

The West End's East End

*Practices, relations and aspirations among youth
in Hovseter and Røa*

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Abstract

This aim of this thesis is to explore how youth life unfolds in Hovseter and Røa, two neighbouring areas characterised by social and spatial contrasts. Located in Oslo's affluent West End, Hovseter stands out in this social and spatial landscape of detached and semi-detached houses and upper-middle-class ethnic majority residents due to its higher share of working-class and ethnic minority residents, tall apartment blocks, and social housing apartments.

Policies on social mix in the Norwegian welfare state constitute the context for the thesis, in which policymakers aim to counter segregation and encourage social and cultural integration by promoting a diversity of social groups within neighbourhoods. Through the urban area programme *Hovseterløftet*, a youth club was initiated in order to promote social mixing and social bonds between working-class minority ethnic youths from Hovseter and upper-middle-class majority ethnic youths from Røa. This aim was in line with policies on social mix, in which policymakers assume that youth with less social and economic resources will benefit from creating social relationships with more resourceful peers. It was this particular context that motivated me to ask how social and spatial differences materialised in the daily lives of youths from Hovseter and Røa, how these differences influenced social interactions and relations, and lastly, how they affected the youths' perceptions of school and their educational aspirations.

The thesis is based on exploratory research conducted through participant observation at the local youth club and secondary school as well as qualitative interviews with youths from Hovseter and Røa. The thesis draws on observational and narrative data, which has been analysed through a broad theoretical framework with emphasis on both spatial and social perspectives. I have used theories and analytical concepts regarding social mix and integration, social class and educational aspirations, and boundary work and place attachment.

One of the main findings of the thesis is that even though working-class ethnic minority youths from Hovseter and upper-middle-class ethnic majority youths from Røa live in proximity and attend the same school, they live different lives and do not engage in close friendships. The youths' daily life was structured by social class, making social inequalities an important reason

why there were few social bonds between adolescents from Hovseter and Røa. Group identity and sense of belonging contributed to the formation of friendships, and symbolic boundaries based on class, ethnicity, and residency were drawn, to some extent hindering the creation of diversified groups. Whereas the club mainly attracted youths from Hovseter, the school did to some degree facilitate crossing social networks, although these did not manifest themselves outside the institution. The institutional habitus of the school was influenced by the high share of upper-middle-class pupils, contributing to a norm of valuing academic work, which benefited youths from both Hovseter and Røa.

The findings indicate that social inequalities are difficult to overcome, and that neither the school, the youth club nor the proximity in geographical space have managed to promote bridging social capital among adolescents from Hovseter and Røa, despite the context of policies on social mix, the Norwegian welfare state and the large presence of upper-middle-class residents.

The thesis has contributed to a broader understanding of youth in Oslo's West End, a group few scholars have studied, and demonstrated that many of the social processes in these areas differ from those of the East End. Therefore, policies regarding youth, social mix, and integration call for contextualised means. Finally, I argue that the findings from Hovseter and Røa might in some aspects be illustrative of social processes within areas where working-class and minority ethnic groups constitute a minority amidst a middle-class and ethnic majority.

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1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to explore how youth life unfolds in Hovseter and Røa, two neighbouring areas characterised by social and spatial contrasts. Hovseter and Røa are located in Vestre Aker District, a residential area in Oslo's affluent West End with approximately 17 500 inhabitants (Bydelsfakta, 2019). Although Hovseter and Røa are both situated in the West End, which is characterised by upper-class ethnic majority residents and detached and semi-detached houses, Hovseter is an “enclave” in this geographical area. Built as a satellite town during the early 1970s, Hovseter mainly consists of apartment blocks, some of which are 8-12 storeys tall, concentrated around a centre in which some retail stores are located. The area has a higher share of working-class and ethnic minority residents and social housing apartments than the other areas in the district. The local secondary school is located in Hovseter, where pupils from both Hovseter and Røa attend, making it the most multi-ethnic secondary school in the district. Most of the working-class ethnic minority pupils reside in Hovseter while most of the upper-middle-class ethnic majority pupils live in Røa¹.

Policies on social mix in the Norwegian welfare state has constituted the context for the thesis, in which policymakers aim to counter segregation and encourage social and cultural integration by promoting a diversity of social groups within neighbourhoods². Through the urban area programme *Hovseterløftet*, a youth club was initiated in 2019 in order to promote social relations between working-class ethnic minority youths from Hovseter and upper-middle-class ethnic majority youths from Røa. By promoting social mixing, policymakers assume that youth with less social and economic resources will benefit from creating social relationships with more resourceful peers. However, from the opening of the youth club, mainly working-class ethnic

¹ In fact, participants from Bogstad, Voksen, and Holmen are also included in this thesis, but due to their similar upper-middle-class and ethnic majority backgrounds and for the sake of readability, I have chosen to refer to Røa when comparing Hovseter with its surrounding areas.

² *Neighbourhood*, here understood as a local environment with its own social “climate”, identity and infrastructure (cf. Brattbakk & Wessel, 2017).

minorities from Hovseter visited and the club did not manage to promote bridging social capital among adolescents from Hovseter and Røa.

It was this particular context that motivated me to ask how social and spatial differences materialised in the daily lives of youths from Hovseter and Røa, how these differences influenced social interactions and relations, and lastly, how they affected the youths' perceptions of school and their educational aspirations.

The empirical material for this study was collected during 12 weeks of fieldwork in Hovseter and Røa in which I engaged in participant observation at the local youth club, secondary school, and outdoor spaces, and conducted qualitative interviews with 22 youths. The thesis draws on observational and narrative data, which has been analysed through a broad theoretical framework with emphasis on both spatial and social perspectives.

1.1. Youth, social inequality, and social mix

The central themes of this study are youth life, social inequality, and socially mixed neighbourhoods and schools. The theoretical framework draws on theories and research on youth in Oslo, social mix and integration, social class and educational aspirations, and boundary work and place attachment. These will be presented in Chapter 3, but I will briefly contextualise my study by presenting some of the theoretical approaches in the following.

Contrary to the existing body of research regarding youth in Oslo that have primarily focused on young adults with working-class and ethnic minority backgrounds in what is categorised as Oslo's East End (e.g. Vestel, 2004; Rosten, 2015; Smette, 2015; Eriksen, 2012; Andersen, 2014; Andersen & Biseth, 2013), my fieldwork was conducted in Oslo's West End. Although some studies concern upper-secondary schools in inner-city Oslo which pupils from the West End attend (e.g. Pedersen & Eriksen, 2019; Andersen, Pedersen & Bakken, 2017; Arnesen, 2002), adolescents from Oslo's West End as well as upper-middle-class and majority youth, in general, have rarely been studied. Therefore, this thesis will contribute to a broader understanding of youth life in the Norwegian capital. Moreover, this study has the advantage of following the youth in different arenas, such as the school, the neighbourhood, and the youth club, in contrast

to studies that mainly have concentrated on only one arena, for instance, the local school (Smette, 2015) or the youth club (Vestel, 2004). As a consequence, this thesis describes large parts of the spatial areas in which the youth live their lives as well as enlightening how social interactions and relationships among youth can vary according to different arenas.

The thesis draws on the stance of literature regarding socially mixed neighbourhoods and schools. Quantitative studies on neighbourhood effects have demonstrated how the life chances for those growing up in the more affluent parts of Oslo are better than for those growing up in more deprived neighbourhoods (Brattbakk, 2014; Brattbakk & Wessel, 2013; Toft, 2018), and that working-class adolescents can benefit from their upper-class peers (Toft & Ljunggren, 2016). However, quantitative research does not describe which practices are taking place within the neighbourhood. Little qualitative research has dealt with these questions in Oslo, however, Andersen (2014) has demonstrated that diversity rarely encourages interaction between different people, but that people rather live parallel lives. Furthermore, Vassenden (2007) has studied majority Norwegians who live in multicultural suburbs in Oslo's East End and how they experience their multicultural neighbourhoods. In addition, some research has been done in other Norwegian cities, for instance, Danielsen & Bendixsen (2019) have studied how parents deal with diversity and social inequality, and examined inclusive parenting (Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2019) in a socially mixed urban public school in Bergen.

Internationally, there is an increasing number of studies on neighbourhoods in which socially mixed groups reside together. Qualitative studies in cities in North America and Europe have demonstrated that despite spatial proximity, people are not necessarily creating social networks across class or ethnicity (e.g. Butler, 2003; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010).

When studying social diversity in Norway, it is important to bear in mind the specific context. Firstly, Norway does not face the same social inequalities, marginalisation, or segregated residential areas as countries like the USA, England, and France. Secondly, the Norwegian welfare state holds values such as *likhet* (equality and similarity) high, both in socio-cultural and economic terms (Gullestad, 2006). Moreover, the youths in this thesis are enrolled in the Norwegian school system, in which primary and lower secondary education is established on the

principle of a unified school structure that aims to provide equal and adapted education for all on the grounds of a single national curriculum (Brattbakk, 2014). Almost all children and youth attend a local school in their own neighbourhood which is part of the public school system and free of cost. This is believed to promote the development of shared attitudes and values and, not least, to give children from lower social classes the opportunity to achieve upward social mobility (Thuen, 2010).³

Closely related to urban policies regarding the combat of segregation and promotion of social mix is the aim of integrating minorities into mainstream society. This thesis explores social integration at Hovseter and Røa through social networks and social capital among the youths, and cultural integration in terms of educational aspirations. Scholars have found that youth's social class (e.g. Helland & Støren, 2011; Hansen, 2005) and/or ethnicity (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2012; Fekjær, 2007; Modood, 2004) can influence their choices and aspirations regarding education. Their peers' social class can also have an effect (Strømme, 2020).

The thesis demonstrates that despite different social and spatial backgrounds and little social interaction among the youths from Hovseter and Røa across class and ethnicity, the youths shared norms and perceptions on school, and their educational aspirations did not seem to differ much from one another. Equal aspirations and hopes for the future may demonstrate cultural integration, as other Oslo based studies have found regarding working-class ethnic minority youth from the East End (e.g. Andersen & Biseth, 2013).

1.2. Research questions

This thesis' aim is to explore how youth life unfolds in Hovseter and Røa, two neighbouring areas characterised by social and spatial contrasts. With the policies on social mix in the Norwegian welfare state as a context, I ask the following: How do social and spatial differences materialise in the daily lives of youths from Hovseter and Røa? How do these differences

³ However, schools based on spatial proximity in a city such as Oslo in which social classes live in separate areas, can become socially segregated (Hansen, 2017, p. 259).

influence social interactions and relations? And, lastly, how do they affect the youths' perceptions of school and their educational aspirations?

These questions will primarily be answered chronologically in the three chapters of analysis, although some of them are discussed in additional chapters since the questions to some extent intertwine. The thesis is structured as follows: I describe the context of Hovseter and Røa in Chapter 2 before I present the theoretical framework in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I demonstrate how I conducted the ethnographic fieldwork and how I analysed the data, as well as presenting ethical reflections. The analysis is divided into three parts: Chapter 5 takes the opening of the local youth club as a point of departure and explores why it mainly attracted adolescents from Hovseter. I find that the organisation of daily life among the youths is in large part structured by social class. I continue with the club as a reference in Chapter 6 in which I discuss the friendships and different youth groups in the area. I find that group identity and sense of belonging play a role in the formation of these. An intersection of class, ethnicity, and residency contributes to the different sense of belonging to groups and places among the adolescents. In Chapter 7, school life and future aspirations regarding education and work are discussed, demonstrating that, despite differences in their daily life, the youths share norms about the importance of school.

Lastly, in Chapter 8, I sum up and conclude in regard to the thesis' aim on exploring how youth life unfolds in Hovseter and Røa and how youths' practices, relations, and aspirations are affected by the social and spatial differences between them. The thesis contributes to a broader understanding of how it can be to live together across differences in social class and ethnicity, which can benefit the political, academic and public discussions concerning social mix, social and cultural integration, and social inequality in neighbourhoods and institutions. In light of this, I discuss implications of this study's findings and suggest questions for further studies.

2. Contextualising Hovseter and Vestre Aker

In this chapter, I present the geographical, historical, and social setting where my thesis takes place. I first introduce Oslo and the differences between the west and east side of the city before I present the district of Vestre Aker. Then I describe how the satellite town of Hovseter was developed during the early 1970s, how the area has evolved since, and the area's current social and spatial characteristics.

2.1. Oslo and Vestre Aker District

Oslo, the capital of Norway, has with its around 700 000 residents the most extensive social diversity in the country and also some of the most striking social inequalities (Ljunggren, 2017). The city is by many characterised as segregated between the western and eastern parts in terms of class: the middle and upper class in the west and the working-class in the east. This socio-geographical structure of class has deep historical roots dating back to the seventeenth century (Andersen, 2014) and it has been persistent over time. However, there have been increasing levels of segregation since the beginning of the 1990s (Hansen, 2007; Ljunggren & Andersen, 2015). Moreover, studies document that this distinction in class is followed by a distinction in terms of ethnicity (Wessel, 2017). As a consequence, a large share of the inhabitants in the East End has working-class and ethnic minority background while a large share of the residents in the West End have upper-class and ethnic majority background.

This study takes place in the western part of town, in Vestre Aker District. The Vestre Aker district is primarily a residential area with mostly detached and semi-detached houses and counts around 50 000 inhabitants. In line with research on the advantages of living in Oslo's West End, the living conditions in Vestre Aker are on average higher than in the capital in its entirety and the East End in particular. For the sake of comparison, I will contrast the Vestre Aker

district with the Alna district⁴ in the East End and Oslo as a whole. The rate of people between 30-59 years with low levels of education is 8,5% in Vestre Aker compared to 31% in Alna and 18% in Oslo (Bydelsfakta, 2019). This was reflected in my study: the vast majority of the parents of the adolescents from Røa had high educational degrees, although this was not the case for the parents from Hovseter, who did not have higher education. Furthermore, the share of low-income households with children is quite low in Vestre Aker: 4,2% in contrast to 18% in Alna and 12% in Oslo. In addition, while the share of households that are defined as overcrowded is 16% in Alna and 13% in Oslo, it is 5,5% in Vestre Aker (Bydelsfakta, 2019). This can be seen as related to the large share of detached and semi-detached houses in the district, which make up 59% of the built landscape. In comparison, apartment blocks constitute 79% in the Alna district (Bydelsfakta, 2019). Furthermore, the Vestre Aker district had the lowest share of immigrants and Norwegian-born with immigrant parents in Oslo at the beginning of 2018, together with the districts of Nordre Aker and Nordstrand. All three districts had a share of 17%, while approximately half the population in Alna had immigrant background (Oslo kommune, 2020). The immigrant groups also differ: in Vestre Aker, the four largest groups had emigrated from, respectively, Poland, Sweden, the Philippines and Germany, while in Alna, they had emigrated from Pakistan, Poland, the Philippines, and Somalia (Bydelsfakta, 2019).

As these statistics on the living conditions in Vestre Aker and Alna demonstrate, the residents in the former have more access to resources than those in the latter. In fact, in the context of Oslo, Vestre Aker along with Ullern District – also located in the West End – hold more than the average of the social goods as well as the highest shares of upper-class residents and the lowest shares of working-class residents. These inhabitants have, among other things, better social networks, higher grades in school, better dental health and higher life expectancy than most of the districts in the East End. In these latter districts, however, there is, for instance, more social housing, more single parents and more youth delinquency (Ljunggren, Toft & Flemmen, 2017).

⁴ I have chosen Alna District and the administrative part Furuset, which is located in Alna, since the number of residents is similar (7 300 in Hovseter, 10 000 in Furuset), both are residential areas and both are located in a relatively similar distance to Oslo central station with the metro: 15 minutes from Hovseter and 20 minutes from Furuset.

2.2. Hovseter – the only satellite town in the West End

As described in the introduction, Hovseter stands out in Vestre Aker District, both socially and spatially. In order to understand why, we have to examine the area's history. The agricultural land of Røa was converted to a residential area from early 1900. Røa's residential development expanded in the 1920s and the area became an established suburb when *Røabanen* – the metro connecting the area to the city centre – was finished in 1935 (Thorsnæs, 2018). Hovseter was developed as a satellite town during the early 1970s as a response to Oslo's lack of housing. Shortage of apartments and poor conditions in existing housing were important political issues in the 1960s and a key aim was to build sufficient housing quickly (Hansen & Guttu, 1998). As a consequence, Oslo developed several satellite towns in the outskirts of the city during the 1960s and 1970s. These suburban areas were mainly located in the east and south-east parts of the capital, in Groruddalen, Østensjø and Søndre Nordstrand. The western parts of the city did not experience this massive housing development. However, the Norwegian Labour Party suggested to also develop a satellite town in the West End, to which the Conservative party, as well as many of the local inhabitants, protested, arguing that the apartment blocks would esthetically not fit in the residential areas. According to Myhre (2017, p. 48), residents also had concerns about the social implications of a satellite town close by. Nevertheless, permission was granted in 1967 to build apartment blocks and Hovseter was developed on the fields between the former farms Huseby, Voksen and Holmen (Bu, 2016). The first and, to this day, only western satellite town was a fact, and the first tenants moved in during 1973 (Hansen & Guttu, 1998).

The satellite town of Hovseter was built according to contemporary ideals of city planning in which light, clean air and green environments were valued (Hansen & Guttu, 1998). The area was pedestrian friendly and car-free, and was built around a centre with retail stores, a wine monopoly, a post office, and a bank, as well as the largest nursing home in Oslo at that time. A 12-storey apartment block was built and customised for people with physical disabilities, and 300 of the residential blocks' apartments were earmarked for nurses and police students, offering low rent (Bu, 2016). Hovseter School was built during the same period and officially opened in the

autumn of 1974. It was located by the centre, and the intention was to make it an integral part of the satellite town (Hovseter skole, 2018).

Today, the city square, the school and the apartment blocks are all intact, and it is still a car-free environment. The nursing home has been rebuilt and was finished in 2017. However, the residential blocks of flats and public spaces have for several years lacked maintenance, making the area to some extent look deprived, similarly to many of the satellite towns in Oslo's East End. Also, local commerce has gone through changes. There is currently a hairdresser, two grocery stores and a pizza parlour by the square, but the wine monopoly, post office and bank are closed. There have been several businesses in the centre since the 1970s, but as a community worker told me: "It has always been difficult for restaurants and shops to make it at Hovseter. They have all struggled financially." According to him, the residents do not use the commercial offers much, which is also the case for many of the small centres in the satellite towns in the East End. As a consequence of the closed shops, some of the commercial renting properties at Hovseter are vacant.

Hovseter's residents have also to some degree changed since the first inhabitants moved in. Along with the increase in immigrant workers in Oslo during the 1970s, some moved to Hovseter where the rent was affordable. During the 1990s, the municipality of Oslo increased the rent of the apartments that were earmarked for nurses and police students. As a result, most of these tenants moved out and their apartments were transformed into social housing apartments. Today, 9% of the apartments in Hovseter are social housing (Bydelsfakta, 2019). In fact, 334 of the district's 426 social housing apartments are located at Hovseter (Bydelsfakta, 2019), mainly in five of the apartment blocks. Social housing in Norway is allocated to two groups, the first being for persons with social and/or financial disadvantages, and the second group for persons with physical disabilities who are in need of a specialised care dwelling. In Oslo, 82% of the municipal apartments are dwellings for the former group, while 18% are dwellings for the latter (Holmøy, 2018). Overcrowded apartments, lack of insulation and problems with noise are more common in social housing (Turner & Stefansen, 2012; Nordvik, 2010) and there are several challenges related to the social environment in many social housing blocks (Hansen & Lescher-Nuland, 2011; Oslo kommune, 2009). In addition to social housing apartments in

Hovseter, there are municipal apartments for refugee families who have gained residence permit and who have lived in Norway for a relatively short period of time. Moreover, there are also blocks with homeowner apartments located further away from the centre in Hovseter, where the apartment blocks are of a smaller scale and better maintained.

