected to various green and recreational spaces that are perceived as being inviting to socially interact and recreate. Hence, these have strong potential to catalyze social sustainability in Sydhavnen. While spaces such as parks, natural areas, and cemeteries are accessible to the public, the allotment gardens tend to be more exclusive and isolated from the rest of the neighborhood. Their emergence was initiated by homeless and unemployed people who created income from the landfill on Sydhavnstippen. Today, the allotment gardens are attractive for new and wealthier residents, contrasting the actual socio-economic condition within Sydhavnen.

Sydhavnen is a transit neighborhood that is framed by major street arteries which strongly influence the social sustainability within the neighborhood. The decreased environmental quality entails circumstantial aggressors on the social life of neighborhood residents. In the inner-neighborhood, the amount of motorized vehicles is significantly lower, which supports the human

scale of the social and cultural life in the neighborhood. The traffic issues are well known among local and municipal politicians, but finding solutions is challenged by contradicting opinions of involved actors. The geographically framed neighborhood is rather isolated from surrounding neighborhoods. While the inner-neighborhood connectivity is appropriate, efforts to make it easier for residents to cross the boundaries to surrounding neighborhoods are needed.

Sydhavnen has a diverse land use composition which supports social life on the streets in the neighborhood. The classic urban structure in Sydhavnen with its small streets, squares, public spaces, and the richness of variation in buildings and forms is of a smaller, more human scale. Nevertheless, the neighborhood is lacking a variation of retail services that fulfils the resident's needs and desires. More variating retail offerings would support social interaction and thereby strengthen the social sustainability in Sydhavnen.

7.2 SOCIAL & CULTURAL LIFE

The social and cultural life is indicated by the sense of belonging and community identity among the residents of Sydhavnen. The relationships between neighborhood residents and their feelings of safety are crucial to create an atmosphere that contributes to individual and neighborhood well-being. These indicators are the most challenging to be captured, especially in the time frame of this project. Nevertheless, drawn on personal conversations and interviews, and based on the survey, these indicators will be covered in the following.

7.2.1 SENSE OF BELONGING AND COMMUNITY IDENTITY

Three factors have been identified that are basically necessary to develop a sense of belonging and community identity among neighborhood residents. These are 1) the length of residency, 2) a place with a character of its own, and 3) people with a shared common history (Future Communities, 2009). As discovered in the following, Sydhavnen is a neighborhood that to a certain extent is able to cover these factors. The social and cultural life in Sydhavnen is deeply rooted into the history of the neighborhood. Many people have lived there long enough to put down their roots, which created a unique neighborhood character with strong neighborhood identity among residents. As the survey confirms, 86% of the survey respondents are satisfied or very satisfied with living in Sydhavnen, and only 24% of the respondents would consider moving away from the neighborhood (Copenhagen Municipality [10], 2015).

The above stated numbers are supported by personal stories from neighborhood residents. The decisive indicator of the strong neighborhood identity in Sydhavnen is the deep-rooted network

between residents which makes people feel comfortable in their neighborhood [Interview Ottosen, 2016]. The shared neighborhood identity is also developed through a self-organizational culture. For instance, in relation to the allotment gardens and Karens Minde Kulturhus, people started to build houses without permissions, which indicates that the neighborhood is strongly shaped by people 'doing it their own way'. That has also been the approach on Sydhavnstippen, where people organized the natural area on their own and prevented a freight-rail line which was planned to go through the area. Since Sydhavnen, compared to e.g. Vesterbro, is a less dense neighborhood with smaller houses, it provides space for residents to build their own houses of various characteristics, which according to Katja Lange shaped the unique atmosphere in the neighborhood and supported the social cohesion in Sydhavnen.

"People more likely greet to each other in Sydhavnen and they have a glance at each other without being judgmental"

[Interview Lange, 2016, s. 22:35]

In the same time, many of Sydhavnen's residents are sitting in loneliness, partly because of the high amount of one-room flats in the neighborhood, but also because people respect others' privacy and would not intervene in their decisions. In other words, as Katja Lange explains, if residents seek help, they will most likely receive it. But if they don't approach others for help, then they won't get it [Interview Lange, 2016].

Another potential conflict with the independent, self-initiative approach of the neighborhood residents is that people's commitment is strongly influencing the extent of discussions and conflicts about decisions to be made [Interview Lange, 2016].

As argued earlier, high quality physical surroundings, including attractive squares, green spaces, and facilities that foster local activities, are decisive in creating opportunities for social interaction. Social interaction catalyzes the degree of relationships between neighborhood residents, both formal and informal, and is vital for a thriving neighborhood.

Sydhavnstippen exemplifies how the physical environment relates to social and cultural life. The fact that many residents from Sydhavnen had invested a lot of energy and time in preserving the natural area and preventing the place to be developed by the Corporation for Development of City and Port I/S, a strong commitment to the place was developed among residents. There has been an

architectural competition to visualize how the place would look if it was meant to be developed (e.g., a golf course was planned to be built on Sydhavnstippen). But the message from involved residents was clear; *"It is our wild nature, and it is not a subject of discussion"* [Interview Lange, 2016, S. 33:34].