While 59% of the built landscape in Vestre Aker consists of detached and semi-detached houses, at Hovseter, 81% is apartment blocks (Bydelsfakta, 2019). The demographic data discloses that the living conditions in Hovseter are poorer than in the district in its entirety. Firstly, Hovseter has a higher share of people from 30-59 years with low levels of education than the rest of the district (13% compared to 8,5%). Secondly, the share of low-income families with children is higher than in Vestre Aker as a whole (11% vs. 4%), and thirdly, nearly twice as many households in Hovseter are defined as overcrowded compared to the district (10% vs. 5,5%) (Bydelsfakta, 2019). Consequently, many adolescents in Hovseter share a bedroom with family member(s), as was the case with my interviewees from Hovseter.

A larger share of the residents in Hovseter are immigrants or descendants of immigrants than the average in the district. In fact, Hovseter holds Vestre Aker's highest number of immigrants from Asia, Africa, Latin-America and Eastern Europe (non-EU countries) that have resided in the district for fewer than five years (Bydelsfakta, 2019). Within this category, the largest groups are immigrants from, respectively, the Philippines, Iran, India and Somalia. Moreover, Hovseter has the highest share of Norwegian-born people with immigrant parents in the district, which is 23% compared to 14% in Vestre Aker (Bydelsfakta, 2019).

A review of newspaper articles concerning Hovseter dating from the 1970s until today reveals that there have been challenges related to the social housing blocks in the area since the 1980s. During the last half of the 1990s, several articles reported violent episodes and use and sale of narcotics as well as the presence of squatters (Moen, 2002; Aftenposten, 1998; Fonbæk & Kirknes, 1996; Solli, 1996; Heggen, 1996). Moreover, many of the residents complained about dilapidated apartments, non-working elevators, and blocked fire exits (Johnsen, 2014; Stølan, Solberg & Fougner, 1995), as well as garbage and rats (Solbakken, 2009; Waagbø, 1998). Newspaper articles today, however, do not reveal the same gravity of issues in Hovseter as those published around the turn of the millennium. After 2000, the area has seen some changes in the

type of social housing residents. This year, many one-room apartments in one of the apartment blocks were transformed into two- and three-room apartments (Krohn, 2000), making room for families rather than single-person households. This could have affected the number and degree of social issues in the neighbourhood.

A 25-year-old man from Hovseter told me during an interview that he felt that the area is “more stable today” than when he grew up since there is less crime and violence. However, during my fieldwork at Hovseter, there were still issues related to some of the social housing residents, such as alcohol and drug abuse, as well as lack of maintenance of the apartment blocks. In particular, families with children alongside adults with mental health issues and/or addictions was something that concerned social workers, teachers, and some of the youths.

The adolescents in the area attend Hovseter School, which is a secondary school that serves approximately 650 children from 8th to 10th grade. The school’s pupils have earlier attended Huseby, Voksen, Bogstad, or Sørkedalen primary schools. At Hovseter School, the share of minority language pupils is 18,5%, which is higher than the two other secondary schools in the district, Midtstuen and Ris, where it is around 11% (Oslo kommune, 2019a). This is, however, not a high share in the context of Oslo. In fact, this share varies both between and within Oslo’s districts, resulting in some schools with almost only ethnic minority pupils, mostly located in inner-city east or in the satellite towns in the East End, and others with almost only ethnic majority pupils, often in the West End, while the proportion is more balanced in the remaining (Oslo kommune, 2019a).

To summarise, Hovseter stands out in the context of Vestre Aker due to the many residential apartment blocks, the higher number of social housing apartments, the on average poorer living conditions and the higher share of immigrants and descendants. Since its development as a satellite town during the early 1970s, the buildings and public spaces have suffered from lack of maintenance, and the area has faced social challenges regarding some of the residents. As a response, the urban area programme *Hovseterløftet* was initiated in 2017, which has contributed to physical renovation of the area as well as the opening of a youth club. I will discuss policies on social mix and urban area programmes in general in the following chapter, before I present and discuss *Hovseterløftet* in particular in Chapter 5.

3. Theoretical framework

In order to explore how youth life unfolds in Hovseter and Røa, two neighbouring areas characterised by social and spatial contrasts, I employ a broad theoretical framework in which I include different theoretical perspectives and analytical concepts, not applying only one “grand theory.” Since this study has an explorative approach inspired by grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), the data collected has led the analysis and influenced the theoretical framework. The analytical tools have been chosen in order to examine how the youths’ spatial and social backgrounds influence their practices, relations, and aspirations.

In this chapter, I firstly present theories and existing studies about the spatial dimensions, including policies on social mix and integration, before I continue with the social dimensions, and within this social class and educational aspirations. Lastly, I discuss boundary work and place attachment. The aim with this chapter is to both contextualise the thesis further and to introduce theories and analytical concepts I will engage with throughout the analysis.

3.1. Spatial dimensions

Since children and youth spend a considerable amount of time in their neighbourhood (Brattbakk & Wessel, 2017; Bakken, 2018), their social background also has a significant spatial component. Scholars have been interested in this, asking to what extent where we live affects our daily lives, opportunities, and life choices. Research on neighbourhood effects studies the contextual effects of living in a particular area, examining, among other things, the social relations internally in a neighbourhood. Closely related to interest in neighbourhood effects are urban policies on segregation and social mix, which I will discuss in the following subchapter.

Segregation and social mix

Segregation refers to the spatial separation between socially defined groups, where a social group may be distinguished by traits such as class, ethnicity, and “race,” as well as age, religion, family status, and occupation (Massey, 2016, p. 3). Segregation may be created partly through market forces, where some have more economic capital to buy and rent housing than others, and partly through structures and actions that work outside markets, such as discrimination (Massey, 2016, p. 5). The level of segregation is in general higher in American cities than in European, and Norway scores low on indicators on segregation (Musterd, 2005). Nevertheless, scholars consider Oslo as a socially and ethnic divided city, as described in Chapter 2.

The negative consequences of segregation and living in concentrated poverty have been a repeated concern of urban policy in Europe and North America (Cole & Green, 2010). Segregated areas are considered social fields in which poor living conditions, such as poor school performance, low employment rates, crime, and drug abuse, are reinforced (Brattbakk & Wessel, 2017; Wilson, 1987). This has led to an assumption among policymakers from countries in Europe and North America that creating mixed urban neighbourhoods with residents of different social classes, tenures, and ethnicities can prevent problems and contribute to positive effects.

Policymakers ground their countering of spatial segregation in two types of arguments. Firstly, they argue that creating mixed neighbourhoods is a means to improve the residents’ quality of life (Bolt & van Kempen, 2013). One reason to expect better living conditions is that social mixing leads to *social cohesion*. The notion of social cohesion refers to the “glue” that holds people together in society, in particular in diversified contexts. Policymakers argue that spatial proximity contributes to social interaction between different social groups (Joseph, Chaskin & Webber, 2007), and these interactions may lead to aspects of social cohesion such as place attachment and common norms (Dekker & Bolt, 2005; Kearns & Forrest, 2000). The assumption is that social cohesion stimulates social control and increases safety and thus reduces anti-social behaviour (Kearns & Mason, 2007; Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997). Scholars have also studied this the other way around, stressing that urban unrest and crime in an area coincide with the lack of trust and social cohesion (Gerell, Hallin, Nilvall & Westerdahl, 2020).

Secondly, policymakers believe that social mix helps counteract negative neighbourhood effects (Bolt & van Kempen, 2013). Living in a neighbourhood with a concentration of poor residents is believed to restrict a person's social mobility (Galster, 2007; Wilson, 1987). Regarding youth, one is concerned about the impact of the social interaction between neighbourhood residents and how this may affect development, socialisation, and career paths (Jencks & Mayer, 1990). The general idea is that the spatial concentration of disadvantaged youth in particular neighbourhoods grants lesser opportunities for learning, inadequate information about potential future labour-market positions, and/or lack of role models that can encourage preferences and behaviour that can give rise for success both in school and work (Cook, Herman, Phillips & Setterston, 2002). Policymakers assume that a mix of residents of different social classes, tenures, and ethnicities, however, builds social capital and ensures positive role models (Cole & Green, 2010; Lelévrier, 2013; Galster, 2012). Moreover, an important aspect of areas dominated by disadvantaged people is stigmatisation (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000). An increased mix of social groups in poor neighbourhoods is expected to improve the reputation of the area, hence decreasing discrimination toward its residents (Bolt & van Kempen, 2013).

Since the 1990s, many European cities have initiated urban area programmes in order to solve challenges related to poverty, social problems and residential segregation among ethnic minorities (Andersen, 2010). Through changing both spatial and social structures within an area, one intends to improve the living conditions and counteract negative neighbourhood effects (Søholt & Wessel, 2010). In addition, one hopes to improve the area's reputation and to make it more attractive in order to prevent "resourceful" residents from moving away from the neighbourhood and to increase the same group of people to move in, in order to promote social mixing (Lund, 2014, p. 39). In Europe, notably France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden have specifically worked on promoting social mix through, for instance, mixed-tenure programmes and selective demolition and redevelopment of housing of a different size, type, and value (Cole & Green, 2010; Lelévrier, 2010).

In Norway, urban area programmes such as *Groruddalssatsningen* (2007-2016, then prolonged to 2026) in Groruddalen, and *Hovseterløftet* (2018-2021) in Hovseter, are examples of the aim to decrease segregation and to promote social mix. I will present the latter in Chapter 5,

which is smaller in terms of spatial range and financial conditions than the former. In Norway, such urban area programmes have resulted in measures to stimulate schools and kindergartens, the local police, and local health projects, as well as measures to increase resident involvement in the neighbourhood (Brattbakk & Wessel, 2017). Moreover, the creation or maintenance of meeting places, in particular leisure arenas for youth, is a frequently used tool in Norwegian area-based strategies (Ruud, Barlindhaug & Staver, 2019a, p. 21).

Social capital

As mentioned, social capital is one of the assumed effects of mixed neighbourhoods among policymakers (Cole & Green, 2010), which local politicians, social workers, and teachers in Hovseter also stressed. They assumed that a socially mixed youth club would lead to an increase in social capital among the youths from Hovseter. There are many definitions of social capital, and I have chosen to present those of Bourdieu and Putnam. Whereas Bourdieu's (1986) focus is on individuals or small social groups as entities of analysis, Putnam (2000) relates social capital to the citizens' active engagement in the society's formal organisations and political activities. In this thesis, I focus on social capital among individual adolescents and small youth groups, such as Bourdieu. Nevertheless, I also find that Putnam's version is beneficial for this purpose, as other scholars have before (e.g. Uyl & Brouwer, 2009).

Bourdieu emphasises networks and the resources to which they grant access: "Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between social, economic, and cultural capital, which I will describe later. Important to note in this regard is that social capital is a form of capital different from the others, as it is also transmitting or giving access to the other forms of more "fixed" capital.

Putnam (2000) defines social capital as "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 14). For him, social capital is a trait with the local community or the nation in itself, and a high degree of social

capital contributes to reduced criminality, distrust, and corruption as well as ensuring social participation in political and social activities. Moreover, he argues that when people have higher levels of social capital, their lives are more successful and children grow up healthier, safer, and better educated, and in general the society's democracy and economy work better (Putnam, 2007, p. 138).

According to Putnam (2000, p. 22), there is an important distinction between *bridging* (inclusive) and *bonding* (exclusive) social capital. Bridging social capital refers to networks that are outward-looking and that encompass a diversity of people, meaning groups that bond with people different from themselves. Bonding social capital, on the other hand, refers to social capital, or the social networks and their actions, that exist within a homogeneous group in terms of kinship, ethnicity, or class, among others. These two types of social capital have different advantages: bonding social capital is good for upholding specific reciprocity and mobilising solidarity, while bridging social capital is better for connecting to external resources and for information diffusion. However, bonding social capital tends to reinforce exclusive identities as well as boundaries towards other groups, while bridging social capital provides space for more open and diffuse identities (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Regarding this, Putnam refers to Granovetter (1973) and his distinction between *weak* and *strong* ties. For instance, when seeking jobs, weak ties can link people to distant acquaintances who move in different circles from themselves. According to Granovetter, weak ties are thus more valuable than the strong ties that link a person to relatives and intimate friends who come from a similar social milieu as they can be a resource in order to advance in the class hierarchy.

Existing research on social mix in neighbourhoods

Research demonstrates dissimilar results of the neighborhood effects from living in diversified neighbourhoods and the different measures adopted to promote social mix. Quantitative studies demonstrate the negative effects of concentrating certain population groups but there is less certainty about the efficacy of social mix strategies (Lel evrier, 2013). For instance, research has placed doubt on the assumed production of uplift in opportunity and outcome for the more

disadvantaged residents in mixed areas (Cole & Goodchild, 2002; Kearns, 2002; Ostendorf, Musterd & Vos, 2001).

However, a study by Toft & Ljunggren (2016) challenges these latter results. They study the ways in which the social class composition of adolescents' neighbourhoods affects individual educational achievement and class positions in adult life among residents in Oslo. They find that upper-class presence in adolescent neighbourhoods is independently associated with the likelihood of achieving higher education, elite credentials, and upper-class membership in adulthood. In addition, this neighbourhood influence was of more importance for less privileged youth, which the researchers interpret as reflecting interaction among working-class adolescents and upper-class adults and/or upper-class teenagers. Hence, growing up in an upper-class environment seems to provide contextual resources that are favourable in adulthood. Linking these results to my study, this could imply that the working class youths from Hovseter will, in the long term, benefit from growing up among their upper-middle-class peers from Røa.

Quantitative studies, however, can not tell us whether or how people with different social backgrounds actually interact when residing in the same neighbourhoods, although they can assume that contact takes place. Scholars have demonstrated how different groups, such as homeowners and tenants, and ethnic minorities and the majority, can reside in close proximity but live separate lives (e.g. Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Butler, 2003; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010). The assumption that mixed neighbourhoods enhance social capital and produce mixed networks falls short according to these studies. Rather, they demonstrate that residents in socioeconomic and ethnic mixed areas do not necessarily interact.

In addition to studies that counter the assumptions behind policies on social mix, scholars have criticised this policy more generally. Amin (2002) argues that underlying the initiatives to engineer ethnic mix is an assumption of cultural fixity and homogeneity within both the majority and ethnic minority communities. He further stresses how social mixing is not necessarily problem-free, as many mixed neighbourhoods are pervaded by racism, interethnic tension, and cultural isolation in which "parallel lives" also exist. In addition, he argues that many neighbourhoods that are dominated by a single ethnic group are not faced with problems. Moreover, Lees (2008) points out how these policies socially construct the middle class as a

normative ideal and that people, groups, and lifestyles that do not fit into this norm end up being dominated.

Integration

Closely related to urban policies regarding the combat of segregation and promotion of social mix is the aim of integrating minorities into mainstream society. A strong link is often made between the integration of ethnic minority groups and their residential segregation (Bolt, Özüekren & Phillips, 2010), and according to Hamnett (2005, p. 202-204), social mixing, as opposed to spatial segregation, generates social integration. Moreover, proponents of spatial assimilation theory assume a strong relationship between socio-economic progress and spatial mobility, in which scholars such as Park (1928) believe that personal advances among ethnic minorities lead to residential integration.

Integration is a word often used with little precision by journalists and policymakers. Eriksen (2010, p. 70) emphasises that one should clarify *who* is getting integrated to *what* by *whom* when one talks about integration. Eriksen presents four types of distinctions regarding this notion. Firstly, he makes a distinction between *systemic* and *social* integration. Systemic integration concerns the macro level, meaning the social institutions and their stability and capability of self-maintenance, relatively independently from the actors involved in them. Social integration, on the other hand, concerns people's relational belonging, operative networks, and social capital. For instance, a person can be socially integrated within a society that is poorly integrated on the systemic level, or live in a society that is well integrated on a systemic level without being socially integrated.

Secondly, Eriksen (2010, p. 71-72) stresses the importance of distinguishing between *formal* and *informal* relations. Formal relations are those addressed through work, organisational life, and other formal institutions, contrary to informal social life. In his discussion of the significance of informal social networks in regard to social integration more generally, Eriksen refers to Granovetter's (1973) distinction between weak and strong ties, as I discussed earlier. In

this regard, Eriksen argues that those with many weak ties have a larger social potential than those with only a few strong ties.

Thirdly, Eriksen (2010, p. 73) distinguishes between *social* and *cultural* integration. He emphasises that even though the cultural meaning and social actions are interwoven, it is necessary to differentiate between them analytically, especially because the one does not necessarily lead to the other. For instance, cultural integration – the production of common beliefs – is not necessarily followed by social integration, meaning committed and stable social networks, and vice versa.

Finally, Eriksen (2010, p. 76) stresses that integration exists within a range of different *scales*: a large scale refers to a high level of complexity in individuals' social network while a small scale refers to a low level of complexity. All people operate on different scales, for instance, a soccer practice is an action on a small scale but when the team enrolls in a tournament, the scale increases. Small and large scale is thus not the same as micro and macro, but it is a measurement of social complexity and the individual's range through his/her network.

Policymakers expect that socially mixed neighbourhoods facilitate integration. My thesis examines, among other things, how this is materialised among the youths in Hovseter and Røa. It is the social integration I am interested in, meaning the youths' relational belonging, operative networks, and social capital, as well as the informal integration: the relationships between the pupils and neighbours in regard to bridging and bonding social capital. In addition, I am interested in cultural integration in terms of educational aspirations. Lastly, the scales I am interested in are both Hovseter and Røa as a smaller community within the larger society, as well as the larger scales of Oslo and Norway.

Social mix and integration in school

The school as an institution is intended to create cultural integration for everyone, including both the majority and minority populations. It is meant to create a more or less shared repertoire of knowledge and skills, as well as proclaiming certain moral values, such as humanism, democracy, and equality (Eriksen, 2010, p. 81). As a side effect of cultural integration, the school

also creates social integration on a primarily low level. At school, friendships are created, pupils meet outside school time, and develop strong, multivalent bonds with one another and share experiences in an early life phase (Eriksen, 2010, p. 81).

According to Amin (2002), the contact spaces of housing estates and urban public spaces seem to fall short of producing interethnic understanding since they are not structured as spaces of interdependence and habitual engagement. Amin (2002) refers to Les Back (personal communication) who has suggested that “the ideal sites for coming to terms with ethnic difference are where ‘prosaic negotiations’ are compulsory, in ‘micropublics’ such as the workplace, schools, colleges, youth centres, sports clubs, and other spaces of association” (p. 969). Following this, one can expect that the school and youth club at Hovseter are spaces in which social interaction across class and ethnicity are generated, and thus spaces that could facilitate social integration.

Many qualitative studies on socially mixed institutions and neighbourhoods focus on adults, and if children or youth are studied, it is mainly from their parents’ point of view (e.g. Weck & Hanhörster, 2014; Nast & Blokland, 2014; Bendixsen & Danielsen, 2019; Danielsen & Bendixsen, 2019). In addition, some studies on integration have focused on the teachers’ pedagogy and their contribution to processes of inclusion and exclusion of pupils (e.g. Arnesen, 2002). Other studies have examined the pupils themselves, discussing topics such as interethnic relationships, although not necessarily from the perspective of policies on social mix. Relevant for this thesis, both Smette (2015) and Eriksen (2012) demonstrate how ethnicity is formed and lived among pupils and how group belonging and boundaries can be constructed based on the categories ‘Norwegian’ and ‘foreigner,’ two notions that were central in Hovseter School. These studies demonstrate how the designations are created locally and can mean different things in different school settings.

3.2. Social background

A central theme of this thesis is social reproduction and how youth's social class can potentially affect their daily lives, social relations, and aspirations. In order to discuss this, I use Bourdieu's model of social space, which draws attention to conflict, change, and systemic inequality as well as to the fluid nature of the relationship between structure and agency. Moreover, I present studies that have applied Bourdieu's theoretical concepts and research on educational aspirations, in which class is a central notion.

Social space, capital and habitus

Bourdieu (1984) developed his model of social space, which consists of a hierarchical structure of objective social positions, in order to explain the society's class structure. This model of social space is based upon a relational understanding where the groups exist in relation to each other and by virtue of their mutual similarities and differences. An individual's position in social space depends on the type and amount of capital that the individual possesses. For Bourdieu (1984), capital is "the set of actually usable resources and powers" (p. 114). He distinguishes between three main types of capital: *economic capital*, which is money and material resources; *cultural capital*, which involves education, knowledge, and access to and mastery of the valued cultural codes; and *social capital*, which involves access to social networks, as previously presented. Bourdieu (1984) also employs a fourth type of capital, *symbolic capital*, which is a form of capital that the three other capital forms can transform into when they are perceived as legitimate in a specific arena.

One of the main notions in Bourdieu's theory is the analysis of the indirect causal link between individuals' positions in social space and their practices by means of the concept of *habitus*. Individuals with different locations in social space are socialised differently, which provides individuals with different habitus, or a sense of what is comfortable or "natural." The habitus is embodied and can be understood as a "socialised subjectivity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 126). Moreover, habitus is something that is shaped by the social structures around

individuals but also something that shapes them, influencing how individuals perceive and appreciate the world in different ways based on their social position in the past and present (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19). These background experiences also shape the amount and forms of capital individuals inherit and draw upon when they move around in different fields of the social world.

While habitus describes the reasons for and the setting around the agent's actions, the notion of *field* describes the social arenas in which social action unfolds. A field is a space regulated by laws particular for that field. According to Bourdieu (1984), agents participate in a series of social disputes about impact and capital which take place within specific and relatively autonomous spaces. Field defines hierarchical spaces of social and spatial positions, specifying the stakes involved in such positions. A field could be, for instance, the political field or the fashion field, but also a site. Relating this to my study, one could assume that the Vestre Aker district is a field in which there are certain laws regarding what to wear, which activities one should engage in, and what aspirations one should have, among other things. Youth from Røa and Hovseter participate in this field, although with different habitus, in which they compete regarding the definition of the field's rules.

The educational field is also of importance regarding my study. According to Bourdieu & Passeron (1970), the educational system is adjusted to children with a middle-class background. The middle-class habitus is valued in school, therefore, middle-class children will feel at ease in the educational system. According to this, the youths from Røa in my study will more likely succeed and feel comfortable at school than those from Hovseter.

Cultural reproduction

Many studies have been influenced by Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, among others Lareau (2003). She has conducted an ethnographic study on families in the USA in which she demonstrates how parents' social class impacts children's life experiences. Lareau (2003, p. 2) argues that parents employ different child-rearing techniques according to their class: middle-class parents engage in a process of *concerted cultivation*, in which "developing"

children, particularly through organised leisure activities, is seen as an essential aspect of good parenting. Working-class and poor families, on the other hand, facilitate the accomplishment of *natural growth*, in which parents tend to use directives and where most children are free to go out and play with friends and relatives (Lareau, 2003, p. 3). With the terminology of Bourdieu, Lareau (2003, p. 276) considers these two different types of child-rearing techniques as aspects of the habitus of the families.

Moreover, Lareau (2003, p. 6) argues that the middle-class children, due to concerted cultivation, gain a robust *sense of entitlement*. This plays an especially important role in institutional settings, where middle-class children learn to question adults and address them as relative equals. In contrast, the children from working-class and poor families appear to gain an emerging *sense of constraint* in their institutional experiences (Lareau, 2003, p. 6). Moreover, according to Lareau, concerted cultivation is in line with the dominant set of cultural repertoires about how children should be raised in the USA, which is played out in schools and the like, contributing to advantages for middle-class children.

Similar results on cultural dynamics among different classes have been encountered in Norwegian research. For instance, Stefansen, Strandbu & Smette (2017) have looked at class differences in a Norwegian secondary school in their study on how parents engage in their children's schoolwork. They use Lareau's concepts of concerted cultivation and natural growth, and find that the Norwegian middle-class master the school's expectations best because they engage in concerted cultivation. Lareau's findings on how the middle-class parents organise their children's everyday lives with the purpose of them reaching future goals are also confirmed in other Norwegian studies (Stefansen & Aarseth, 2011; Stefansen & Farstad, 2008, 2010; Stefansen, 2011).

These studies will be helpful in analysing the potential class differences in the organisation of daily life and parents' involvement in school among the working-class youth from Hovseter and their upper-middle-class peers from Røa. However, my study draws on observational data on the youths only, and not the parent's child-rearing techniques, as well as the youths' perceptions of their daily lives, relationships with their parents, and so forth. Therefore, I discuss these questions from the perspective of the youths, not the parents.

Educational aspirations

In this thesis, the pupils I have studied are about to choose between the academic or vocational tracks in upper-secondary school. The link between socio-economic background and differences in education is well documented in a Norwegian context (Hansen, 2010; Hansen & Mastekaasa, 2006; Wiborg & Hansen, 2009). According to dominant theoretical approaches to understanding links between socioeconomic differences and educational decisions, a student's choice of education is likely to follow his or her class background. Existing research demonstrates that pupils with the same level of achievements in elementary school, but different social class, often choose different upper-secondary education: those from the higher social classes are more likely to choose academic tracks while those from lower social classes more often choose vocational tracks (Helland & Støren, 2011; Hansen, 2005).

There are different theoretical reasonings regarding the intermediate influence of educational institutions on class reproduction. The two that are most supported are related to rational choice theory in which costs and rewards play important parts in choosing one's educational path (Boudon, 1974; Goldthorpe, 1996), and Bourdieu's (1984) theory on cultural capital and habitus, the latter presented above and demonstrated with Lareau's (2003) study.

According to Strømme (2020), by emphasising the family's class, these theories mostly overlook the idea that students' preferences may also be influenced by social interaction with peers and others. In her study of secondary school pupils' choice between academic and vocational tracks in upper-secondary school in Norway, she examines if the social class of the pupils' classmates also can affect their educational choices. Strømme finds that the family context is of most importance, but also that the proportion of upper-class peers is associated with the increased likelihood of choosing academic tracks at the upper-secondary level, especially for students who are not from upper-class backgrounds.

Although the class background of pupils is important in order to understand their educational choices and aspirations, it intersects with multiple factors, such as gender and ethnicity. Some scholars claim that social class is less important in explaining educational success and aspirations among children of immigrants (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2012; Fekjær,

2007; Modood, 2004). This group often does well in the Norwegian educational system, despite growing up in families with low socioeconomic status (Hermansen, 2016), and experience stronger upward mobility than their peers with Norwegian-born parents with the same level of education (Hermansen, 2015). Hence, instead of only stressing social class, scholars have focused on theories concerning cultural aspects within immigrant networks and families, for instance *ethnic capital*. The idea is that ethnicity is a resource and that maintaining one's coethnic community can positively affect upward social mobility (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Moreover, scholars argue that ethnic communities provide norms and organisations that promote educational attainment, in particular gainful for members who lack cultural capital (Shah, Dwyer & Modood, 2010).

Another notion that is used in order to describe the high achievement among immigrant children in the host country is *immigrant drive*. According to Kindt & Hegna (2017, p. 281), immigrant drive can be understood as a particular motivation for and aspirations about higher education which is motivated by one's parents' positive attitudes regarding education and as a prolongation of the family's migration story. Other scholars have drawn attention to the *immigrant bargain*, where children of immigrants feel the need to make up for their parents' sacrifices and hardships by achieving academic success (Louie, 2012).

Even though several scholars stress factors other than social class in order to understand the educational choices and aspirations among children of immigrants, some researchers emphasise how this group, that often is high-achieving, nevertheless may be the result of more traditional class reproduction. They argue that many immigrant parents constitute a selected group who have attained education and come from a middle-class background in their country of origin (Feliciano & Lanuza, 2017). Hence, the children reproduce their parents' class position, and their immigrant drive could also be an expression of a *middle-class drive* (Kindt, 2017).

In accordance with these theories and studies, one would expect that the ethnic minority pupils from Hovseter, who are both immigrants and descendants of immigrants, report high levels of encouragement from their family and social environments regarding higher education. Adding the assumptions behind neighbourhood effects, one would expect that the high share of upper-middle-class peers from Røa also would contribute to many choosing the academic track.

3.3. Boundary work and place attachment

As already mentioned, one of the assumed benefits of socially mixed neighbourhoods is the generating of aspects related to social cohesion such as place attachment and common norms (Dekker & Bolt, 2005; Kearns & Forrest, 2000), and the expectation that this will stimulate social control and increase safety, which further reduces anti-social behaviour (Kearns & Mason, 2007; Sampson, Raudenbush & Earls, 1997). In the thesis, I have been interested in analysing the youths' belonging to their neighbourhood and to the West End in general as well as to social groups. Related to the sense of belonging is the notion of *boundaries*. Scholars have argued that people tend to categorise each other and assess whether or not others are "like us" (De Swaan, 1995; Jenkins, 2000), engaging in the social process of relationality.

Lamont & Molnár (2002) distinguish between symbolic and social boundaries. They define *symbolic boundaries* as "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality" (p. 168). Hence, symbolic boundaries are repertoires of evaluation that tell us who or what is inside and outside communities or groups. *Social boundaries*, on the other hand, are "objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities" (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 168). For instance, different access to opportunities because of residential segregation contributes to social boundaries between neighbourhoods, but they can also be symbolic. According to Lamont and Molnár (2002, p. 169), symbolic boundaries exist intersubjectively and culturally, while social boundaries appear through the creation of groups and exclusion of individuals. Symbolic boundaries are often seen as a necessary but insufficient condition for the formation of social boundaries (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 169).

Dating back to the Chicago School, if not earlier, ethnographers have studied boundaries (symbolic, social, and spatial) both within and between neighbourhoods (Lamont & Molnár, 2002, p. 168-169). Neighbourhood boundaries can be based on social class and/or ethnicity, as seen in Hovseter and Røa. Moreover, studies have examined how residences can be

manifestations of lifestyles, inspired by Bourdieu's framework (e.g. Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005; Watt, 2009). Bourdieu (1996, 1999) claims that social space has a tendency to manifest itself in physical space: people from different classes reside in different areas, not only because their amount of economic capital differs, but because their cultural capital and variations in taste and lifestyle make up their sense of belonging in a space. This perception of belonging to a space is closely related to one's habitus and is elaborated in the concept of the *sense of one's place*, referring to that you "know where you belong" both spatially and socially. Hence, habitus can be translated into geography in implying an agent's sense of one's place. Moreover, it can imply a "sense of the place of others" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 19). In this study, I use this notion to analyse the youth's perception of belonging to the West End, and more specifically, to Hovseter and Røa.

3.4. Concluding remarks

The choice of theoretical framework for this thesis is in a large part guided by the data collected from my fieldwork, as I have been inspired by grounded theory. Introducing both spatial and social dimensions in order to analyse how youths from Hovseter and Røa live their lives, how they interact with one another, and which aspirations they have, is of importance. This chapter has intended to introduce the background for the thesis as well as the theories and analytical concepts that I will use throughout the analysis. Other existing research, theories, and concepts will be introduced during the thesis when relevant.

Lastly, even though I emphasise social class and place (i.e. neighbourhood) in my theoretical framework, this is not to say that class or neighbourhood definitely can determine the outcome of differences in daily life and future opportunities of the youths from Hovseter and Røa. When explaining an observable act or event, one should be careful to avoid reductionism, that is, explaining practices, interactions, or aspirations by referring mainly or only to class, neighbourhood, ethnicity, religion, and so forth (Andersen, 2014).

4. Data and methods

My aim of exploring how youth life unfolds in Hovseter and Røa, two neighbouring areas characterised by social and spatial contrasts, guided me in my choice of conducting ethnographic fieldwork. The fieldwork at Hovseter and Røa, in which I conducted participant observations and semi-structured interviews, was carried out in two parts: a pilot study during the spring of 2019 and the main period of three months of fieldwork the autumn of 2019. I have been inspired by grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) as a methodological approach, contributing to an explorative and empirical driven study. My research strategy has been to develop a theoretical framework in dialogue with the collected data as the study evolved, and the study's emphasis on social mix policies evolved in the post-fieldwork stage of the study. This chapter accounts for my research design and research process as well as ethical considerations. To provide transparency and facilitate reflection on the study, I will detail the choices I made in generating and analysing the data material.

4.1. Introduction to the field of study

I was introduced to Hovseter and Røa through my participation in the project *Et sted å være ung (UngHus)* at the Work Research Institute (AFI) at Oslo Metropolitan University.⁵ In this project, AFI arranged several workshops with pupils from Hovseter School in order to facilitate youth involvement in the process of opening a youth club in the area. Before I embarked on the fieldwork, I conducted a pilot study from late April to late June 2019 with the aim of getting to know the area and to get an initial idea of what could be interesting to study.

In this pilot study, I participated in two workshops held by AFI at the youth club, I went for two walks around Hovseter with local youths, in which they showed me around and talked about the area, and participated at the youth club's opening event at the beginning of May and a

⁵ See <https://unghus.oslomet.no> for more information about the project.

summer party at the club in late June. Moreover, I evaluated AFI's youth involvement process in the development of the club by conducting three interviews: two focus group interviews with a total of seven participants between 13-15 years and one with the leader of the youth club.

4.2. Fieldwork at Hovseter and Røa

After the pilot study, I conducted 12 weeks of fieldwork from late August to early November 2019 in which I combined participant observations and qualitative interviews. The main arenas studied were the youth club at Hovseter and Hovseter School. I began by conducting participant observations at the former and then expanded my observations to take place at the latter some weeks after.

I selected the study's participants to be youth between 13 and 20 years old, as this age span covered the pupils at the secondary school and the older youths that came to the club. However, some of the participants were a few years older. In regard to my participant observations at the school, I chose to follow two classes in the last year because I was interested in the choice of upper-secondary education. 20 of the adolescents that participated in the interviews were recruited from these two classes and were 14 or 15 years old. Therefore it is this particular age span that is most present in my study.⁶

In addition to youths, my study includes adults. Spending time at the youth club and the school gave me many opportunities to talk with community workers and teachers. These professionals gave me valuable information about the area and its inhabitants as well as insights into how policies on social mix and social integration were expressed and carried out in practice.

In addition to data collected from my fieldwork, my study also draws on an analysis of documents. These documents include newspaper articles, policy documents, official reports, and statistical data. This material has been used to describe the context in which this study is situated as well as to discuss the empirical data collected from the participant observations and interviews.

⁶ When I refer to youths under 18 years, I use the categories "youths" or "adolescents." When I refer to youths over 18 years, I use the category "young adults."

In the following paragraphs, I will describe how I conducted participant observations and qualitative interviews in more detail.

Participant observation at the youth club

My initial strategy in order to get in contact with local youths was to engage in participant observation at the youth club in Hovseter during the evenings. The club was open one or two evenings a week, during the long recess at school and after school hours. In total, I spent seven evenings doing participant observation at the club and visited eight times during lunchtime or after school. In addition, I observed a football tournament arranged by the club during the autumn break.

Becker & Geer (1957) describe participant observation as a method in which the researcher participates in the daily life of the people under study by “observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time” (p. 28). This was indeed my main aim, trying to grasp what the youths did and talked about. When I conducted participant observation at the youth club, I walked around, observed, and talked to the people there. Sometimes I asked questions but mostly I joined conversations they started. I wanted to hear and observe what they said and did in situations initiated by themselves, rather than designed by me as a researcher (Fangen, 2010, p. 12).

In the beginning, I found it difficult to join the conversations, as the youths knew each other well and had an informal tone with each other, sharing references I did not understand. When I joined in, I found that the conversation became less easy. Thus I observed more than participated in these initial visits. However, I found the participation less restrained after some time in the field when the youths knew me better and I had managed to develop rapport, which opened up for longer and informal conversations, also about more sensitive topics. Establishing rapport is important, as it can affect the quality and range of access achieved and the data collected, or constructed, as well as for ethical reasons (O’Reilly, 2012). In regard to the young adults, it was easier to participate in their conversations, which I think mainly was because we were closer in age.

I had a notebook with me at the youth club, in which I occasionally wrote down observations while I was alone. Usually I transferred the field notes and wrote further notes on my computer the next day.

Participant observation at the school

During my fieldwork at the youth club, I quickly realised that very few upper-middle-class and ethnic majority adolescents visited. In order to include this group in my study, I had to change approach. The secondary school was a strategic solution since this was the local school for pupils both from Hovseter and Røa. I thus contacted the school and got an arrangement in order to conduct classroom observations of two classes. These specific classes were chosen due to my contact with the teacher and I did not know the pupils' characteristics before I started the observations.

During six weeks, I observed two classes in the 10th grade, which I have named X and Y in order to ensure anonymity. I visited between two and four times a week, a total of 19 days, and I normally spent at least half the day at school. I primarily observed the lessons held by one particular teacher. Each class had around 30 pupils and around 20% of the pupils in both classes had minority ethnic background. Observing two classes made me see the differences between the dynamics and social interactions within the two groups, as well as granting me access to twice as many participants. However, the number of pupils was also a challenge, as I struggled to connect with all of them during my short time in the field.

My role as a participant-observer was different in the classrooms than in the youth club, as I observed more than participated in the former. In the classrooms, I stood or sat in the back or walked among the rows of desks. Sometimes, if a seat was empty amid the pupils, I sat there. I often had a notebook visible, in which I wrote quite regularly in the beginning, and less and less by the end of the study when I was more familiar with the setting. During the breaks of various lengths, I walked around and talked with pupils on the school grounds and at the youth club. It was mainly during these small periods during the school day that I could establish rapport and

encourage some to participate in an interview. In these situations, my role as an observer was more participational than during the classroom observations.

Fieldwork as a way of obtaining information can be questioned due to the researcher's possible influence on the participants' behaviour and interaction (Gobo, 2011). However, Wadel (2014, p. 29) stresses that the fieldworker reduces her potential influence on situations when she observes and participates in the same types of situations several times. It often gets too strenuous for people to take the fieldworker into consideration in her daily work over a long period. Despite my relatively short time in the field, I experienced that the adolescents became more and more used to having me around, and I felt more included, both at the youth club and the school.