7.2.2 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NEIGHBORHOOD RESIDENTS

People share a common history that is based on Sydhavnen as a working-class neighborhood; it is shaped by low-income and disadvantaged residents, such as mentally ill people, which increased the tolerance among residents about the diverse social composition of the neighborhood, with a common sense of integrating the disadvantages residents of the neighborhood.

The social and cultural value for many residents is reflected by the combination of being physically active while interacting with people that was strangers before. This delightful combination significantly contributes to people's feeling about being able to make an effort for their neighborhood. As Katja Lange elaborates, if these places were lost, people would lose an important space to engage into neighborhood activities which support social interaction among residents. For example, Sydhavns Compagniet organizes a range of events on Sydhavnstippen where disadvantaged people, those which are rather disconnected to the overall society, are voluntarily distributing food and 'setting things up'. This has the effect that the society gets in contact with a group of people that in many terms is marginalized from the society [Interview Lange, 2016].

7.2.3 FEELINGS OF SAFETY

The feeling of safety is crucial for residents to embrace urban space and enhance the condition of social and cultural life in a neighborhood. In general, making the neighborhood more inviting and safe in terms of both experienced and perceived safety is an important aspect to ensure and enhance walking, biking, and staying (Gehl [2], 2011). In this section, safety is analyzed in terms of traffic safety and crime prevention, both identified factors in relation to safety in a neighborhood.

TRAFFIC SAFETY

The perceived traffic safety among survey respondents, considering the extensive traffic loads on the edges of Sydhavnen, might be unexpected: 72% of the respondents feel safe or very safe as pedestrians in Sydhavnen. Only 6% responded with feeling safe to a lesser degree or not at all. 59% of the respondents feel safe or very safe as bikers, while only 6% feel safe to a lesser degree or not at all.

In perceived and real traffic safety might be a significant difference. The access to police records enables an impression on the registered traffic accidents in Sydhavnen in the first quarters of 2006 and 2016. As illustrated in table 8, these numbers are compared with the average of the Municipality of Copenhagen:

	Sydhavnen		Average per 1.000 inhabitant	Municipality of Copenhagen	Average per 1.000 inhabitant
Year	2006 (Q1)	2016 (Q1)	2016 (Q1)	2014 (Q1[2])	2014 (Q1[3])
Traffic accidents	12	14	1.2	844	1.4
Population	n/a	11.000	n/a	591.481	n/a

TABLE 8 REGISTERED TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS PER 1.000 INHABITANTS IN SYDHAVNEN AND COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY (SOURCE: POLICE REGISTER AND DANMARKS STATISTIK)

In the first quarter of 2016, 14 traffic accidents are registered in Sydhavnen, which accounts for 1.2 accidents per 1.000 inhabitants. The number of traffic accidents per 1.000 inhabitants is slightly below the average of traffic accidents in the Municipality of Copenhagen. In the defined neighborhood Sydhavnen, the number of accidents increased from 12 to 14 compared to 2006. In general, these numbers have to be interpreted carefully, since the population statistics of the defined case area are not assumed to be precise.

CRIME PREVENTION
The general perception of safety in relation to crime is strong among the survey respondents. Sjaeloer St. is perceived by 67% as being very safe or safe, and similar perceptions are made at Sydhavn St. (57%). 85% of the respondents perceived no other places in Sydhavnen as being unsafe.

The registered crime in Sydhavnen in the first quarters of 2006 and 2016, including drug abuse, robbery, and violence, is outlined in table 9. In order to understand these numbers in context, it would have been appropriate to compare these numbers to other neighborhoods in Copenhagen. Instead, the unlimited access to statistics about specific neighborhoods led to a comparison with the Municipality of Copenhagen.

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[2] Due to the only access to annual data, this number reflects the average for a quarter in 2014.
[3] Due to the only access to annual data, this number reflects the average for a quarter in 2014.

	Sydhavnen		Average per 1.000 inhabitant	Municipality of Copenhagen	Average per 1.000 inhabitant
Year	2006 (Q1)	2016 (Q1)	2016 (Q1)	2016 (Q1)	2016 (Q1)
Drug abuse	20	26	2.4	1.546	2.6
Robbery	7	4	0.06	171	0.09
Violence	4	10	0.9	799	1.4
Population	n/a	11.000		591.481	

TABLE 9 REGISTERED CRIME, INCLUDING DRUG ABUSE, ROBBERZ, AND VIOLENCE PER 1.000 INHABITANTS IN SYDHAVNEN AND COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY (SOURCE: POLICE REGISTER DANMARKS STATISTIK).