Interviews

During the fieldwork, I conducted semi-structured interviews with a total of 22 youths. The participants were interviewed alone ($n = 4$), in pairs ($n = 6$) or in groups of three ($n = 3$). 15 of the interviewees were girls and seven were boys. In the categorisation of the participants, I differ between youth with ethnic minority background ($n = 7$), defined as immigrants or children of immigrants, and ethnic majority background ($n = 15$), defined as Norwegian-born with one or two Norwegian-born parents. Moreover, I have categorised the participants in two social classes: working class ($n = 6$) and upper-middle class ($n = 16$). This categorisation is done pragmatically based on the parents' education and profession, in accordance with similar qualitative studies (Lareau, 2003; Stefansen & Farstad, 2010). In addition, I apply a *class dominance approach* (Erikson, 1984), where the parent with the highest class position defines the youth's position.

The working-class category is broad, consisting of skilled and unskilled labourers as well as families living on welfare transfers. The parents in these categories worked as auxiliary nurses, bus drivers, or cleaning assistants. The upper-middle-class category consists of families with long university degrees who work as, for instance, university professors, lawyers, or architects. All but one of the working-class interviewees reside in Hovseter and all of the upper-middle-class interviewees live in Røa.

Two interviewees were recruited from the youth club and 20 interviewees were recruited from the school. My first interview was with an upper secondary school student from Hovseter which took place in September as a pilot interview and thus contributed to an adjustment of the interview guide. All interviews except this pilot were conducted during my last three weeks of fieldwork. I recruited pupils from different friend groups and tried to recruit youths from different social classes and with different ethnicities, although I did not manage to recruit any ethnic minority boys from Hovseter. Nevertheless, the participant observations at the youth club supplemented the interviews, as I talked with several boys from Hovseter there.

The interviews took place during lunch break or after school, for the most part in an empty classroom or a group room. The interviews were semi-structured, in which I followed an interview guide⁷ but allowed other topics that our conversation would touch upon to evolve (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 162). The interviews became more like longer conversations about the interviewees' lives, interests, and aspirations. Since the interviews took place towards the end of my fieldwork, I had gained trust with many of the participants, which was helpful in creating a safe environment for us to talk in. In addition, I had learned how to ask and what to ask about, and I could pose more specific questions, as well as share my former observations and ask the participant to explain, confirm, or reject these.

Some of the interviews were held individually, while others were held in pairs or groups of three. It was the participants' choice whether or not they preferred to speak with me alone or with others. My main aim was that the interviews were as comfortable as possible for the pupils and I wanted the interaction I participated in as a fieldworker to take place on their premises (Wadel, 2014, p. 30). These different interview settings had different advantages and disadvantages. The pair or group interviews made the interview less formal and took to a larger extent form as conversations, often because the pupils talked with each other as well as with me, and asked each other follow-up questions and so forth. The challenge was, however, to stay focused on the themes I wanted to talk about and to get each participant to talk equally much. Moreover, one could assume that some would avoid talking about certain topics because their peer was present. However, as the participants chose who they wanted to be interviewed with,

⁷ Appendix 1.

they were probably comfortable discussing more personal topics in front of them. An individual interview, on the other hand, was easier to structure and the participant had more time to explain her/his thoughts on the subjects. This, however, required a greater relationship of trust between the interviewee and me, and it could end up as a more formal interview than planned.

At the end of each interview, the participant filled out a sheet with personal information⁸. This, as a supplement to the information gained from the interview itself, allowed me to categorise the youths in terms of social class and ethnic background. Moreover, I recorded all of the interviews, each lasting between 35 and 80 minutes, most about 45 minutes, which was the length of the lunch break and a school hour. This 45 minute time limit I faced during several interviews could at times be a challenging restraint, as I sometimes did not have time to unfold every topic as thoroughly as I wanted to. However, I could approach the pupil later in the fieldwork to ask additional questions.

4.3. Reflections on the type of study conducted

What type of study have I conducted? I have not conducted fieldwork in extensive length, nor have I resided in the field and had daily contact with the participants over a long period of time, such as Malinowski (2005 [1922]) emphasised the importance of. The time I had at disposal limited this type of fieldwork. Also, despite my participant observations at the school, my study is not a typical classroom ethnography, like those, for instance, Smette (2015) and Eriksen (2012) conducted. Rather than only concentrating on the school, I have also partaken in participant observation in the youth club and in outdoor spaces. One could say that my study shares some similarities to Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures (REAP), which last for a short period of time and use a triangulation of techniques, often the semi-structured interview, expert interview, and the focus group (Taplin, Scheld & Low, 2002). However, I have focused more on participant observations than REAP studies normally do. During the fieldwork, I have been influenced by several approaches to ethnography as well as combined participant observations with interviews, which I found beneficial.

⁸ Appendix 2.

A fieldwork study usually focuses on interactions between people and groups (Wadel, 2014, p. 201), and many do not use formal interviews as I have done. Interview data can be criticized for not providing data on social interactions and because what people say they do is not necessarily what they actually do (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014; Gobo, 2011). However, the interviews produced data which was difficult to collect by participant observation due to the time limit. Furthermore, the pupils were asked during interviews to reflect upon social interactions at school and thus provided data about events and relationships I had not seen during my time there. Moreover, I found, as Smette (2015) did, that the interviews with pairs or triads also were a form of social interaction. These interactions were of course not "natural" or spontaneous, as the interview situations were in great part directed by myself. Nevertheless, they produced valuable information about the social interactions between the pupils involved. Lastly, the interviews were important since I was interested in not only what the youth did, but also in how they described their experiences, as well as their thoughts on various subjects. In short, I found that the triangulation of participant observation and interviews helped me gain a broader understanding of youth life in Hovseter and Røa.

4.4. The social dynamic during the fieldwork

As Fangen (2010, p. 147) stresses, it is important for the researcher who engages in a fieldwork study to reflect upon the structural differences between the participants and her. In my study, my age, sex, class, and ethnicity have affected the observations in various ways and degrees according to whom I was interacting with.

During my fieldwork, I tried to not be perceived as a teacher or a community worker by the youths, neither as "one of them" since I clearly was not an adolescent. Rather, I tried to behave as a researcher/student. However, due to my age, the youngest adolescents could have confused me with a teacher or community worker. In conversation with the young adults, however, the age difference was less pronounced. In general, I felt that it was at my advantage that I was relatively young, making me appear less "threatening" or formal.

As the adolescents for the most time hung out in single-sex groups, I did not stand out among the girls whereas I did to a larger degree among the boys. I also struggled more to get interviews with the boys than with the girls. This I think was partly related to my gender, and partly because they found it harder than the girls to use their lunch break or after school hours on an interview.

Social class and ethnicity play a considerable part in the study and were brought up during conversations and interviews. In these situations, I was particularly aware of my own middle-class and ethnic majority background and how this could influence the conversations. Importantly, this could create different dynamics according to whom I was speaking with: working-class or upper-middle-class youth, or ethnic minority or majority youth. This could have affected some situations and conversations in a problematic way. For instance, it could have contributed to concerns about my ability to understand the participant's experiences, which further could have contributed to the participant being more reserved towards me.

I find it difficult to conclude how my background all together affected the data collected in this study. Throughout my fieldwork, I found that the majority of the youth talked openly about questions I could not necessarily relate to and I did not feel that our different backgrounds were an important barrier in our encounters. Nevertheless, as a researcher, one is always in some degree affected by one's background and one cannot experience the world exactly like the participants in the study. I have been conscious of this both during the fieldwork and in the process of analysing the data.

4.5. The steps of analysing data

Inspired by grounded theory, this thesis took the form of an explorative study, in which the collected data continuously led the research questions and the analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This is, however, not to say that I entered the field without research questions, presuppositions or hypotheses, nor without ideas on potential theoretical connections. To begin with, I had a broad research question, which I narrowed down throughout the study as I chose to follow certain themes and leave others out. This means that the empirical data have been

stressed throughout the study and that the theories and analytical concepts I have used have derived from this. Moreover, my research strategy led me to work with data processing from the beginning of this study, as certain parts of the analysis were carried out during the fieldwork (Becker, 1958). After the collection of data, a post fieldwork stage of analysis took place in which I analysed the data more systematically.

Due to the combination of participant observations and interviews I collected different types of data, from which I benefited (Fangen, 2010, p. 172). My fieldnotes from the participant observations primarily contained descriptions of what the youths did, what they said to each other, and whom they interacted with. Moreover, they included notes on smells, glances, the look of things and places, the different atmospheres, how the atmosphere could change when a new person arrived, and so forth. They provided *thick descriptions* (Geertz, 1973), which I also presented in the writing of the thesis in order to produce analyses of substantial character and to ensure validity. The transcriptions, on the other hand, mainly contained the youths' narratives about their everyday lives, interests, and aspirations. With the combination of observations and interviews, I could go beyond processing the interview data only as the youths' self-representations because I could let the interviews confront the observations and vice versa (Fangen, 2010, p. 172). The interviews could be used to validate the material from the participant observations. I could, for instance, analyse both the youths' narratives about the social diversity at Hovseter from the interviews *and* the interactions or avoidances across social groups from the observations. However, in regard to some themes, I did not have both observational and interview data available. For instance, I did not have observational data on the participants' relationship with their parents. Since I could not confront this data with observational data, I was careful to interpret it as discursive data and self-representations.

Reliability was addressed during the writing on the field notes in which I distinguished between *etic* and *emic* analysis, the former based on my concepts while the latter derived from the conceptual framework of those being studied (Silverman, 2001, p. 227). Moreover, the interviews were transcribed continuously during the fieldwork. I wrote down the statements in a grammatically correct and written form in order to facilitate the reading later on. Moreover, I

included pauses, insecurities, and slang when relevant for the understanding of the statement's meaning.

I coded the transcriptions by making the codes attached to the participant's own words, inspired by Tjora's (2012) stepwise deductive-inductive approach. This was to ensure that my further analysis was close to the data, which supported my grounded theory approach. The different codes were then categorised into broader defined themes, which made the data more accessible in order to continue the analysis. Moreover, I analysed the observational data by reading the field notes and coding them in themes that corresponded with the codes made from the interviews.

Guvå & Hylander (2005) describe grounded theory as both inductive, since it is often used in order to explore new areas of research, and deductive, since those assumptions that arise throughout the research process are verified with the data. This type of research strategy can also be described as abductive (Blaikie, 2010). I approached the analysis this way by reading and rereading the field notes and the coded interviews as well as theory and former studies in order to construct concepts rooted in my empirical material, influenced by existing literature (Blaikie, 2010). In this work, my "headnotes" that were not written down or otherwise recorded were important supplements to my fieldnotes, as "Fieldnotes (...) produce meaning through interaction with the ethnographer's headnotes" (Sanjek, 1990, p. 92). Furthermore, I tried to link pieces of data to ideas and concepts, and when an argument took shape, I looked for disconfirming evidence. The analysis was thus a continuous process of shifting between working with the data and theory.

The contrasts between adolescents from Hovseter and Røa were my point of entry to this study. However, I wanted to study more than just the differences, and include similarities, interactions, and nuances, and to not "force" theoretical concepts on the data. Nevertheless, as the study evolved, and in particular during my post-fieldwork analysis, it became clear that social class and ethnicity were two central aspects that influenced the daily lives of the participants. Policies on social mix also became an important context, and when I began writing the thesis, the data encouraged a comparative analysis between the youths from Hovseter and those from Røa.

Thus, in the end, I analysed the youths' social world through the same dichotomy to which I was introduced during my first day in the field: Hovseter-Røa.

4.6. Ethical reflections and considerations

Conducting research on and with young people demands careful ethical reflections, from the designing, conducting, and writing of this thesis (Backe-Hansen & Frønes, 2012). Regarding my study, it was important to ensure that the participants understood my role as a student/researcher and my project's aim, so they could decide whether or not they wanted to participate. At the youth club, I presented myself to the visitors, and at the school, I visited the classes the week before my first day of observation and explained the project. I handed out an information letter⁹ to the pupils and their parents. I also had posters hung up at the school with information about my project.

Regarding the adolescents' agreement to participate in my study, those over 15 years of age could agree themselves, while those under 15 years had to get their parent's or guardian's approval.¹⁰ At the youth club, I mainly interacted with persons over 15 years that could consent themselves. When observing adolescents under 15, I did not write down any personal information if I did not have their parent/guardian's consent.

Ethical approval for the study was given by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) before I began my fieldwork. During the study, fieldnotes, audio recordings, and transcriptions have been saved on a hard disk with password protection. I did not write down names or personal information in the field notes or transcriptions, but wrote them down separately and kept them in a locked container, along with my notebooks. This was to ensure that if somehow any field notes or transcriptions got lost, the participants would be unidentifiable.

To ensure confidentiality in writing the master's thesis, I have given the participants pseudonyms, changed minor details, and chosen not to present their ethnic background, but rather

⁹ Appendix 3.

¹⁰ Only one pupil's parents/guardians did not agree, and two of the pupils did not return the declaration of consent. Thus, I did not include situations or interactions in which these pupils participated in my field notes nor in the study as a whole.

referred to the categories *ethnic majority* and *minority background* (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 300, 106). This has been important due to the small youth environment in Hovseter and Røa. Moreover, I have questioned whether or not I should anonymise where the study took place, because rather few youths visit the club and it would be relatively easy for those who know the area to identify which classes I followed at the school. I decided not to do this, as I would have had to erase all reference to the study's context. As Hovseter is a rare area in the West End, it would have been easy to recognise where the study took place with only a modest anonymisation. Thus, I would have had to almost completely anonymise the context, which would have made my study less relevant, as this unique context is of academic and political interest. By not anonymising Hovseter, it will make it easier to compare the study with research on similar topics from other areas in Oslo, such as the East End, from which the vast majority of studies on youths in Oslo have been conducted. Many of the social processes in Hovseter and Røa differ from these areas, demonstrating that policies regarding youth, social mix, and integration must take different contexts into consideration.

5. Social and spatial divisions in daily life

In this chapter, I ask how social and spatial differences materialise in the daily lives of youths from Hovseter and Røa. Firstly, the chapter presents the process of opening a youth club in Hovseter as a part of the urban area programme *Hovseterløftet* and its first months after opening. One of the aims with the club was to create an inclusive arena for all youth in Vestre Aker District in accordance with policies on social mix and social integration. However, it quickly became a place primarily visited by working-class minority youth from Hovseter. In many ways, the club illustrates the challenges of creating socially mixed meeting places. By taking the club as a point of departure, I explore why adolescents from Hovseter are its main users. I demonstrate that the youths' daily life, and thus how the youths from Hovseter and Røa engaged in few social relations and lived separate lives, was in large part structured by social class.

5.1. The youth club: from heterogenous experts to homogeneous users

Ever since the District Council in Vestre Aker decided to close the former youth club at Hovseter in 2014, with effect from 1st of January 2015, many of the local young adults wanted it reopened. This club, *Hovseterklubben*, had played a key role for many of the district's youths for years. In fact, when I started my fieldwork at Hovseter, I quickly found out that there was almost a mythical narrative related to the old club. I was told that the club had been frequented by celebrities in their teens, such as the comedians Atle Antonsen and Johan Golden in the late 1980s, and the hip-hop duo Karpe around the year 2000. It seemed like the visitors at that time were more or less mixed in terms of ethnicity and class, as well as coming from "all over town," according to one of the young adults that frequented the club. In my conversations with young adults from Hovseter who used to visit the club regularly, statements like "It was the best club there was!" and "There were the best of people working there!" were repeated. The club was highly missed, and some of the local youths fought for a reopening after its closure. It was thus

not a surprise that an opening of a youth club was stressed by the adolescents from Hovseter when the City Council allocated funds to the district and the urban area programme *Hovseterløftet* in 2017.

Hovseterløftet is a four-year investment in Hovseter lasting from 2018 to 2021, initiated and funded by the District Council in Vestre Aker and the City Council in 2017.¹¹ The emphasis is on children and youth, and both physical and social measures have been taken in order to improve the living conditions in Hovseter (Bydel Vestre Aker, 2018). The physical improvement of the area has been the renovation of a playground as well as the facades of several of the social housing estates. In addition, the local adolescents' wish for a youth club was acknowledged and the District Council in Vestre Aker promised an opening of a club in 2018. However, the opening was delayed due to difficulties with funding, but by the end of 2018, the City Council distributed two million NOK of the 17 million they had at disposal to youth clubs in Oslo to the Vestre Aker district in order to open a club in Hovseter. A closed kindergarten about 60 metres from Hovseter School was chosen as a temporary venue¹² and the process of rehabilitation began.

In the process of opening the youth club, their staff engaged the Work Research Institute (AFI) at Oslo Metropolitan University to apply their project *Et sted å være ung (UngHus)* where the aim was to facilitate youth involvement in this process. From January 2019 to May 2019, AFI arranged workshops of different content with pupils from Hovseter School. Pupils could choose to attend a class called *Innsats for andre* (Effort made for others) where they volunteered at various places. About 12 pupils from both 9th and 10th grade, mixed in terms of class, ethnicity, and residency, chose the youth club as their venue for volunteering. These adolescents were called "house experts," indicating their expertise as adolescents knowing what they themselves and other young people would want of a club.

¹¹ In 2020, however, the district struggles with funding and it is therefore uncertain how and if *Hovseterløftet* will continue. In addition, a municipality-driven community centre in Hovseter was closed in March 2020 due to reorganisation and financial priorities made by the District Council. This centre provided a variety of offers, from free second-hand clothes to family therapy and activity groups for mothers. The centre's staff has been reorganised to work with youth instead of families since the district cannot afford or is not willing to prioritise both fields. In fact, such non-statutory measures are often terminated when a district's economy is bad, and in Oslo, many youth clubs have opened and closed due to similar issues regarding funding, such as the previous club in Hovseter.

¹² The construction of a new school building at Hovseter, with expected completion in 2023, is planned to include facilities for the youth club.

Although these “house experts” constituted a heterogeneous group, the users of the club after its opening did not. The club was open regularly after the summer vacation, during the long recess at school, in afternoons immediately after school, and one or two evenings a week. Except during recess, in which the club was used by both ethnic minority and majority pupils, mainly from 8th grade, the visitors during afternoons and evenings were working-class ethnic minority youth from Hovseter. If there were visitors from other areas at these hours, they also had ethnic minority background. The youth club thus mainly attracted a specific youth group in the district from its opening, despite the intentions of creating a socially mixed meeting place from policymakers, community workers, and the school.

In fact, policymakers, community workers and the school had discussed the youth club in light of facilitating social mixing both before and after the opening of the club was voted for. The club is part of *Hovseterløftet*, and is therefore related to the policy of encouraging social mix. When the local politicians in Vestre Aker District discussed the upcoming initiatives regarding *Hovseterløftet* in 2017, two politicians from the Socialist Left Party wrote a comment in the local newspaper *Akersposten*, in which they stated that youth clubs are open and flexible arenas where youth meet across economic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. They continued by stating that in clubs one can develop a network by getting to know other youths in one’s own district (Fjelddalen & Granlund, 2017). Hence, the two local politicians emphasised youth clubs as social arenas where one can meet peers and create networks across social backgrounds, which can be seen in relation to the assumption that social mixing builds social capital (Cole & Green, 2010; Lelévrier, 2010). In fact, the creation or maintenance of meeting places, in particular leisure arenas for youth, is a frequently used tool in Norwegian area-based strategies (Ruud et al., 2019a, p. 21). Finally, when *Hovseterløftet* was voted for by the District Council, one of the official aims was to create well-functioning meeting places, including a youth club for children and youth from the whole district (Bydel Vestre Aker, 2018). Here, the emphasis is put on creating a club for all of the district’s youths, which would imply those from all classes and ethnicities.

Moreover, facilitation of social mixing at the club was emphasised by the community workers and the school from the very opening of the club and throughout the months in which I conducted fieldwork. With their experience from the area, they had suspected that the club would

primarily be used by adolescents from Hovseter with working-class and ethnic minority backgrounds, which indeed was the outcome. The reason for which the community workers wanted to create a meeting place for “everyone” was, according to one of them, to facilitate the creation of social networks among the youths from Hovseter with peers outside their neighbourhood. This was thus also in line with the assumption that social mixing builds social capital, as well as the normative assumption that this is important. However, they were also aware of the fact that the youths from Hovseter were those in most need of a place to be, due to lack of leisure activities and small apartments. Thus, social mixing was not the only reason for them advocating a youth club in the first place.

One of the community workers at the club told me he was concerned that a concentration of homogeneous users of the club could contribute to a bad reputation of the area: “A meeting place only for youth living in Hovseter could work against its purpose. The club could be seen as a ‘ghetto’.” According to him, if the community workers at the club did not manage to create a socially mixed arena, the club could, instead of decreasing the stigma related to the residents, which is one of the aims of urban area programmes, rather increase it.¹³ Efforts were thus being made in order to attract more ethnic majority youth, such as organising group dancing lessons with an instructor and initiating a computer room in which visitors could build computers and learn computer programming.

The school was also involved in encouraging social mix at the youth club, among other things by introducing all the 8th graders to the club in the long recess. The principal emphasised in a conversation that the club’s ambition “should not be anything less than facilitating the inclusion of everyone.” In general, the school was preoccupied with integration and social diversity. Values such as *likhet* (equality and similarity), both in socio-cultural and economic terms, are indeed held high in a Norwegian welfare state context (Gullestad, 2006). Here, as in many other countries, schools are considered institutional tools to promote social equality and inclusion (Danielsen & Bendixen, 2019). During my fieldwork at Hovseter School, the principal and several teachers talked about the importance of social integration, although they did not have a shared strategy on the matter. According to some of the teachers, it was often those who were

¹³ Related to this, I will discuss territorial stigmatisation within Vestre Aker District in Chapter 6.

especially engaged with this issue that worked strategically with social integration, for instance by creating an inclusive class environment.

Finally, the “house experts” also discussed the club in regard to including “everyone.” When they were to name the club in the spring of 2019, Hovseter’s postal code 0768 was one of the suggestions. However, it was the name *B7* that got chosen, with encouragement from the community workers, which is an abbreviation for *Bydel 7* (District 7) – the administrative number of Vestre Aker. This was to ensure that all of the district’s youths felt welcome and to not imply that it was for Hovseter youth only. Since one of the community workers was concerned about the potential association with a “ghetto-club,” one can assume that not naming the club after Hovseter’s postal code also was out of concern for the club’s reputation.

In sum, politicians, community workers, and the school all stressed the importance of social mixing in regard to the youth club in Hovseter. This was thus a concern that was present at a structural, institutional, and interpersonal level. A mix of social groups was assumed to be of value for the youths, in particular those from Hovseter with “fewer resources” in order to expand their social capital. I did not hear anyone emphasise the importance of social mixing regarding the adolescents from Røa, as it was implicit that they already had a sufficient amount of social capital. Thus, the argument on creating meeting places was highly structured around class and ethnicity.

Despite the effort of attracting socially diversified visitors to the club, it was mainly visited by working-class ethnic minority adolescents from Hovseter. Why was this the outcome? I will discuss why the club became more attractive for youths from Hovseter than their peers from Røa in the following part. In the thesis’s conclusion, I will discuss the aims underlying social mix policies, the means to achieve them, and their limitations.

5.2. Spatial proximity, social distance

When pupils from Hovseter and Røa return home from school, they usually engage in different leisure activities. One important difference between their daily lives is the participation in organised leisure activities: while youths from Hovseter rarely participate in activities organised

by adults, this is mostly what their peers from Røa do. In the following, I present how social and economic differences are manifested in the spare time of adolescents from Hovseter and Røa.

Hanging out at Hovseter

Deeqa, a 15-year old girl living at Hovseter with her mother and two older siblings, describes what she usually does after school: she walks home and does homework or spends time on her phone reading e-books (“It’s a new hobby”) or watch Netflix (“Netflix is kind of my friend”). She enjoys spending time with her family and normally she has some chores to do at home since “everybody helps out.” In the evenings and weekends, Deeqa often spends time with her friends. They live in Hovseter and have ethnic minority backgrounds as well. Some of them live in the same apartment block as herself. In fact, if she goes out on her balcony, one of her friends can step outside on hers, and then they can sit there chatting. When the weather allows it, mostly during summer, they often walk around in the area or hang outside, often just the girls and sometimes with the boys by the football court close to Hovseter School. After the youth club opened in August, Deeqa and her friends often spend their evenings there when it is open, dancing or chatting. They like the club very much and would like it to be open more often. Every once in a while, Deeqa takes the metro downtown to Majorstuen with some friends, walking around or hanging out at McDonald’s.

Deeqa’s leisure time corresponds well with the activities other girls from Hovseter engage in after school hours. Boys from Hovseter also spend their leisure time doing the same type of non-organised activities, such as watching Netflix and playing games on their phone. During my fieldwork at Hovseter, I often met some of the boys hanging outside with friends. Sometimes they were just standing outside talking to each other, while other times they played football in the court nearby the school. This is a popular place during summertime and a place where children and youths of different ages can meet to play football and barbecue. According to a community worker, there can also be much noise from the youths hanging out there during late summer evenings, and sometimes neighbours call the police in order to make them stop. This, however, happens rarely. In a conversation with one police officer from the Majorstuen police office who

visited the youth club as a part of the police's strategy to prevent crime, I was told that the greatest challenges regarding youth in the district were house parties and the gathering of drunk adolescents in parks. These were activities the ethnic minority youths in the area to a lesser degree participated in, which I will discuss further in the next chapter.

During wintertime, it is not as comfortable to spend time outside in Hovseter due to the cold weather. The girls are over at friends' apartments in pairs or small groups but this can be more difficult for the boys since they more often hang out in larger groups. For many, it is not possible to bring their friends over because they live in small apartments and do not have their own rooms. This issue was addressed during a meeting for residents in 2017 regarding *Hovseterløftet*, in which many requested premises where they could arrange birthday parties for the children since they lacked the space at home.

After the youth club opened in August 2019, many adolescents from Hovseter started to visit regularly. During a typical evening, between 20 and 40 youths visited. Some spent their whole evening there, while others stopped by for a short time. Normally, one-third of the visitors or less were girls. Adolescents who visited came together with their friends from the neighbourhood and engaged in common activities, which enlarged their bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000). At the club, they hung around, played pool, table tennis, or TV-games, danced in the dance hall or recorded music in the music studio. Often hip-hop music was played on the speakers, which also was the preferred music genre both for those recording music and for those dancing. Some of the activities were divided between gender: the sofa group in front of the TV was always occupied by boys playing TV-games, while the dance hall was used by girls only. There were employees present but they rarely organised the activities taking place. Moreover, some of the employees at the club were young adults from Hovseter. They were hired as regular staff but with the assumed benefit of also acting as positive role models for younger visitors. During the autumn break in October, the youth club arranged different activities, such as a football tournament and a trip to the cinema. There were 15-35 participants from Hovseter in all the activities, which indicated their need for free, organised activities during vacations. No youth from Røa participated, which could indicate that this was not the case for them.

Comparing the visitors of the youth club in Hovseter with the results from the Young in Oslo survey from 2018, a similar pattern is found. Youth with low socioeconomic status spend more time at a youth club than those with higher socioeconomic status, and youth with both parents born abroad participate more frequently than those with Norwegian-born parents, also independently from socioeconomic status (Bakken, 2018, p. 6, 36). Moreover, the participation is much higher in the East End than in the West End, which could be seen in relation to the sociodemographic composition in the areas but also the availability of clubs – for instance, there was no youth club in the Vestre Aker district when the survey took place in 2018.

As demonstrated, the vast majority of the youths at Hovseter do not participate in organised activities but has informal free time after school. This corresponds with how the working-class and poor families in Lareau's (2003) study organised their daily life. The children in these families had long stretches of free time during which they played with other children outside of the house or watched television. At Hovseter, the television is replaced by the smartphone, on which the adolescents watch Netflix or play games. Except for that, the organisation of daily life is quite similar.

As I will describe later, the vast majority of the youths from Røa participated in organised leisure activities. In conversations or interviews with youths from Hovseter, I would ask why they did not. Some had previously participated in sports but had quit, like Maryan who played football for six months. She told me that it “got too stressful,” so she stopped going. Others, like Deeqa, said she preferred dancing at the club with her friends as opposed to participating in sports, which she did not have much interest in. Also, she used a fair amount of time doing homework and did not have much time for leisure activities. Nabika, however, told me she dreamed about starting to practice horse riding at the same place where a couple of peers from Røa in her class went, but that it was too expensive. For some, their family's economic situation played a role in which activities they could attend.

Teachers at Hovseter School and the community workers at the club claimed that economic constraints were one of the most important reasons for the low attendance in organised activities among youth from Hovseter. Many of the families could not afford the activity fee nor the equipment. Statistical material on living conditions presented in Chapter 2 confirms the

poorer living conditions among many families in Hovseter compared to those in Røa. For example, one of the teachers told me about the class-trip for the 10th grades in the autumn of 2019. The cost of the trip was an issue for some of the pupils and in order to include everyone, some of the classes had used their shared pot of money to pay for those who could not afford it. Also, during the trip in the mountains, some of the youths from Hovseter did not have sufficient equipment for hiking, such as proper boots or rain gear, contrary to their peers from Røa. The popularity of a local sports equipment centre in Hovseter, in which one could rent skis, ice skates, bicycles, and so on for free, also demonstrated that many could not afford to buy equipment themselves.

Studies show that youth from lower socioeconomic backgrounds to a lesser degree participate in sports compared with those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Bakken, 2019), and that there have been increased class differences in sports involvement, in particular since 2010 (Strandbu, Gulløy, Andersen, Seippel & Dalen, 2017). The latter researchers interpreted the increased inequalities in the light of changes in the organisation of sports, and related it to increased professionalisation and costs, and also to increasing demand for parent involvement.

Although the on average low living conditions in Hovseter, as well as the statements from professionals working with children and youths in the area, imply that economic constraints impact daily life and leisure activities in this neighbourhood, the adolescents themselves have to a little degree explained their non-participation in organised activities this way. This can be related to the sensitivity of the subject. However, some of the adolescents talked about the economy regarding vacations, for instance, many families saved up money in order to visit their country of origin. As this was an expensive journey, many families did not travel or participate in activities during the summers during which they were saving up, but rather spent the vacation in Hovseter, such as Deeqa who was “bored all summer.”

Even though most of the youths living in Hovseter did not participate in organised activities, there are some exceptions among the boys. Two of the boys I met at Hovseter School played football on a local team and four of the other older boys I met at the club did when they were younger. In regard to girls, I met two 14-year old girls from Hovseter who had played

football for a short period when they were younger, but I did not meet anyone who played at the time of the fieldwork. This could indicate that more minority boys than minority girls from Hovseter participated in sports, which is in line with research that finds that participation is especially low amongst minority girls (Ødegård, Bakken & Strandbu, 2016). More specifically, 56% of the majority boys and 45% of the majority girls participated in organised sports in the districts of Vestre Aker, Nordre Aker, and Ullern, while the share for minority boys and girls were, respectively, 52% and 27% (Ødegård, Bakken & Strandbu, 2016, p. 53). According to the researchers, the reasons for why the minority girls are underrepresented in sports are that they are more focused on schoolwork and less interested in exercising. Strandbu, Bakken & Sletten (2017) have studied this minority-majority gap in particular, and found that practicing Islam reduced the likelihood of sports participation among minority girls, but not for minority boys. In this study, the religious denomination thus explains, to some extent, the minority-majority gap that exists among girls. Furthermore, two qualitative studies on minority girls in Oslo found that gendered identities may affect sports participation among girls with immigrant parents (Strandbu, 2005; Walseth & Strandbu, 2014). The studies demonstrated that immigrant parents may tend to be indifferent to or have a negative attitude towards their daughters' sports participation, contrary to majority girls' parents, who strongly encourage their daughters to take up sports. In sum, there are several possible explanations for the minority-majority gap among girls regarding sport participation.

Among the participants in this study, minority and majority girls were equally preoccupied with homework, but the majority girls participated more in sports, as I will discuss below. Moreover, among the participants from Hovseter, many were Christian or Muslim, although few had a high involvement in their religious practice. Nevertheless, religion was not put forward as an explanation for their lack of participation in sports from the youths themselves. In regard to parents' attitudes on sports participation, I do not have data concerning this. However, many of the majority youths, regardless of gender, told me about engaged parents in regard to their sports participation. Although several explanations can intersect and be of importance regarding the minority girls' non-participation in sports, according to the minority girls themselves, the primary explanation was their lack of interest in it.

Hurrying to practice

While Deequa walks the five minutes from school to her apartment in Hovseter, Anna takes the metro one stop from Hovseter to Røa and walks to her detached house from there. Her daily routine is to eat, relax, and do some homework when she gets home before she goes to ballet practice. The practice lasts for two or three hours, and afterwards, she goes home, eats, and tries “to sleep as fast as [she] can.” Anna does this five times a week. The two remaining days left of the week are used to relax, spend time with friends and family, maybe go hiking in the woods.

In contrast to the large majority of the youths in Hovseter, who live flexible afternoons and evenings, the large majority of the youths from Røa participate in organised activities, often a sport. Most of them participate in the same sports clubs as their peers from their neighbourhood and school, as the catchment area of most sports clubs is similar to that of the school. Football is the most popular sport, along with bandy and volleyball. Horse riding, marching band, and piano lessons are also to be found on some of the youths’ schedules. 14 out of the 16 pupils from Røa I interviewed participated in one or two organised activities. Most of them attended organised activities three or four times a week. The pace of daily life among the youths from Røa is thus higher than what is the case among youth from Hovseter and is similar to the rhythm of life among the middle-class families in Lareau’s (2003) study. These latter children also attended several organised activities during their week, although they experienced an even higher pace of life, as they often had activities every day. Moreover, my findings are similar to those from the Young in Oslo survey, which found that youth with a high socioeconomic status and with Norwegian-born parents participate to a larger degree in organised activities and work out more than their peers with lower socioeconomic status and those who have parents who are born abroad (Bakken, 2018, p. 6-7).

Some of the youths from Røa’s parents were much involved in their children’s participation in sports. One of the boys’ fathers was also his handball coach, and they both participated in handball practices and matches five to seven days a week. Anna, who practised ballet, also had an engaged father. According to her, her family “thinks it is important that one [parent] is available for the children, so my dad works part-time.” Anna and her sister went to

practices five to six times a week each, making the family life busy. Existing studies have demonstrated that parents are initiators of sport participation and motivators for further activity (Stefansen, Smette & Strandbu, 2016; Strandbu, Stefansen, Smette & Sandvik, 2019; Wheeler, 2012), which seems to also be the case for some of the families from Røa.

Although many of the adolescents from Røa have three to four practices a week, they also find time for hanging out with friends, which many stress as important. Many often spend time together at each other's homes, such as Thea and Anna who arrange pancake breakfasts or movie nights with friends. Moreover, four boys in one of the classes told me they had met up at one of them the evening before, "binge-watching" the new season of a favourite TV-series of theirs. They also sometimes practised to an upcoming music performance at school in the basement of one of them since he had music equipment. The detached and semi-detached houses in which youths from Røa live are, in contrast to the smaller apartments in Hovseter, more convenient for bringing friends over.

There are some gender differences among youth from Røa in regard to their interests and what they spend time doing in their spare time. Several of the boys play computer games at home while they communicate with peers over a voice and text chat application. The girls, however, do not play computer games. Eriksen & Seland (2019) also found that youths' spare time is gendered: computer games are dominated by boys, while both boys and girls are active on social media. In fact, except for football, tennis, and skiing, the girls and boys in their study do not share the same interests. Moreover, as in Røa, the sports they practice are mostly divided into girls and boys teams, thus they rarely practice together across genders.

During vacations, the schedules of youths from Røa were not filled up by organised activities as they usually were during the school year, but some participated in a football tournament or a trip arranged by the orchestra. All of the participants from Røa usually travelled abroad with their family or spent the summer at their family's cabin, or both. The material resources in terms of cabins, sailing boats, and money available for families from Røa led to very different holidays than those experienced by the average family from Hovseter.

5.3. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have discussed the different ways youths from Hovseter and Røa structure and spend their leisure time with the youth club in Hovseter as a point of departure. The club was intended to be a socially mixed meeting place for all the district's youth, with the aim of facilitating, among other things, bridging social capital among the adolescents from Hovseter and Røa. However, this attempt of social engineering has fallen short since those who use the club are primarily working-class ethnic minority youths from Hovseter.

In order to understand why this is the case, I have examined the youths' leisure activities. Young people from Hovseter often have much time available, which they use to hang out with friends in the neighbourhood or at the club, while those from Røa in larger part attend organised activities and have a more busy schedule. I have demonstrated that the differences in the youths' doings in daily life are clearly associated with social class. As a consequence, youth from Hovseter and Røa rarely spend time together in their spare time but live separate lives. These results are in line with previous studies which have found that spatial proximity do not necessarily provoke social interaction or social bonds across class and ethnicity (e.g. Blokland & van Eijk, 2010; Butler, 2003).

Although the youths from Hovseter and Røa live separate daily lives after school, they attend the same secondary school in which they meet every day. Since they meet there, one could assume that social interactions across class and ethnicity take place in school. I will discuss the school as a potential socially levelling arena in Chapter 7, but first, I ask if the youths engage in socially mixed relationships at school, before I examine group creation and belonging both within and outside the institution in more detail.

6. Groups, place, and belonging

In this chapter, I ask how social and spatial differences influence social interactions and relations among the youths from Hovseter and Røa. In the former chapter, I have demonstrated that youth from Hovseter and Røa spend their daily life differently and separately, which is clearly associated with social class. Thus, the neighbourhood, the youth club, and most of the organised activities are arenas in which youth from different social groups do not meet. However, as Nast & Blokland (2014) emphasise, mixing within neighbourhood institutions can result in networks and resources that do not manifest at residential levels. In this chapter, I explore this and seek to understand if mixed schools function differently than mixed neighbourhoods. I present the friendships and youth groups that are present in Hovseter and Røa, both within and outside school, and demonstrate that mixed friendships are to some extent present during school hours, although not after. I also discuss why there are few friendships across class and ethnicity outside the school by discussing processes of group identification and sense of belonging.