Similar to the traffic accidents, the average drug abuse per 1.000 inhabitants in Sydhavnen is slightly below the municipal average. The same accounts for robbery and violence. These numbers have to be carefully assessed, since they only reflect the registered crimes, which are assumed to represent the minor criminal activities in general.

7.2.4 PART SUMMARY
The social and cultural life in Sydhavnen is deeply rooted into the history of the neighborhood. Many people have lived there long enough to put down their roots, which created a unique neighborhood character with strong neighborhood-identity feelings among residents. The historic working class neighborhood is shaped by low-income and disadvantaged residents which increased the tolerance among residents and supported the social cohesion in Sydhavnen. The self-organizational mentality of Sydhavnen's residents created a strong commitment to the neighborhood.

The feeling of safety is crucial for residents to embrace urban space and enhance the condition of social and cultural life in a neighborhood. Traffic safety, despite the extensive traffic loads on the edges of Sydhavnen, is perceived significantly among Sydhavnen's residents. The number of traffic accidents per 1.000 inhabitants is slightly below the average of traffic accidents in the Municipality of Copenhagen. Similarly, registered drug abuse, robbery and violence per 1.000 inhabitants in Sydhavnen is averagely slightly below the municipal stats.

7.3 VOICE & INFLUENCE
Voice and influence creates social networks, sense of belonging, and accountability of residents within a neighborhood. Moreover, it reveals contradictions in order to prevent future conflicts and thus anchors local values while taking advantages of local knowledge and resources (BE, 2016). Voice and influence is of certain importance, because the involvement of neighborhood residents is

directly contributing to a harmonic and balanced neighborhood development, determining on which amenities and infrastructures are needed to fulfil local needs and create a vibrant social and cultural life. With a certain focus on the residents, the main platforms that are contributing to the residents' influence on local developments will be presented in the following.

7.3.1 PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT

The willingness of residents to voluntarily participate in neighborhood work, and thereby contribute to the social and cultural life in Sydhavnen, is certainly changing over time. The willingness of residents to participate in changing their neighborhood might not be declining, but the dynamism in life nowadays certainly influences the way of participating in decision-making:

"People do not want to create an association with statutes any longer. Even though Denmark is 'the great association-country', people relate to loosely structured groups today".

[Interview Lange, 2016, s. 26:53]

Earlier in time, the structures were rather strong, meaning that people were bounded to one or another association where they focused their efforts on. In Sydhavnen, many associations run like that, but developmental patterns are emerging. Katja Lange assumes that people would rather be involved in several small associations, which preferably are not as binding. The modern world opened-up opportunities that make people's everyday more dynamic and choosy. This makes it difficult for people to predict how much work actually relates to their commitments. Committed people are needed in place to deliver valuable services to the neighborhood residents. People, who motivate others and who can sustain and strengthen the network behind neighborhood services, are extremely crucial for the neighborhood well-being.

"Our festivals, our posters, our activities might not be as fancy, but we can do it local".

[Interview Lange, 2016, s. 28:54]

In terms of bottom-up efforts, meaning neighborhood-driven facilities that work for the needs of local residents and for the neighborhood well-being in general, have strong responsiveness among

Sydhavnen's residents. General cultural facilities like Karens Minde Kulturhus and Sydhavns Compagniet are created from below. This self-organizational tendency is strongly rooted in the neighborhood's 'we will be alright'- mind-set.

These circumstances, the lack of commitment to a certain place, require people that take charge in delivering cultural and social services. Harry Ottosen is putting energy and time into events and activities in order to stimulate the social interaction among residents in a housing association. He highlights the importance of dedicated volunteers. Many cultural events have been initiated, such as barbeques and gatherings. Minority groups have been integrated, which certainly increased the social interaction between neighbors. When he stopped as the chairman of the housing unit, he explained, *"everything died out, and it is very difficult to get it started again."* [Interview Ottosen, 2016, s. 48:15].

Housing associations are strongly represented in Sydhavnen, and Harry Ottosen, as being chairman of one housing unit while being member of the Local Committee, has first-hand knowledge about local needs and perceptions which are directly linked with the Local Committee. His job is of crucial importance for the ability of residents to influence decisions in the neighborhood. As he explains, it is a kind of 'pushing' and 'pulling' in order to involve residents: *"When people have problems, they come to me and I bring it further to the Committee, but when people don't attain the annual general meetings in the association, I tell them that they cannot complain about certain outcomes"* [Interview Ottosen, 2016, S. 37:33]. Thus, the general meetings are to be taken as a chance for residents to contribute their opinion about certain things, and the needed preconditions for that are met. The residents get informed about the meetings 4 weeks in advance. 14 days they have time to submit suggestions about wished efforts or solutions. These submissions are going to be set on the meeting's agenda, which participants vote for or against in order to approve them, respectively disapprove. These rules only concern association members. People living privately, those who do not live in housing associations are slightly isolated from these decision-making processes. This issue, even though Harry Ottosen indicates that there are certain legislations like e.g. Planloven that ensures opportunities for involved private living residents, to participate in decision-making processes (BE, 2016).