6.1. Mixed and non-mixed friend groups during school hours

The youth environment at Hovseter School is divided into many different groups: there are, for instance, the girls who play football on the same team, the group of boys who like the same TV-series, the boys playing computer games, the girls with similar types of clothes, and the girls who dance at the youth club. In my participant observations during the breaks between lessons, I registered how the pupils sought their friends and created groups. It became clear who belonged to which group and who was friends with whom. During the long recess, most of the girls from the two classes I followed sat together in groups of four to ten, often sitting in the vestibule or in the hallway, talking and eating their lunch. Dyads and triads sat on the benches placed around the hallways, and occasionally someone sat alone. Some went to the grocery store to buy lunch or candy, and a few of the boys went to the pizza parlour by the square. I observed the boys in more physical activity than the girls: they could play football when the weather allowed it or walk

around the area. Also, they often played games on their mobile phones, engaging in each other's play. There were thus to some extent gendered differences in the types of activities the pupils engaged in during breaks, and for the most part, the groups of friends were divided between the sexes.

When I asked the adolescents why they were friends with their friends, common interests were stressed as the most important factor. For instance, Marius told me that his three best friends and him share the same interests in TV-series and computer games, and have a very "dark humour" that they do not share with many others at school. They grew up together in Røa and attended the same primary school. Now, they walk to and from school together every day, spend time at home with each other, and go to the gym together. Two girls from Hovseter told me they are good friends because they share the same interest in dancing, as well as emphasising a common sense of humour. Three girls from Røa stressed football as a shared interest as well as a preoccupation with school. They all aimed for good grades and used to sit in the library at Røa doing homework together.

Eight out of ten pupils in Hovseter School have ethnic majority background, and as a consequence, many of the friend groups only consist of majority pupils. Nevertheless, there were groups of pupils who were mixed in terms of class and ethnicity during school hours and breaks. More girls than boys engaged in mixed friendships. The working-class minority girls from Hovseter, as well as those who resided elsewhere in the district, were for the most part together with upper-middle-class majority girls at school. For instance, a group of three girls from Røa – two with majority backgrounds and one with minority background – told me that they were close friends. They liked to spend time together because they shared an interest in talking about "important things" such as spirituality and the meaning of life, which was related to all three's involvement in different religions. However, even though they were almost always together at school, they rarely spent time together in their leisure time. They explained this by their different leisure activities: one played handball, the other went to gymnastics, and the third had a job and volunteered in a church.

A similar pattern was present among a group of friends of two girls from Hovseter and about eight from Røa who knew each other from the primary school. Some of the majority girls

did meet in their spare time and the two minority girls did as well, but never all of them together. In an interview with three of them, one from Hovseter and two from Røa, I asked them why. They laughed and could not quite explain it. According to the girl from Hovseter, the two from Røa were “always together” since they played tennis and were in a marching band together, which they confirmed. She continued and said that she had tried to meet up with them in their spare time several times, she had even suggested that they join her to the youth club one evening, but that it never happened. The three of them continued laughing, without explaining the reasons for their separate leisure time.

Many of the girls at Hovseter School engaged in socially mixed friend groups, but the case was different among the boys. In class X, all the boys had quite good relations with each other and often hung out during the breaks, across class and ethnicity. In class Y, however, two of the minority boys from Hovseter often spent their breaks with other boys from their neighbourhood, often pupils from the lower grades. They were a group of six to twelve boys who used to be together in one or several smaller groups, walking around the area together, buying something at the grocery store to share, or sitting in the aula. In a study by Mendoza-Denton (2008) in an upper-secondary school in California, USA, she observed that different subgroups adopted a space in the school area during lunchtime that they considered their own. The geographic boundaries that emerged were powerful and consistent, demarcating socioeconomic, ethnic, and linguistic borders. For instance, affluent “whites” and poor “Latinos” were separated. Hence, even though these pupils populated the same campus, they lived “separate lives” during school hours (Mendoza-Denton, 2008, p. 25). At Hovseter School, however, even though the youths from Hovseter and Røa lived separate lives *after* school hours, the school area was not as demarcated by borders with distinct occupied spaces. Nevertheless, boundaries between this group of boys from Hovseter and their peers from Røa were present since they rarely engaged in inter-ethnic interactions during the breaks. Most of the boys from Hovseter would also often spend time together at the youth club and in the neighbourhood in their spare time, and many of them emphasised their friendship as one of the qualities of Hovseter. Some also had friends from other places, from Majorstuen or the East End. Others played football with peers from Røa but told me they did not spend time with them outside of practice.

Although several relationships were homogeneous regarding social class, minority/majority ethnic group, and gender, the youths did not articulate that the reasons for coming together was a wish to separate oneself from others. On the contrary, common interests were stressed as the main reasons for creating groups. *Consociate relationships* emerged, as a result of participation with others in events which took part because of common interests, and the stories about these mutually shared experiences that were told afterwards (Dyck, 2002, p. 116). For instance, when Benedikte, Eli, and Kine participated in a football match together the evening before, they had a shared experience based on common interests that contributed to the continuation of their friendship. According to Amin (2000), in such forms of community, what matters most is “what ‘we’ have shared, not the boundary dividing ‘us’ from ‘them’” (p. 60).

A few consociate relationships also emerged across class and ethnicity. For instance, the three girls who all liked discussing “important things” came together because of shared interests. Moreover, school and schoolwork were shared interests and of importance for many. However, more intimate relationships were less frequent across class and ethnicity. Even though consociate relationships across class and ethnicity occurred, they were primarily enacted within the context of the school and rarely in the youths’ spare time. This contradicts Eriksen’s (2012, p. 87) findings from the upper-secondary school in the East End in which she conducted fieldwork. Here, she did not find many crossing friendships within school, rather the pupils claimed they had close friendships across ethnicity outside school.

Although some crossing social bonds were present at school, I found few relationships that could lead to bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000). The relationships between boys from Hovseter and Røa were, as far as I was able to judge, few and shallow, and those between the girls, although more frequent, did not seem to “run deep.” There was a clear distinction between “friends at school” and “friends.” There were thus few networks that were outward-looking and that encompassed a diversity of people. However, bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) was found within homogeneous groups among youth from Hovseter¹⁴ and among youths from Røa.

¹⁴ The groups of youth from Hovseter were, however, not homogeneous in terms of ethnicity but in terms of belonging to the ethnic minority and working-class population.

6.2. The “Hovseter gang”

In order to understand why some youth from Hovseter and Røa spent time together during school hours but not during leisure time, and why a group of boys from Hovseter neither engaged in social relationships with peers from Røa during school nor after, I will analyse the processes of group identification and sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and the West End. As I demonstrated in Chapter 5, the organisation of daily life differs between youth from Hovseter and Røa, and as a consequence, they rarely engage in shared activities. Moreover, the wish for and use of the youth club is related to the differences in everyday practices, interests, and material conditions. But do the youths’ perceptions of themselves and of others also play a role regarding whom they interact and make friends with? Once again, I will use the youth club as a point of departure in order to analyse why youth from Hovseter and Røa, despite living close to each other, rarely spend time together.

The youth club is a *place* located in the Vestre Aker district, and following Altman & Low (1992), “Place (...) refers to space that has been given meaning through personal, group, or cultural processes” (p. 5). Hence, a place is constituted by people and groups, and who one identifies with can play a role in whether one visits the club or avoids it. For instance, Anders, a boy from Røa who, despite being one of the “house experts” who had worked with the opening of the youth club, had not yet visited the club on evenings. He explained that he did not visit the club because his friends did not and because he knew that those who visited were people he did not hang out with.

Even though the youth club only had been open for some months during my fieldwork, it was already quite settled among the pupils at school that it was youth from Hovseter who normally visited. Thea and Anna from Røa told me they did not want to visit the club because they were not friends with those from Hovseter who were there, nor did they know if they were their “kind of people.” They explained:

Thea: They’re a bit more, like, *gangster*.

Anna: Yes! Maybe not that interested in school as we are –

Thea: Yes, less interested in school. Maybe they don't have leisure activities they go to, and that's why they can hang out there. And, it's probably fun to be there, when they are together. It's about the people that are there as well.

Anna: Yes, they have fun together if they are the same type of people, the same gang.

In this conversation, Thea and Anna draw symbolic boundaries (Lamont & Molnár, 2002) between themselves and their peers from Hovseter, which they categorise and evaluate as “gangsters” and as less interested in school than themselves. In addition, they stressed that youth clubs are strenuous because they are places where adults try to force friendship on children. “I prefer to just be with my own friends, without it being that arranged,” Thea said. This could be seen in relation to how these girls seemed quite independent in the organisation of their leisure time. For instance, Thea went on hiking vacations with friends without parents and Anna was very self-disciplined in regard to her ballet training. Moreover, both had more explicit aspirations about the future than their peers. In addition to drawing symbolic boundaries regarding their peers from Hovseter, they drew symbolic boundaries between their neighbourhood in Røa and that of Hovseter. They defined the latter as an “immigrant district” that did “not look very nice,” and that was “less safe than Røa.” Their general negative impression of Hovseter as an area might have contributed some to their avoidance of the club, as well as their perceptions of their peers who visited.

The “Hovseter gang” was a name many of the adolescents, both youths from Hovseter and from Røa, used in order to describe Hovseter's residents. However, the pupils from Røa mainly used this name to describe specifically the pupils from Hovseter School that lived in Hovseter, while the pupils from Hovseter used it more widely, including all the residents at Hovseter with ethnic minority background, counting all ages. In an interview with two majority pupils and one minority pupil, the three girls started discussing this gang and who belonged to it. Nabika, a working-class minority girl from Hovseter, defined the gang as “foreigners living in Hovseter who know each other and hang out together” and included herself as a part of it. The conversation continued:

Karen: Would it be strange if I joined [the Hovseter gang]?

Nabika: Yes! But it wouldn't be strange if you danced with us at B7 though.

Karen: I'm not the type, maybe?

Nabika: It depends if you can dance? [Laughs].

Karen: [Laughs]. I suck at dancing, you shouldn't invite me!

This rather harmless conversation can disclose an ambiguity in the friendship between these three girls which is related to differences in class and ethnicity. From the perspective of Nabika, it would have been peculiar if Karen from Røa joined the Hovseter gang because for her, this gang is a group of 'foreigners' living in Hovseter. Similarly, I also heard other youths from Hovseter emphasising 'foreigners' as a criteria for being a part of this gang, as well as living in the social housing apartment blocks. However, I did not hear anyone from Hovseter stress similar criteria regarding who could visit the youth club. For Nabika, if Karen visited the youth club, it would not be peculiar, because she does not think of the club as a meeting place only for those from Hovseter, but for everyone. In fact, Nabika had shown these two friends of hers the club during a lunch break, but they did not stay for long, and they claimed they still "don't know what it is." During this interview, Nabika tried to persuade them to join her for an evening at the club but they laughed it away, neither saying yes or no.

As I interpret this conversation and the vagueness these two majority youths showed towards visiting the club, they do not feel they belong with the ethnic minority youths from Hovseter ("I'm not the type"), and particularly not at the youth club which is "their place." Again, symbolic boundaries were drawn between "us" and "them." Here, when these girls from Røa used the notion of the "Hovseter gang," it was constructed on the intersection of class, ethnicity, and residency, meaning that you had to be a working-class ethnic minority youth from Hovseter in order to belong to this group. Since this group often hung out at the club, it could be interpreted that you also have to share this background in order to visit. Hence, the club could be perceived as the "territory" of those from Hovseter in which those from Røa did not belong, although this was not the intention among the youths from Hovseter. Nabika's attempt to bring

her friends to the club, which could have encouraged bridging social capital in other arenas than the school, fell short.

To summarise, I have demonstrated that youths from Røa avoid the youth club not only because they have busy schedules but also because they draw symbolic boundaries between themselves and their peers from Hovseter. In the following, I will take a closer look at the youths from Hovseter and their preferences regarding friends, activities and interests.

6.3. Separations by social class

Sharam: We sought those who were most like ourselves, not because of skin colour, just by the way we were. You can't talk about "Yeah I live in this great apartment in Hovseter on 70 m²" when the other one lives on four hectares in Røa. Then it's like: "Bro, we don't have anything in common!" (...) That's why you find those most similar to yourself.

The quotation above from a young adult from Hovseter demonstrates that differences in the type of housing and tenure among youths from Hovseter and Røa – which indicated which class one belonged to – functioned as both social and symbolic boundaries between the groups. He stressed how class influenced with whom he formed social relationships. During my fieldwork at Hovseter School, I quickly observed that one could see which pupils were privileged and which were not, similarly to how one could see by walking through Røa that this was a "landscape of privilege" (Duncan & Duncan, 2003). Expensive clothes, watches, and mobile phones were some of the symbols of class and wealth among the adolescents. Regarding the difference among the pupils at Hovseter School, one of the teachers described the pupils as "the wealthiest and the poorest pupils in town," while another separated between "those who can afford Rolexes and those who don't have internet at home." The point they made was clear: the divergence between those with little and those with a lot was large.

In a conversation with one of the teachers, he told me he had previously worked in a secondary school in Oslo's East End. Comparing the pupils in these schools, he claimed that the pupils at Hovseter School from low-income families, thus primarily those from Hovseter,

perceived having less than their peers from Røa as difficult and shameful, while the pupils from low-income families from the East End school did not. In the latter school, many of the pupils came from low-income households and had financial restraints, thus it was more common to not have much money. At Hovseter School, however, the vast majority of the pupils have upper-middle-class backgrounds. Hence, the pupils who are not as affluent stand out.

Research has demonstrated that children in poor families are concerned about standing out among peers (Redmond, 2008) and that material poverty is closely related to the sense of shame which, in turn, increases stress and mental health issues as well as withdrawal from social arenas which one considers central for future life chances (Walker, 2013). A study on relative deprivation among youth in Oslo found that the subjective perception of having little money – among those in families who objectively have little – is more widespread in affluent neighbourhoods in western Oslo than in eastern Oslo¹⁵ (Pettersen & Sletten, 2018). The researchers analyse this in regard to theory on subjective relative deprivation, which is a central notion in research on neighbourhood effects. Here, the assumption is that our expectations of life, and also our perception of being poor, is influenced by those we interact and identify with. This result might indicate that growing up in an area in which the majority has a better economy than oneself could impose an extra strain on adolescents in poor families. Since the youths from Hovseter compare themselves with their prosperous peers from Røa who form the majority, perceived welfare may be worse for them than for adolescents in areas in the East End in which more families are low-income households. However, they do not necessarily identify with their peers from Røa, as I will discuss further on, but rather draw boundaries between themselves and their peers.

This reasoning challenges studies on neighbourhood effects where the positive effects on growing up in affluent neighbourhoods for youth from lower classes are emphasised (e.g. Toft & Ljunggren, 2016; Brattbakk, 2014). However, as Pettersen & Sletten (2018) propose, it could well be that the strain of relative deprivation for the individual during adolescence (in terms of social exclusion and shame) could, at the same time, contribute to better education and jobs in the future because of the access to network and role models in the local community. However, my

¹⁵ The districts of Vestre Aker, Ullern, Nordre Aker, Frogner, and Nordstrand. The latter is located in eastern Oslo but is still one of Oslo's most affluent districts.

study demonstrates that not all youth gain bridging social capital in their local environment, which can nuance the view on the assumption of affluent neighbourhoods as a form of protection for children in low-income families.

6.4. ‘Norwegians’ and ‘foreigners’

As demonstrated above, social class played a role among youth in Hovseter and Røa regarding how they formed social groups and networks. However, symbolic boundaries were also drawn based on ethnicity, which similarly could contribute to the identification with or distance towards groups. The participants in this study differed between ‘Norwegians’ and ‘foreigners,’ a categorisation that previous research also has found among Norwegian youth (Rosten, 2015; Eriksen, 2012; Smette, 2015; Lynnebakke & Fangen, 2011; Øia & Vestel, 2007). The dichotomy “Norwegian-foreigner” was used by nearly all, both minority and majority youth. Although the ‘foreigners’ was a heterogeneous group, and despite the fact that several of these youths were born in Norway, they described themselves or were described by others as ‘foreigners.’ Similarly to the minority youth in a study by Lynnebakke & Fangen (2011), these categories were mainly based on the country of origin of the youths or the youths’ parents and/or certain types of activities or cultural preferences. Two minority girls from Hovseter explained that they, as ethnic minority youths, had “other cultures, other perspectives on life” than their peers from Røa. However, they stressed that they did not think about these differences in their daily life, because “everyone is different.” Nabika emphasised: “It’s not that we’re different from the others just because we have another skin colour than them.”

In general, ethnicity, culture, and religion were not topics the pupils at Hovseter School talked much about in regard to the creation of social groups. “People are people” was emphasised by many, and if diversity was talked about, it was with positive connotations. However, many of the older youths I met from Hovseter talked more specifically about group identification and sense of belonging with other minority youth, such as 17-year old Mawusi:

Mawusi: I think it's easier to get a connection with someone with minority background (...) because you know about the struggle about being a 'foreigner', or about not quite being 'Norwegian.' But when I was younger I didn't think about stuff like that. I had many ethnic Norwegian friends, because when you are young, you don't care who is who or how you look, so everyone was my friend, you know.

Helle: Do you remember when it changed?

Mawusi: (...) I would say at secondary school. When you're a teenager you start looking more at yourself thinking "Who am I? What am I in this society?" So I started thinking "Oh, maybe I'm not quite 'Norwegian.' I'm a 'foreigner,' I stand out." And when you go to a school like Hovseter, where everyone in your class is ethnic Norwegian, you easily see that *you* are the one standing out.

Being a pupil at Hovseter School had been challenging when Mawusi got older and started to question who she was and compare herself with peers. Today, despite being born in Norway, she does not consider herself Norwegian. She explained this by her different culture than the Norwegian one, exemplifying this with the fact that she did not like skiing or hiking. This corresponds with the criteria many of the participants in Lynnebakke & Fangen's (2011) study also stressed, that certain types of activities or cultural preferences such as skiing, hiking, and trips to the cabin are considered a part of being Norwegian. Despite the fact that a large part of the Norwegian population does not go skiing regularly nor have a cabin, these activities represent what is "typical Norwegian" on a symbolic level (Lynnebakke & Fangen, 2011, p. 140). In fact, many of the youths from Røa stressed living close to the woods as one of the qualities of their neighbourhood, and talked about summers spent at the cabin. These activities corresponded with this "typical Norwegian life" that many from Hovseter did not feel a connection to.

Mawusi had many ethnic majority friends when she was younger but found herself, for the most part, choosing friends with minority background as she turned older. When applying for upper-secondary school, she applied to one in the east side of town where she knew pupils from all over town attended, and many with minority background like herself. For her, she felt more comfortable there, since she was one of many pupils with an ethnic minority background.

Similarly, Samir, an ethnic minority boy from Hovseter, told me how he went from being a part of the minority at Hovseter School to becoming the majority at his upper-secondary school in which more than half of the pupils had ethnic minority backgrounds. He felt he could finally “be himself.” In her study of an upper-secondary school in the East End, Eriksen (2012) found that many pupils experienced a change of identity and practice when they began their first year. Here, they moved closer to the idea of the collective to which they felt belonging – or to which they were assigned. This could have been the case for Mawusi and Samir as well, when they moved closer to the collective of ‘foreigners.’

When discussing friendships based on ethnicity or belonging to the collective of ‘foreigners,’ the notion of *homophily* is relevant. Homophily is the tendency to form social ties with people with similar characteristics (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). Strong homophily on ethnicity is found in different relationships, for instance in marriage (Kalmijn 1998) and schoolmate friendships (Shrum, Cheek & Hunter, 1988). The latter was the case of Mawusi and Samir and many of the other youths from Hovseter, as well as of many of the majority pupils from Røa.

6.5. The West End’s East End

Studies on youth in Furuset in Oslo’s East End have demonstrated that many youths and adults living there strongly identify with Oslo, in particular its eastern parts (Andersen & Biseth, 2013; Eriksen, 2018). Yet, they do not necessarily have a strong national identity. Many ethnic minority youths speak of themselves as ‘foreigners,’ as was the case with many of the youth from Hovseter. However, in Hovseter, the youths did not necessarily identify strongly with Oslo’s West End, rather on the contrary. It is within a context of contrast in terms of social and spatial conditions as well as the historical context of the division between the West and East End, that the youths in this study perceive Hovseter. The expression “the West End’s East End” is regularly used in order to describe Hovseter and how the area stands out in western Oslo. Three reasons are frequently emphasised in order to explain why Hovseter stands out: the tall and dilapidated social housing apartment blocks, the high share of ‘foreigners,’ and the residents’ low

socioeconomic status. Similarly, three explications are frequently used to explain why Røa, on the contrary, does belong to the West End: the detached or semi-detached houses with gardens, the large share of ‘Norwegians,’ and the residents’ high socioeconomic status. Thus, the binary Hovseter/Røa-splitting takes a spatial/material, ethnic, and class/tenure form.

A conversation I had with two 19-year old minority youths from Hovseter in the club one evening in August centered around the topic of Hovseter and Røa/the West End. They told me that people from Hovseter and Røa, and the West End in general, are “different on *every* level: money, interests, skin colour, and so on.” One of them, Bashir, said he used to play football with peers from Røa earlier, which he thought was fine, but they never used to spend time together after practice. He told me that the pupils at the upper-secondary school he attended, located in the West End, as well as those from Røa in general, were very occupied with *russetiden* and *russebuss*¹⁶, which he himself was not. He did not see the point. Bashir said he had his best friends at Hovseter, and pointed to the one standing beside him, Kemal, saying: “This guy, we’ve known each other since we were children, we have the same background, we live in the same apartment block, we have the same interests, we’re both from [country]. Of course we’re friends.” Kemal nodded and said he felt the same way.

Bashir did not identify with his peers from Røa nor from the upper-secondary school he went to in terms of class, ethnicity, culture, or interests. He did not feel he belonged in this specific social environment in which, among other things, *russetiden* was important. *Russetiden* is often related to drinking, partying, and spending a lot of money on a bus on which the youths party. This tradition is in particular prominent at upper-secondary schools in the West End in which most pupils have a high socioeconomic status. In addition, the share of youths with immigrant backgrounds is lower in these schools than in the average school in Oslo (Andersen, Pedersen & Bakken, 2017). Not sharing an interest for *russetiden* in a school where it is important may contribute to a feeling of exclusion from the majority, or a feeling of not belonging, which Bashir described. Moreover, many of the participants in Lynnebakke & Fangen’s (2011) study defined alcohol consumption and partying as a part of “the Norwegian” and something they distanced themselves from.

¹⁶ A traditional celebration for Norwegian upper-secondary school pupils in their final spring semester.

As I interpret Bashir's statements, it was not only the difference in ethnicity or culture that contributed to his lack of feeling at ease with peers from Røa, which Mawusi and Samir emphasised. It was the intersection of ethnicity, culture, and social class. Although Bashir did not identify with his peers from Røa, he identified with other youths from Hovseter. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1996, 1999) notion of *sense of one's place*, Bashir was comfortable and felt at ease in Hovseter with his neighbours and friends. Contrary to Røa or the West End in general, there was a correspondence between habitus and field in Hovseter. Bashir and his friend had a *selective belonging* (Watt, 2009) to Hovseter in the West End. In a study of London's eastern suburban periphery, Watt (2009) found that affluent residents in "Woodlands," a fairly new private estate of several hundred houses, considered their neighbourhood an "oasis" within the working-class eastside in which it was located. Watt argues that the "Woodlands" residents embraced the "Woodlands oasis" but could not adopt the eastside district as their own because it was located lower on the socio-spatial hierarchy of class distinction than their own neighbourhood. Moreover, they symbolically and practically disengaged from the eastside's lower class and non-white population. The context in Hovseter is different, as Hovseter is considered a poor and working-class "enclave" within the affluent West End. Nevertheless, similar mechanisms occur as some of the youths are struggling to adopt the West End as their own because its residents are located higher than themselves in the class hierarchy. One could also consider this the other way around, remembering for instance how some of the adolescents from Røa avoid Hovseter and the youth club due to similar symbolic boundary drawing.

Many of the adolescents from Hovseter that I met during the fieldwork expressed that they wanted to move from the neighbourhood when they became older. The lack of correspondence between the field and habitus among the youths from Hovseter regarding the West End could be one of the reasons for this. As Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst (2005) argue, "people are comfortable when there is a correspondence between habitus and field, but otherwise people feel ill at ease and seek to move – socially and spatially – so that their discomfort is relieved" (p. 9). Moreover, although the togetherness and the friendships were emphasised as qualities of the area, many of the youths talked about less positive aspects of Hovseter, such as neighbours with alcohol and drug addictions and lack of maintenance of the apartment blocks and

public spaces. Hovseter was thus not considered a proper place for one's future residency. On the contrary, youth from Røa talked about their neighbourhood and the West End in the terms of a proper place to *dwell* (Heidegger, 1971). They emphasised that Røa was calm, safe, and had a good location close to the woods and the city centre. In a conversation with Benedikte and her two peers, they talked about the area's residents: "It's obvious that people here have money. But like, we've grown up with it and I wouldn't say it's something negative. It's very nice here, you know, I like it very much. But I don't know if it would have suited everyone." According to Benedikte, the West End has a particular affluent lifestyle that not everyone can afford nor find attractive. Both her and her friends, however, feel at ease in this part of town and told me they wanted to live there as adults.

Hovseter can to some extent be compared to Furuset in Oslo's East End, due to a similar working-class and multi-ethnic population, although these shares are higher in Furuset. In a former study I participated in at Furuset, I talked with some of the local youths who told me they felt a strong sense of belonging to their neighbourhood, in which a feeling of sameness played an important role, which was reinforced by their participation in the local youth club and sports club (Ruud et al., 2019b, p. 59). For many, these qualities contributed to their thoughts of Furuset as a potential area to live as adults. In fact, many of those who can afford their own house and leave Furuset tend to stay in nearby areas with which they are familiar (Eriksen, 2018). This, however, does not seem to be the case in Hovseter. Following my discussion on the sense of one's place, the working-class ethnic minority residents in Furuset represent to a larger degree the average residents in the Alna district than the working-class ethnic minority residents in Hovseter do in Vestre Aker. Moving from the social housing apartments in Hovseter to an apartment in affluent Røa may offer a very different way of life, while moving within Alna District may not contribute to an equivalent change in social space.

Another factor that can limit the degree to which residents of Hovseter move within the district is the housing prices in Oslo. The chances that a family can move from a social housing apartment in Hovseter to a home-owner apartment close by, are low, while this is more probable in Furuset. One of the ethnic minority girls I met at the club who lived in a social housing apartment in Hovseter with her family moved during my fieldwork. Both her parents had jobs

and had saved up to buy their own apartment. Originally, they looked for apartments close to Hovseter so that the children could continue attending Hovseter School, and because they liked the area. However, the house prices were too high and this forced the family to move to Groruddalen in the East End. Thus, their limited economic capital pushed them out of the West End to the other side of town, and one could say that their climb upward in their housing career (from renting to owning) was followed by a climb downward in Oslo's social space (from the western to the eastern side of town). This is not a situation policymakers seek to encourage. In fact, a policy of tenure mix in neighbourhoods is often pursued to enable local social climbers to make a housing career within the area (van Kempen & Bolt, 2012). Since these socially ambitious inhabitants are more familiar with the area than newcomers, they tend to be more attached to it and have more social ties (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Therefore, policymakers assume that if one enables households to pursue a housing career within the neighbourhood, this could positively affect the level of social cohesion. As the case of the family from Hovseter illustrates, pursuing a housing career within Hovseter and the Vestre Aker district can be difficult to achieve.

6.6. Territorial stigmatisation within the Vestre Aker district

An important aspect of areas dominated by disadvantaged people is stigmatisation (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000), and countering stigmatisation is one of the aims of social mix policies. Rosten (2015) has studied young people with minority backgrounds from Furuset in Oslo's East End in which she uses Wacquant's (2008) notion of *territorial stigmatisation*. Wacquant draws on Goffman's (1963) notion of *stigma* which he defined as an "attribute that is deeply discrediting" (p. 3). In Wacquant's (2008, p. 238) study of American ghettos and French banlieues, he adds "a taint of place" to this notion, claiming that place of residence in itself can contribute to stigmatisation. In the case of Furuset, as described by Rosten (2015), due to the externally constructed image in the media and among politicians, its reputation is that of a "ghetto" in which "foreigners" live. Rosten found that to grow up in Furuset led to ambivalent and often conflictual management of space, where the youths both internalised and reproduced the place's stereotypes on the one side, and challenged and disproved them on the other. The youth environment among

the young men in Furuset was characterised by a strong pride related to the neighbourhood, where they engaged in violent encounters with other young men with working-class and minority background in order to protect the reputation of Furuset and of themselves. By doing so, Rosten argues, they contributed to the myth about their neighbourhood as a dangerous "ghetto."

Territorial stigmatisation was also present in Hovseter, although mainly within the Vestre Aker district. Most of the youths from Hovseter I talked with experienced that few outside of the district knew about Hovseter. For instance, Deeqa told me that the most common reaction from people from other parts of town when she told them that she came from Hovseter was the question "where's that?" She stressed, however, that some people from Vestre Aker thought it was a dangerous place. Moreover, a young man I met at the youth club told me that his impression was that other residents in the district associated Hovseter with "crazy people" and "social housing tenants." He had also personally experienced being met with prejudices by peers from the district because he lived in Hovseter. Furthermore, he told me about an incident a summer a couple of years before in which some young men from the Royal Guards, which are located in the area, had vandalised cars with a fire extinguisher. The Oslo police department claimed on their Twitter account that local youth from Hovseter stood behind the vandalism, which the local newspaper *Akersposten* wrote an article about. The comments online that followed consisted of many negative attitudes towards the local youths from Hovseter.

Other signs on stigmatisation towards Hovseter were also present. I was told that apartments located in Hovseter were often market as Røa, and when the new nursing home in Hovseter was rebuilt, it was initially renamed *Røahjemmet*, before protests from local residents contributed to changing it back to the original name of *Hovseterhjemmet*. Residents from Hovseter claimed that those naming it *Røahjemmet* stigmatised Hovseter in the process.

These episodes, as well as the general discourse about Hovseter from other residents in Vestre Aker District, demonstrate that there is some degree of territorial stigmatisation taking place. Moreover, the fact that most of the youths from Røa do not want to hang out in Hovseter or at the youth club can also be related to this, as well as Thea and Anna's definition of Hovseter as "an immigrant district" and "less safe," as previously mentioned, illustrates how they stigmatise the area.

Despite the fact that territorial stigmatisation also was present in Hovseter, the youths from Hovseter did not go in opposition, express anger, or engage in violent encounters, as described by Rosten (2015) regarding Furuset or Wacquant (2008) regarding the American ghettos and the French banlieues. Nevertheless, I heard about certain “episodes” involving the youths from Hovseter, such as noise by the football court during late summer nights with the police stopping by as a result, or how some of the boys got fired from their summer jobs arranged by the district at the nursing home due to their apparent laziness and joking around. This was, however, stories I heard and not necessarily “real” events. The “Hovseter gang” was not a violent group of young people, nor did it have a reputation of being one, contrary to the gang studied by Rosten.

If one is to follow the assumptions behind social mix policies, the social control in Hovseter could be one of the consequences of the role models and social capital the adolescents from Hovseter gain from living in an area with a high share of upper-middle-class residents, which the adolescents in Furuset to a lesser degree benefit from because the population is more disadvantaged in Alna than in Vestre Aker. Scholars claim that urban unrest and crime in an area coincide with the lack of trust and social cohesion (Gerrell et al., 2020). My findings can indicate that the spatial proximity between youths from Hovseter and Røa have contributed to social cohesion, which stimulates common norms and social control, despite little evidence of bridging social capital.

6.7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that despite the fact that most working-class minority youth from Hovseter and upper-middle-class majority youth from Røa do not engage in crossing social relationships in their leisure time, some of them do during school hours, in particular some of the girls. However, these groups did not transfer to social relationships outside school and did not build bridging social capital.

One of the contributing factors to few social bonds across class and ethnicity was the different organisation of daily lives, as illustrated in Chapter 5. Here, social class was seen as an

important factor that affected the organisation of leisure time and influenced the interests among the youths. The adolescents themselves stressed interests as a key factor for the creation of friend groups.

This chapter demonstrates that processes of identification and the feeling of belonging to one's social class, ethnicity, neighbourhood, and district contributed to the creation of groups and boundaries. For instance, some of the youths from Hovseter emphasised belonging to an ethnic minority group, not sharing the "Norwegian culture," and facing other residential conditions than their peers from Røa as some of the reasons why they preferred being friends with other adolescents from Hovseter. Similarly, some of the majority youths from Røa avoided the youth club because they did not feel they had much in common with peers from Hovseter. In addition, territorial stigmatisation within the Vestre Aker district was to some extent present, which could have contributed to the latter's avoidance of the youth club.

This chapter shows that socially mixed neighbourhoods and schools do not necessarily facilitate social integration, as stigmatisation and boundary work can hinder social bonds across class and ethnicity. The next chapter examines the youths' perceptions of school and educational aspirations, and analyses whether the diversity, despite not facilitating social integration to a large degree, could have an effect on the cultural integration of the ethnic minority youths.

7. School and aspirations

In this chapter, I ask how social and spatial differences affect the youths' perceptions of school and their educational aspirations. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, youth from Hovseter and Røa live in proximity but live separate lives, as they organise their daily life differently and rarely engage in friendships across class and ethnicity. At school, however, the pupils create, to a larger degree, crossing social relationships. This chapter demonstrates that despite different social and spatial backgrounds, school seems to play an equally important part in the lives of all pupils. The common norm at Hovseter School is to be academically ambitious and to work hard. Moreover, the pupils share many similarities in regard to their educational aspirations about the future, although pupils from Røa to a larger degree plan to embark on higher education than their peers from Hovseter.

7.1. High achievers as the norm

The vast majority of the participants in this study claim that they like school and express joy in learning new things, as well as being very preoccupied with school in their daily life. During the interviews, homework, upcoming tests and presentations, teachers, and grades were topics the pupils could talk much about. My general impression was that there were many high achievers among the two classes I followed as well as in the school in general, which was reaffirmed by the teachers. Moreover, the *institutional habitus* (Smyth & Banks, 2012) at Hovseter School was influenced by the high share of upper-middle-class pupils who were rich in cultural capital, for whom hard work and high achievement was important. This contributed to a positive discourse regarding academic work.

During the lessons, many of the pupils were eager to answer the teacher's questions, to engage in debates, and they did what they were assigned to do. There were, however, exceptions, and the pupils' engagement could vary according to the topic of the lesson, the time of the day, and so on. In general, the pupils from Røa were more active than their peers from Hovseter

during class. Many had a large amount of verbal agility, a large vocabulary, and were in general comfortable in their interaction with authority figures such as the teachers, much like the middle-class children in Lareau's (2003) study. Hence, speaking out loud in class did not seem frightening or problematic. Some of the pupils from Hovseter, however, seemed less comfortable in these situations. When those in need for extra language tuition or special education were gathered in a smaller group, which many from Hovseter were, these pupils tended to be more at ease.

The vast majority of the pupils considered it important to achieve academic success. The norm was to strive for good academic results, therefore many found it important to get high grades and recognition from the teachers and peers. Good results in a test or a good presentation were awarded status among one's peers, and after a well-done presentation, for instance, a pupil would get recognition from her fellow students in the following break. Furthermore, the pupils stressed that high grades were important in order to enter the upper-secondary school and track they wanted, which I will discuss later on.

7.2. Joking around

Research on working-class pupils has demonstrated how social background can influence behaviour at school. Willis (1977) studied working-class "lads" in England in the 1970s and demonstrated the connection between their class and a counter-school and to some degree violent culture. Their counter-school attitude contributed to the reproduction of class – they did not entail upward social mobility because of their resistance towards school and authority but rather became working-class men like their fathers. In a Norwegian context, Rosten (2015) has demonstrated how working-class and minority boys in Furuset perceived school and education as less important than the working-class and minority girls. The young women were supportive of each other in their work towards gaining higher education, whereas for many of the young men, being high achievers in school was not compatible with "being a man," much like what Willis demonstrated. As described in the previous chapter, this youth environment in Furuset can be characterised by a strong neighbourhood pride, where the young men engage in "ghetto play" in

order to protect the reputation of Furuset and thus their own (Rosten, 2015). According to Rosten (2015, p. 233), the young men she studied “held each other down” while the girls, by supporting each other regarding higher education, facilitated upward social mobility.

In this study, I found little evidence of counter-school attitudes among the working-class and minority boys from Hovseter. In the two classes in which I did fieldwork, some pupils were “joking around” or were less interested in school than others. This was, however, present among pupils from different social backgrounds. During the lessons, Marius and Anders, two boys from Røa, were joking around just as much as Ekow and Fadi from Hovseter. Anders often used the opportunity to watch video clips on Youtube when they worked on computers, and Ekow often listened to hip-hop music and mimed along, when he was not “sleeping” with his head resting on his desk. Common for the boys was how they seemed to enjoy the attention they got from their joking around. When they were corrected by the teacher, however, they turned to the schoolwork, often completing the task they had been given. I did not observe boys who looked down on those who were preoccupied with school, as Rosten (2015) did in Furuset. The on average high achievement among the pupils at Hovseter School, in which academic skills contributed to high status, could have influenced this. Moreover, due to Hovseter School’s location in Oslo’s West End, an upper-middle-class culture, in which school is highly valued (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970), and a “majority culture,” are present, contrary to the working-class culture and “minority culture” in Furuset.

During my observations, there were also two or three girls in each class, both ethnic minority and majority pupils, who were not following lessons with equal enthusiasm as their peers. However, they were quiet and did not try to attract attention as the boys would. Contrary to what Eriksen (2012, 2019) found in her study in an upper-secondary school in Oslo’s East End, the minority girls from Hovseter did not reject school aggressively. At the school Eriksen studied, the minority girls were noisy, disturbed the teaching, or resorted to violence. The girls at Hovseter, however, were rather quiet and did as told during lessons. Eriksen argues that the aggression among the girls in her study is charged with the experience of disempowerment from success in a school they perceive as produced for ethnic majority pupils and not for them. The noise and disturbance became an important distinction between loud and “cool” ‘foreigners’ who

did not succeed academically in school, and the quiet, academic, and nerdy ‘Norwegians.’ At Hovseter School, I found no such distinction between the minority and majority girls. All worked hard at school, and the few who did not succeed to the same degree as others or were not as interested in school did not express their frustration loudly. Instead, they would either try to avoid attention from the teacher or ask for assistance. The contexts of these schools are divergent, which to some degree can explain the differences: about 20% of the pupils Eriksen (2019, p. 5) studied were ethnic majority pupils, while this share was 80% in Hovseter School. Moreover, the school Eriksen studied did not have high entry scores whereas the average pupils in Hovseter were high achievers and aimed for upper-secondary schools with high entry levels.