7.3.2 PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT IN DAILY EFFORTS
The most relevant platform to capture local values and perceptions on the efforts that are not exclusively embedded in a certain development strategy is the Kgs. Enghave Local Committee. The

Committee directly links the values of local residents with higher politics led by politicians at the City Hall. The Committee fosters the dialogue between the neighborhood's residents and Copenhagen City Council (Lokaludvalg, 2016). The Committee consists of 23 representatives from local associations and political parties in the neighborhood. Their aim is to ensure that local values are heard in all matters that are considered to certainly affect the daily life of Sydhavnen's residents.

The Committee plays a crucial role in Sydhavnen, and the most representatives are volunteers that are passionate and thoughtful about the needs of local residents. The Committee is required to submit responses to suggestions from the City Council. Firstly, the City Council sends planned actions into consultation, when they aim a feedback from citizens on specific proposals. This aims to ensure that municipal politicians gain insight into local experiences and thereby be able to improve the conditions of making decisions that are widely accepted. The issues can e.g. be the establishment of new schools or the change of traffic patterns in the neighborhood. The involvement of local citizens is managed through public meetings and events that are organized by the Committee. Hence, people can vote and make their voice be heard, while the Committee keeps the residents informed about current consultations and events through their website, Facebook or newsletters. All residents of Sydhavnen can participate in working groups on different issues such as traffic problems, cultural opportunities, environment, neighborhood planning, children and youth, leisure and social conditions, or any other issues that are identified to be debated (Lokaludvalg, 2016).

The influence of the Local Committee on municipal decisions relating Sydhavnen is clearly proportioned. The Committee can merely express their opinions about planned decisions, but the Municipality holds clearly the upper hand in final decisions, which is often the case relating to traffic and land-use issues. *"If we have good arguments, for example regarding street names, then we have a voice"*, says Peter Ravn from BMU ironically. He elaborates: *"We can notice that there a many political disagreements about for example cultural measures, but no matter what, if we have good arguments, they have to deal with it. In the end, they might not listen to us, but at least they got to present arguments for their case."* (The Local Committee for Cultural Issues, 2016). The extent of the Committee's influence on municipal decisions often depends on who is in charge of different policies in the City Council. In relation to environmental and technical decisions, the responsible municipal Technical and Environmental Administration had been very obedient to the Committee, but in terms of culture, such as cutting the funds for the local library, the Committee was excluded

from the decision, or informed strategically late in order to make it impossible for the Committee to respond to certain decisions (The Local Committee for Cultural Issues, 2016). Complaints from the Committee are used as a tool to create awareness among municipal decision-makers about local circumstances. Hence, the Municipality has to give statements about issues that the Committee does not want to approve. This could e.g. be about cuttings in financial accountings. In the end, their complaints often don not find weight due to municipal prioritizations. In fact, Karens Minde Kulturhus, the most important neighborhood facility in Sydhavnen, is going to be financially cut by the Municipality. Again, neighborhood facilities encourage themselves to be combative, as explained by Ottosen: *"Even when the cultural facilities are being cut, there are plenty of cultural sites for cultural events that can seek money elsewhere, so in that way, if you know how to do it, there are many other pools you can search from."* [Interview Ottosen, 2016, s. 31:13].

7.3.3 PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT IN CURRENT DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS

In relation to Sydhavnen's current development efforts, different initiatives have been established in order to ensure the necessary anchoring of regular residential involvement. According to the Municipality, the aim is to involve a wide range of residents through media campaigns and flyers in local institutions. With a special focus on elderlies, and other socially vulnerable groups of residents, a secretary is set up to promote active participation of residents in local projects that will be established in the future. During all stages of the project development, a continuous dialogue is aimed to be established. This should strengthen the local networks and increase cooperation between established and emerging local actors (Copenhagen Municipality [9], 2015).

The actual implementation of the projects are led by a steering committee that has 24 members in total and is composed of seven resident representatives, nine representatives of local actors, one representative from each of the seven municipal administrations and the project manager of the renewal efforts. The steering committee prioritizes the projects and adjusts them for approval. This composition of representatives is in charge of ensuring that the projects reflect the local desires and needs, and that the projects are in line with the Municipality's overall planning strategies. For every project, working groups composing local residents and actors are established. At least one member from the steering committee should participate in each working group. These are developing the proposed projects in coordination with the secretary's project manager (Copenhagen Municipality [9], 2015).

7.3.4 PART SUMMARY

The willingness of residents to voluntarily participate in neighborhood work is certainly changing over time. Earlier, people had strong bounds to a specific association they focused their efforts on. Nowadays, the dynamism in life undoubtedly influences the way of participating in decision-making. Even though people would rather be involved in less binding, small associations, many associations in Sydhavnen are steered by passionate, strong bounded volunteers. Nevertheless, committed people are needed in place to deliver valuable services to the neighborhood residents.

Sydhavnen is dominated by a strong self-organizational mentality that initiates bottom-up efforts in the neighborhood to fulfil local needs. Nevertheless, housing associations that are established by municipal requirements are strongly represented in Sydhavnen. Hence, these top-down formations also take part in fulfilling local needs and desires. The most relevant platform to capture local values and perceptions is the Kgs. Enghave Local Committee, which directly links the local residents with the higher politics at the City Hall. Again, most representatives in the Committee are volunteers that are passionate and thoughtful about the needs of local residents. Nevertheless, their extent of influence on municipal decisions is unmistakably proportioned. The Municipality holds clearly the upper hand in final decisions. In relation to Sydhavnen's current development efforts, different initiatives have been established in order to ensure the necessary anchoring of regular residential involvement. An established steering committee prioritizes and adjusts the proposed projects which are required to reflect local desires and needs while being in line with the Municipality's overall planning strategies.

8 DISCUSSION

The initial work of this project is developmental. The attempt in this project was primarily to identify and explore social and physical factors that have impact on social sustainability in Sydhavnen. In order to answer the research question *"what impact does the physical and social environment have on social sustainability in Sydhavnen?"* a combination of data collection methods and different data sources are used to assess social sustainability in Sydhavnen.

As a starting point, the key findings of this work will be discussed. In order to put the findings into context, they will be used as a baseline to discuss the municipal future efforts that are planned in the neighborhood. The second part of the discussion chapter is to identify limitations of this project, including theoretical and methodological concerns.

The role of physical and social environments is critical for enhancing social sustainability within neighborhoods. Sydhavnen is a neighborhood that is extremely framed by large street arteries, which decreases the neighborhood's connectivity with surrounding neighborhoods. The location as a transit neighborhood might hinder a breakthrough in traffic reductions on P. Knudsensgade and Sydhavnsgade, since they are significant for the traffic flow from Inner and Eastern Copenhagen into the country side of Zealand, and vice versa. The consequence is that Sydhavnen is heavily polluted by noise and air proximate to the streets. Moreover, the only public school located at P. Knudsensgade, which leads to serious safety issues for students and residents.

The defined neighborhood itself has an appropriate distribution of basic services. Local conditions are met with e.g. proximate drug treatment clinics and municipal recruitment centers.

Sydhavnen as being surrounded by large accessible green spaces of different types gives many inviting opportunities for neighborhood residents to socially interact and thereby stimulate the social and cultural life within the neighborhood. While Sydhavnstippen in the south and Valbyparken in the west are easily accessible, the Vestre Kirkegaard to the north is physically cut off by P. Knudsensgade. Also the water front to the east is disconnected to the neighborhood, which is addressed in the on-going neighborhood improvements. The traffic in the inner-neighborhood is significantly lower and gives room for public spaces in-between the buildings. Small pocket-parks[4] and sitting opportunities are well distributed in the neighborhood.

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[4] Pocket parks are accessible, *"open green spaces at a very small scale, often created on vacant building lots or on irregular pieces of land"* (DAC, 2014).

Nevertheless, the social challenges in the neighborhood are and will not exclusively be tangled by appropriate basic services and high shares of inviting spaces for social interaction and inclusion. In fact, the strong neighborhood identity and commitment in Sydhavnen is identified as essential for fulfilling local needs and issues. In general, cultural efforts are limited in Sydhavnen. Therefore, the self-organizational mentality of Sydhavnen's residents is crucial to absorb local challenges and to compensate municipal absence. Ironically, municipal ignorance in the past led to the emergence of the allotment gardens in Sydhavnen. Today, these represent the wealthier parts of Sydhavnen, attracting 'new' residents from all around Zealand. An example for their attractive location is HF Frem, an allotment garden in the middle of the neighborhood, whose members enjoy a lake that is exclusive for members and not accessible for the public. The other allotment gardens, HF Musikbyen and Kalvebod, are located proximate to large green spaces and the water front. Due to their early establishment at the edges of Valbyparken respectively Sydhavnstippen, they enjoy proximate opportunities to socially interact and recreate.

The demand for social services, especially those aiming to involve marginalized residents from the social housings in the neighborhood, is steadily growing while municipal funds are reduced. The major social infrastructure in Sydhavnen is community-driven and tailors their services around the circumstantial local needs. Facilities such as Karens Minde Kulturhus and Sydhavns Compagniet are primarily driven by volunteers and depend on support from a network of local actors. Again, considering the growing demand in line with municipal financial cuttings, the quality of social service delivery is seriously at risk in the long run. The local identity and commitment to tackle neighborhood challenges through bottom-up efforts is essential for the social sustainability in Sydhavnen.

According to the theoretical approach, amenities and social infrastructures are the backbone of a neighborhood and needs to be maintained appropriately. Amenities and social infrastructures are established in the past and reflect a robust fundament for the social and cultural life in a neighborhood. Nevertheless, as the theoretical framework elaborates, places are always changing and social sustainability is recognized as a dynamic concept which static infrastructures cannot always adapt to. Therefore, flexibility and adaptability is needed in order to react on dynamic local challenges over time. Local challenges such as social disconnection, drug abuse and unemployment are deeply rooted problems in Sydhavnen and can be indicated by a range of factors that cannot be anticipated or probably correlated to the neighborhood. Nevertheless, the provision of spaces and assets for institutions, both formal and informal that tackle certain local issues needs to be well

maintained. In Sydhavnen, the demand of social and cultural services overwhelms the capacity of the institutions. The quality of the physical environment in Sydhavnen, with its large variation of land-use, and public spaces, captures a diversity of perceptions and functions that can enhance the social sustainability significantly. An improvement of the retail diversity would more likely contribute to an active life on the streets and support the social connection between neighborhood residents.

The willingness of residents to voluntarily participate in Sydhavnen has been shown to change patterns over time. This can be reasoned by the growing opportunities and different ways to participate in neighborhood activities over time. As earlier mentioned, also the demographic changes in the neighborhood, with an influx of 'new' residents such as students, might additionally take part in this development. Although Sydhavnen tends to have a strong sense of belonging and identity, the voluntary support from neighborhood residents is increasingly at risk.

In general, the results do not explain the chronic social issues that Sydhavnen is dealing with. The high rates of unemployment, mental illnesses, and drug abuse cannot be associated to the amenities and infrastructure, nor to the cultural and social life in Sydhavnen. High rates of social housing in Sydhavnen (53%) are identified as decisive to the social characteristics that the neighborhood is dealing with (the average rate in the Municipality is around 20%). Despite the fact that the tolerance among neighborhood residents is pronounced due to its certain historical background, a better distribution of social housings throughout the Municipality would influence the statistics of socially vulnerable residents in Sydhavnen. Instead, current policies aim at lifting the underserved neighborhoods to overall Copenhagen levels by 2020 (Copenhagen Municipality [9], 2015).This will be done through a coordinated effort across the municipality's seven administrations – in cooperation with the social housing sector and other relevant actors. The goal is to create equal opportunities for citizens through e.g. increased education, employment and safety. Through close and binding collaboration, the vision is to achieve the greatest possible utilization and effect of various actors' investments on physical and social interventions (Copenhagen Municipality [9], 2015). The plan states that *"Sydhavnen must be a diverse, consistent and safe neighborhood where there is room for all citizens. Therefore, green growth and quality of life has to be strengthened in Sydhavnen in order to create consistency between the neighborhood and the surrounding city - physically, culturally and socially"* (Copenhagen Municipality [9], 2015).

The vision for neighborhood improvement is to support the transformation of Sydhavnen into an attractive and lively residential neighborhood that is well connected to the rest of the city. The main recognition in the neighborhood improvement strategy is based on three themes, which can strongly be linked to the analytical categories in this project:

- Life between buildings
- Energy and environment
- People and Culture

Each theme contains a range of projects. As a complement to the three themes, a partnership agreement has been signed with Sydhavnen's largest housing association, AKB. The association agreed to implement several projects in line with the overall renewal strategy. These relate to energy renovations, merging apartments and create more housing for students.

The projects relating to the theme "life between buildings" deal with the significant neighborhood developments relating to new residential areas and the metro connection that currently is under construction. Specific focus areas are the traffic barriers, retail diversity and urban spaces, which go in line with the findings in this project. The second theme, energy and environment, addresses the achievement of overall energy goals with respect to the housing sector. Synergies between the renewal strategy and the municipal cloudburst plan are planned to be created, with a certain focus on greening courtyards and streets. The last theme, people and culture, focusses on the community facility Karens Minde Kulturhis, which should be strengthened as the central meeting place in the neighborhood. Additionally, local networks and actors should be more empowered in order to handle the neighborhood's social challenges.

Without going into depth, when looking at the different projects that are established and planned, the focus is clearly set on the environmental and infrastructural aspects of social sustainability. Map 6 shows the established investments that are embedded into the neighborhood renewal.
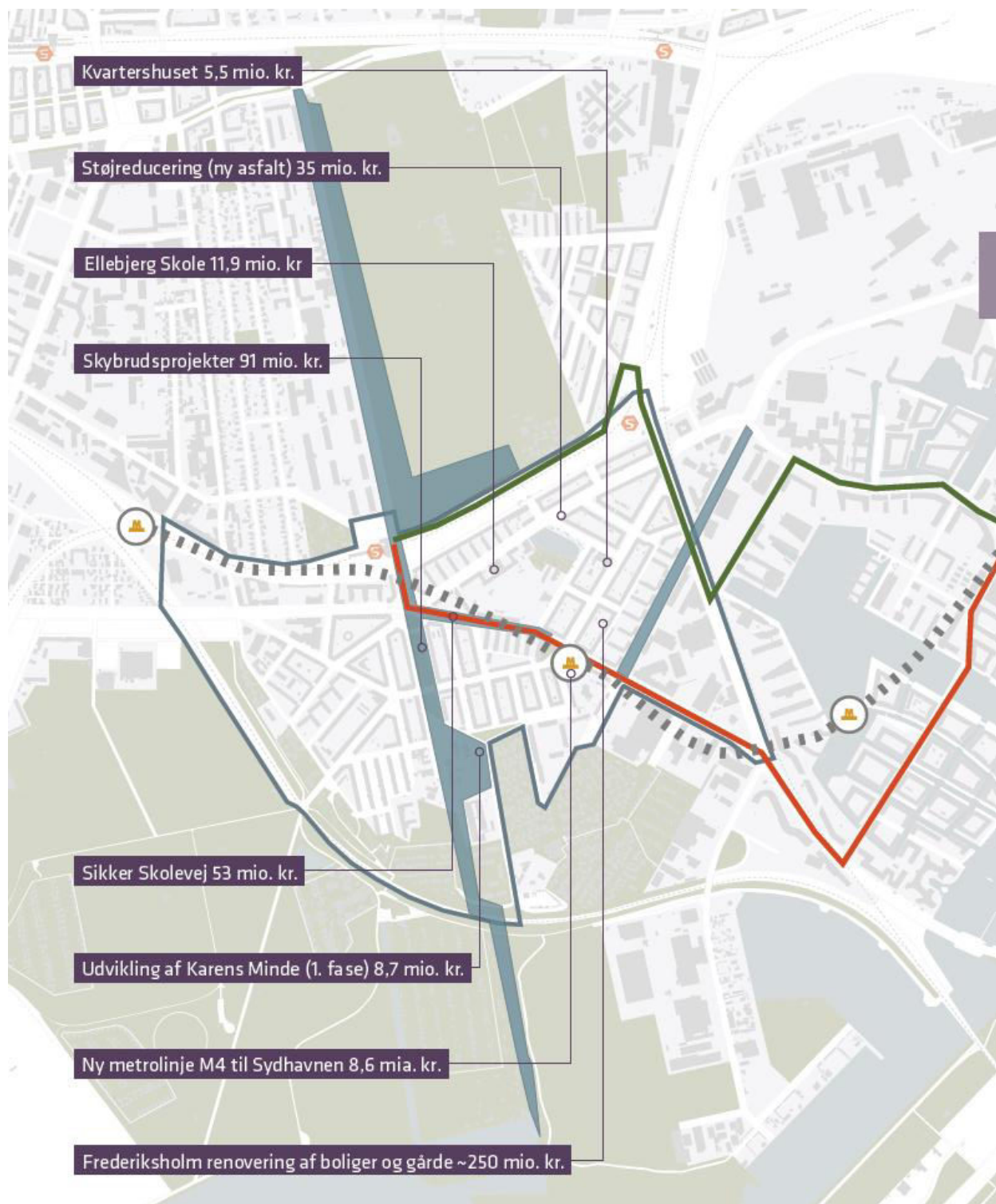
MAP 6 THIS MAP SHOWS THE INVESTMENTS IN OMRÅDEFORNYELSENS AREA AS ALLERED BEEN ADOPTED AND FUNDED (COPENHAGEN MUNICIPALITY [9], 2015).

The tendency towards the environmental focus in the efforts can be explained by the political urge to deliver visible solutions that are demanded by the society. Political pressures to deliver solutions with short-term impacts often push the social and cultural aspects of social sustainability in the back of politicians' mind. Both 'life between building' and 'energy and environment' focuses on the improvement of urban spaces and buildings, which are relevant for social sustainability, but do not represent the key issues in the neighborhood. The theme 'people and culture' aims at centralizing the main cultural facility in Sydhavnen, Karens Minde Kulturhus. The centralization makes it easier for the Municipality in matters of negotiation, which on the other hand closes down for opportunities for flexibility, and might not lead to the enhancement of local networks and cooperation, which is of essence for a socially sustainable neighborhood.

In sum, the initial hypothesis of this project, that Sydhavnen's physical and social environment might have a relation to the socio-demographic challenges in the neighborhood, is not supported by the findings. According to the theoretical framework, the neighborhood has an appropriate baseline of amenities and infrastructures that support the social and cultural life within Sydhavnen. The social and cultural life is of self-organizational, informal matter, which is enhancing the social sustainability in the neighborhood. Despite some issues that should be improved such as the diversity of retail services, the choice of schools, or the decline in volunteers), rather external factors such as the distribution of social housing in Copenhagen and the traffic flows from surrounding neighborhoods are challenging the overall neighborhood fabric in Sydhavnen. In relation to Sydhavnen's current development efforts, an established steering committee prioritizes and adjusts the proposed projects which are required to reflect local desires and needs while being in line with the Municipality's overall planning strategies. Initiatives have been established in order to ensure the necessary anchoring of regular residential involvement.

8.1 DATA COLLECTION

Due to the time limitation of this project, it is not possible to assess each aspect in detail. The term social sustainability is broad in nature, and cannot be explored appropriately in this project. This explorative research rather seeks to uncover factors that can have positive impacts on social sustainability in Sydhavnen. The snapshot of the present conditions in Sydhavnen enables to explain general patterns of challenges that have to be subsequently researched on in the future. According to Yin (2009), explorative research leads to the development of further research questions (Yin, 2009). The collected data is based on a specific context. The major interest in this

project is the development of practical knowledge and understanding for factors that matter in relation to social sustainability.

Important for this study would have been appropriate quantitative data for the defined case. Sydhavnen is part of the district Vesterbro/Kgs. Enghave, which is counted together in municipal register data. The demographic differences in Vesterbro and Kgs. Enghave, as well as in Kgs. Enghave and Sydhavnen, are significant. Therefore, the provided data is useless and would distort the results.

The semi-structured interviews enabled a more informed and meaningful interpretation of the local circumstances and conditions. Although these insights, in correlation with the secondary data collection, were essential for the assessment in this project, their validity can be questioned. In order to get a more representative data collection, a large survey, complemented with site-specific, qualitative interviews and observations with a diverse range of involved actors should have been conducted with a wider range of involved actors.

In sum, a major challenge in this project was to combine the different types of data that underpin each indicator. More types of data would have contributed with different insights and perspectives on the research topic and would have increased the validity of the results. The layout maps were used to cover the first category of the theoretical framework, amenities and infrastructure. Specific observational techniques could have contributed with valuable additional knowledge in terms of their usages and perceptions. The interviews were used to populate the indicators of the second and third category, social and cultural life, and voice and influence. Also these categories with their underlying indicators could have been strengthened with a wider range of surveys, in-depth interviews and on-site observations. As the investigations are not feasible in the time period of this project, the combination and linkage between different factors that enhance social sustainability should be explored in further research. The used framework is intended to be broad, and other factors might influence the community well-being. Still, it is seen to be a starting point for understanding the factors that influence the social sustainability.

9 CONCLUSION

Sydhavnen's physical environment is rich of contrasts, both supporting and contradicting the theoretical idea of a socially sustainable neighborhood. Sydhavnen is walled by grey, human-unfriendly street arteries that are mainly used by trucks and personal vehicles from surrounding neighborhoods. The physical boundaries impede the accessibility to the green and inviting spaces that are present in in and around Sydhavnen. The spacious inner-neighborhood of Sydhavnen provides for a large potential for human-scale developments between the buildings.

The social and cultural life is of self-organizational, informal matter, which is enhancing the social sustainability in the neighborhood. The social infrastructure in Sydhavnen is dominated by 'bottom-up' efforts that are community driven with municipal support. Sydhavnen's self-organizational governance structures are deeply rooted in the neighborhood's history as an underserved part of Copenhagen. Self-organization is crucial to absorb local challenges and compensate lacking public efforts. The strong sense of belonging and neighborhood identity in Sydhavnen is essential for the social sustainability in Sydhavnen. The main facilities, Karens Minde Kulturhus and Sydhavns Compagniet, are based on voluntary work and provide bottom-up services that are tailored around current local needs. Considering that the demand for flexible social services that adapt to local needs is growing in line with municipal financial cuttings, the quality of their crucial service delivery is at risk in the long run. Currently, the capacity of the main community facilities is extremely overwhelmed.

Despite some potential for physical improvements in the inner-neighborhood of Sydhavnen, the major challenges in relation to social sustainability are related to external factors such as the distribution of social housing rates in Copenhagen and the traffic flows from surrounding neighborhoods. The high rates of unemployment, mental illnesses, and drug abuse cannot be associated to the amenities and social infrastructure, nor to the cultural and social life in Sydhavnen.

In relation to Sydhavnen's current development efforts, an established steering committee prioritizes and adjusts the proposed projects which are required to reflect local desires and needs while being in line with the Municipality's overall planning strategies. Although the focus points of the on-going renewal efforts can be associated to the identified factors that contribute to the social sustainability in Sydhavnen, they clearly tend to the environmental and infrastructural aspect of social sustainability. In relation to social infrastructures, the aim of the renewal efforts is to

centralize Karens Minde Kulturhus as the main cultural facility in Sydhavnen. This eases the negotiation and communication between the important local actor as the cultural representative in Sydhavnen and the Municipality. On the other hand, the centralization risks closing down for the flexibility and enhancement of local networks and cooperation that is of essence for a socially sustainable neighborhood.

As the investigations are not feasible in the time period of this project, the combination and linkage between different factors that enhance social sustainability should be explored in further research. The used framework is intended to be broad, and other factors might influence the community well-being. Still, it is seen to be a starting point for understanding the factors that influence the social sustainability.

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