7.3. The importance of good grades

When pupils have graduated from elementary school and are about to embark on upper-secondary education, the Norwegian principle of *enhetsskolen*, in which the pupils attend the school which is closest to them, ceases: the pupils are now free to choose between upper-secondary schools in Oslo based on their grades. This marked-based school policy is built upon the idea that the schools should compete for the pupils, and is characterised by meritocratic ideas, in which abilities and effort are rewarded (Hansen, 2017, p. 260). Therefore, those pupils who have the best grades can enter the most attractive schools, while those with less good grades risk getting into schools they do not want and that are located further away and have other types of student composition. As a result, getting good grades was a major concern among the pupils in 10th grade at Hovseter School, whether one knew which school one was aiming for and its entry scores, or not. For those who still were uncertain, their attitude was to work hard to obtain good grades in order to have every possibility open.

The importance of obtaining good grades was stressful for many. Marius, a boy from Røa, claimed in an interview that “our future is decided now!” and experienced this as very demanding, although his peer tried to convince him that “one could always change things later.” This preoccupation with school also had consequences for some of the adolescents’ leisure time. For instance, Nabika had quit the Koran school in order to have more time for homework.

According to the Young in Oslo survey, adolescents with immigrant backgrounds use much more time for homework than their peers with Norwegian-born parents (Bakken, 2018, p. 6). At Hovseter School, however, it seemed like the minority and majority youths used equal amounts of time doing homework. In general, all pupils emphasised that they spent much time preparing for tests or presentations at school. During a lesson on the last day of school before autumn break, one of the teachers stressed that the pupils should “take complete time off” during the vacation and “just forget about school.” Later, the teacher told me she had emphasised this because she felt that some of the pupils could be too preoccupied with school, homework, and grades and thus needed to have proper breaks every once in a while. When I asked some of the pupils after the autumn break about what they had done, they answered they had indeed prepared for upcoming tests.

7.4. Looking for high academic quality or a particular school environment

The choice of upper-secondary school was seen as equally important as the choice of track among the pupils. Since most of the adolescents wanted to enter the academic track, which I will discuss later, the choice of school was of much importance. There were two main qualities the pupils at Hovseter School looked for when deciding on upper-secondary school: it had to be of high academic quality or it had to attract a diversity of pupils, if not both.

The importance of teachers and a good teaching environment was also stressed by the pupils when talking about Hovseter School. For instance, Anders from Røa claimed that “the quality of a school is defined by its teachers.” Many of the pupils compared and judged the teachers in Hovseter School on their ability to explain, their engagement, if they had structured lessons or not, their kindness, and so on. Hence, the pupils had high expectations regarding the teachers, which also, for many, was important regarding their choice of upper-secondary school. If a pupil had heard that there were good teachers and a good learning environment in a specific school, the pupil emphasised this as a good reason to apply there. This general focus on the quality of the teachers and schools was mostly present among the upper-middle-class pupils. This

could indicate that they had gained a robust sense of entitlement from their parents' child-rearing technique of concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2003).

Many of the pupils from Røa stressed that they wanted to apply for schools which had a diversity of pupils and who could offer a different type of pupil composition than Hovseter School. Hence, even though the West End upper-secondary schools Ullern and Blindern are located within a convenient distance to the youths' homes, many preferred applying to schools in the city centre. Ullern and Blindern were considered "posh" and with a similar type of pupils as in Hovseter School, therefore they were considered a "prolongation" of the school environment they already had. In particular, Ullern was called an "Uggs-school," referring to the shoes many of its pupils supposedly wore, which were associated with snobs. Only two of the girls I interviewed considered applying for Ullern and Blindern.

The upper-secondary schools located in the city centre such as Oslo Cathedral School, Elvebakken, Edvard Munch, and Foss were considered more attractive for many of the pupils from Røa. These schools have some of the highest grade requirements in Oslo (Oslo kommune, 2019b) and as the average pupils in Hovseter School were high achievers, this could be an attraction in itself. Nevertheless, the pupils emphasised the schools' supposedly diverse pupil mass which included adolescents from all over the city, not just from the West End, contrary to Ullern and Blindern. The inner-city schools could offer "interesting people" and "a mixed environment," according to many. For instance, Oslo Cathedral School is known for a high share of pupils who are rich in cultural capital, where students value academic merit and adopt political positions on feminism, anti-racism, and environmental protection (Pedersen, Jarness & Flemmen, 2018). Oslo Commerce School in the West End, on the other hand, is rich in economic capital, similarly to Hovseter School, and the *russetid* celebration is very important for the students (Andersen, Pedersen & Bakken, 2017). This school was not considered attractive for the pupils at Hovseter.

Contrary to their peers from Røa, the pupils from Hovseter did not emphasise the choice of school much. They were more concerned about the type of track they should choose. Nasrim, a working-class minority pupil from Røa, however, wanted to apply for a school in the East End because of its mix of "both foreigners and Norwegians from all over town." For her, it was the

multiethnic environment that attracted her, contrary to her peers from Røa who, for the most part, wanted a mix in terms of the type of capital, or simply schools rich in cultural capital. This indicates that ethnicity was an important factor for some of the pupils regarding their choice of upper-secondary school. As I discussed in Chapter 6, Mawusi and Samir both described relief when they started upper-secondary school in which the minority/majority proportion had changed and they, as ethnic minority pupils, constituted the majority in class. In their new school environment, they felt more at ease. Wanting or hoping to feel more at ease in school could be an important factor for some of the pupils at Hovseter School with minority backgrounds.

7.5. Parent involvement

Many of the youths from Røa experienced that their parents were involved in their choice of upper-secondary school. For instance, Heidi talked a lot with her family about school and her future. She was certain about the choice of the academic track, much because “everyone has high education in the family: dad is a lawyer, mom is a doctor, and one of my sisters is a lawyer, and my other sister studies history.” It felt natural for her to choose that path as well and thus reproduce her parents’ class position. This is in line with previous research that demonstrates how educational choices and aspirations are likely to follow one’s class background (e.g. Helland & Støren, 2011; Hansen, 2005).

Some of the pupils from Røa got specific advice from their parents regarding the choice of upper-secondary school, such as Kine. Her dad advised her to not apply for Ullern upper-secondary school because that would be “Hovseter all over again,” referring to the more or less homogeneous West End pupils in both schools, as already discussed. She continued: “I actually agree with Mom and Dad, also because they say that I shouldn’t study in Oslo because then one wouldn’t expand one’s network and stuff like that.” Kine’s parents had an overview of the type of pupils in the different secondary-schools in Oslo and wanted her to choose a school in which the pupils were more “diverse.” It was a particular type of social network they wanted for their child, and in their recommendation of schools, an emphasis on what type of network they did not want her to join was also present: a network rich in cultural capital was preferred to one

rich in economic capital. Kine agreed, and planned to apply for the inner-city schools and also to study abroad afterwards. Since the school can be important in the process of accumulating social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970), which further is important in mobilising cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984), one could assume that Kine's choice of upper-secondary school was strategic in this regard, both from her and her parents' perspective.

In more general terms of parental involvement regarding school, some of the pupils from Røa described conversations about school on a regular basis at home. For instance, Thea told me that "instead of doing homework, I rather talk about stuff at home, discuss it with my parents. I learn much more by this. If I need to know more about a topic, I'll talk with them." The way in which Thea's parents engaged in discussions with her, as well as the above described examples of involvement among upper-middle-class parents from Røa, follows the child-rearing technique of concerted cultivation (Lareau, 2003). Thea, as most of her peers from Røa, inherits cultural capital and abilities that will be useful in her upcoming education and career.

The working-class and minority pupils from Hovseter and Røa had various experiences regarding their families' involvement regarding the choice of upper-secondary school. Amina from Hovseter, for instance, did not talk with her parents about school nor about her choice of upper-secondary school. She said that talking with them would "give her stress." Deeqa, however, talked with her family about upper-secondary school and higher education. Her family emphasised her personal choice in this regard, but at the same time they encouraged her to take the academic track in order to have the possibility of embarking on higher education. Deeqa agreed with her family and planned to apply for the academic track. Deeqa's older brother studied mechanical engineering and her sister IT, and she considered them her role models and wanted to do just as well as them. Moreover, Nasrim, a working-class ethnic minority girl from Røa, explained that her parents were very supportive and engaged in her schoolwork. She described her parents as her "counsellors." She explained: "They are very preoccupied with education because there were no such opportunities for education and stuff where they lived. They want their children to have it better [than themselves]." Since Nasrim's older sister had become a doctor, her parents expected her to get higher education as well. Nasrim agreed, saying her sister was her role model. Nasrim thus seemed to have an immigrant drive, motivated by her

parents' positive attitudes regarding education and a prolongation of the family's migration story (Kindt & Hegna, 2017), which also seems to be the case for Deeqa. Nasrim's reasoning, however, also corresponds with the theory of immigrant bargain, in which second-generation children feel the need to make up for their parents' sacrifices and hardships by achieving academic success (Louie, 2012).

7.6. Different social backgrounds, similar aspirations?

Of the 20 pupils in 10th grade at Hovseter School I interviewed, 17 had decided which track they wanted to follow in upper-secondary school, while three were still unsure. 15 of the 16 adolescents from Røa with upper-middle-class ethnic majority background wanted to take the academic track, while one had not decided yet. Moreover, one pupil from Røa with working-class ethnic minority background planned to take the academic track. Of the three pupils from Hovseter with working-class ethnic minority background I interviewed, one wanted to take the academic track, while the two others still had not made up their mind.

The vast majority of the 20 pupils said they wanted to start higher education after upper-secondary school. Only Amina from Hovseter said she did not. More than half of those I interviewed articulated specific thoughts about future education and work. These ideas were often related to which subjects at school they preferred or were good at, or to what they liked to do in their spare time. For instance, one of the boys liked computer programming, thus he pictured himself becoming a computer engineer, while his peer was interested in the ocean and believed marine biology could be an interesting discipline for him. Moreover, some of the pupils from Røa emphasised their parents' education or job as a possible profession. For instance, one of the girls considered studying something within science, like her mother, or architecture, like her father. Her peer, who thought she was quite good in reasoning, considered lawyer as a profession, like her mother. Many of the pupils from Røa regarded their parents as role models concerning higher education and future career, while the pupils from Hovseter often stressed their siblings as role models.

Of the three girls from Hovseter I interviewed, one was uncertain about her choice of upper-secondary school as well as future education and work. She had considered both police officer and ambulance driver as possible career paths but at the time of the fieldwork, she did not know. Amina was also uncertain about what she wanted, but she was “not a big fan of school,” as she explained. She preferred finding a job after upper-secondary school, although she considered both the academic and vocational track. Deeqa, however, knew she wanted to attend the academic track in order to have every possibility open afterwards, but had no specific thoughts on which type of job she wanted. Mawusi, the upper-secondary school pupil who followed the academic track, wanted to work with something that could help people, either within an NGO or through working as a doctor, although she did not know if her grades were good enough to enter medical school. She emphasised that she wanted to work with something that could benefit her country of origin, expressing that she wanted to “give something in return” to her parents and homeland, similarly to what Nasrim expressed.

At the youth club, I met minority youths from Hovseter who attended upper-secondary school or had graduated. Around half of them attended or had graduated from vocational tracks and the others from academic tracks. The boys I met either took an academic track or the electrician programme. For instance, two 19-year old boys from Hovseter had just graduated from the academic track and embarked on a gap year, applying for jobs. They planned to start higher education the year after to become elementary school teachers. Moreover, two boys who attended the electrician programme told me they were pleased with their choice of track. One of them was currently in apprenticeship, which he was enjoying very much. He thought, and hoped, he would get offered a job there when he had earned his craft certificate.

The girls either attended academic tracks or the auxiliary programme. Maryam had just started her first year of upper-secondary school in the academic track, which she was encouraged to embark on because both her older siblings had taken this path. Her friend, Abeba, however, took the vocational track because she claimed she was not a high achiever at school and did not like to study. “It’s easier in the auxiliary nursing programme. And if I want to, I can always get a higher education admission certificate afterwards.” Similarly to Abeba’s perception of the auxiliary nursing programme as easier than the vocational track, a strong narrative of vocational

education as “easy” was found among pupils attending these programmes in a study by Ljunggren & Orupabo (2020). Moreover, many of the pupils in this study who were enrolled in a vocational programme simultaneously aspired to “move beyond” and attain higher education. In Norway, the vocational track consists of two years of school attendance, followed by two years of apprenticeship. If the student wants to earn a higher education admission certificate, the student could either finish an intensive third year in school with only academic courses or complete a less intensive year of academic courses after obtaining a craft certificate. Ekua, an 18-year old ethnic minority girl from Hovseter I met at the club, was an example of someone who had done the latter. She had gotten her craft certificate in auxiliary nursing but had just embarked on the fifth year of academic courses in order to earn the higher education admission certificate. She had decided that she wanted to pursue higher education after all, although she had not yet decided within what.

7.7. Peer and neighbourhood influences and effects

None of the youth in this study, neither those from Hovseter nor Røa, stressed their peers as important influencers when choosing an upper-secondary school, although several said they talked with their friends about it. In interviews with two or three pupils together, who often were good friends, they rarely planned to apply to the same school or type of academic track. Rather, they emphasised their own interests in regard to their choice, and some were influenced by their parents or siblings, as I have already discussed. Nevertheless, concerning those from Røa, the norm was to choose one of the academic tracks, which corresponds well with the fact that pupils from the highest classes from Oslo’s West End rarely choose a vocational track in upper-secondary school (Hansen, 2017). In fact, only 84 of the 1334 pupils in Oslo who chose a vocational track in 2016 came from the West End (Mellingsæter, 2016).

In a study by Toft & Ljunggren (2016), the presence of upper class residents in youth’s neighbourhoods is independently associated with the likelihood of achieving higher education, elite credentials, and upper-class membership in adulthood, in particular for less privileged adolescents. Moreover, Strømme (2020) found that the proportion of upper-class peers at

lower-secondary schools is associated with the increased likelihood of choosing academic tracks at the upper-secondary level, and especially for students who are not from upper-class backgrounds. These results lead one to assume that many of the pupils from Hovseter would choose the academic track in order to pursue higher education after their graduation from upper-secondary school and that the presence of peers from Røa encourages this choice. My study shows that youths from Røa, to a larger degree, are heading towards the academic tracks in upper-secondary school and have more specific thoughts and plans on higher education than their peers from Hovseter. Among the adolescents and young adults from Hovseter I talked with, around half of them wanted to attend or were currently attending a vocational track.

In the discussion of their results, Toft & Ljunggren (2016) interpret the effect among working-class adolescents as a mirroring of the interaction among them and upper-class adults and/or upper-class adolescents. Relating this to the case of Hovseter and Røa, I have previously demonstrated that working-class youth from Hovseter and upper-middle-class youth from Røa rarely engage in social relationships after school hours. However, they do to some extent interact during school time. Since the interactions among the two groups of youth are restricted and only occur within the school, I have found little evidence of bridging social capital. Nevertheless, it could be that other processes occur than direct social interaction, such as considering one's peers as positive role models. For instance, Brattbakk (2014) assumes that the local climate of education is of importance in his study in which he finds that place-related factors have an independent effect on youth's future educational attainment in Oslo. He argues that educational motivation among adolescents might be transferred through mechanisms such as role models and shared norms and values through social learning within geographical areas. Related to this is the institutional habitus in Hovseter School, in which the upper-middle-class culture has become embedded into the school organisation and culture over time, and thus contributed to the emphasis on academic pathways in upper-secondary school (Smyth & Banks, 2012). However, since the academic track is the norm among the pupils from Western Oslo, including those from Røa, one could argue that pupils from Hovseter, in particular those who feel that the West End is not "their place," as discussed in Chapter 6, do not perceive the academic track and higher education as a "natural" choice for themselves.

Although more pupils from Røa than Hovseter plan to enter an academic track in upper-secondary school, which is an indicator that they want to continue to higher education, this does not imply that the latter group is not socially or culturally integrated in the Norwegian society. Following Ljunggren & Orupabo (2020), there may be different pathways to integration rather than embarking on higher education. Those who choose the vocational tracks are neither on a direct path to higher education nor on their way to marginalised positions in the society. In addition, there is broad political agreement on the aim to increase the share of pupils who choose the vocational tracks in upper-secondary school (Hansen, 2017). Politicians value skilled workers and stress their importance, indicating their important position in, and as an integral part of, society.

7.8. Concluding remarks

This chapter has demonstrated that the average pupil in Hovseter School is a high achiever who is preoccupied with school. Nearly all pupils from Røa aim for the academic track in upper-secondary school and higher education, while the vocational track and working-class jobs are more common among youth from Hovseter.

Moreover, this chapter has showed how the pupils from Hovseter and Røa enter the school system with different dispositions due to their social backgrounds. For instance, their parents influence their educational outcomes and aspirations by engaging in different upbringing strategies. The upper-middle-class parents of the pupils from Røa reproduce privilege through cultural capital, for instance through their knowledge about the educational system (Lareau, 2003). The pupils from Hovseter, however, do not have this advantage, although some of them look to their families for support regarding their choice of upper-secondary school.

Can the upper-middle-class pupils from Røa contribute to better achievements or more ambitious goals regarding higher education among adolescents from Hovseter? The limited number of class-crossing social relationships within and, in particular, outside school, as discussed in Chapter 6, can to a certain extent question this. However, the institutional habitus at Hovseter School, in which high achievement and preoccupation with school are the norms, could

affect the pupils' educational choices. Despite distinctive social backgrounds, pupils from Hovseter and Røa share similarities: they find school important but stressful, they value their friends and families' opinions regarding upper-secondary school, and they have dreams and ambitions regarding studies and work, which indicate cultural integration.

8. Summary and conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to explore how youth life unfolds in Hovseter and Røa, two neighbouring areas characterised by social and spatial contrasts. Although Hovseter and Røa are both located in the West End, characterised by its upper-class ethnic majority residents and detached and semi-detached houses, Hovseter is an “enclave” in this geographical area due to its higher share of working-class and ethnic minority residents, tall apartment blocks, and social housing apartments.

Policies on social mix in the Norwegian welfare state has constituted the context for the thesis, in which policymakers aim to counter segregation and encourage social and cultural integration by promoting a diversity of social groups in neighbourhoods. Through the urban area programme *Hovseterløftet*, a youth club was initiated in order to promote social interaction and social bonds between working-class ethnic minority youths from Hovseter and upper-middle-class ethnic majority youths from Røa. By promoting social mixing, policymakers assume that youth with less social and economic resources will benefit from creating social relationships with more resourceful peers. It was this particular context that motivated me to ask how social and spatial differences materialised in the daily lives of youths from Hovseter and Røa, how these differences influenced social interactions and relations, and lastly, how they affected the youths’ perceptions of school and their educational aspirations.

To answer these questions, I engaged in 12 weeks of fieldwork in which I carried out participant observation at the local youth club and secondary school, as well as conducted qualitative interviews with 22 youths. The thesis draws on observational and narrative data, which has been analysed through a broad theoretical framework with emphasis on both spatial and social perspectives. I have used theories and analytical concepts regarding social mix and integration, social class and educational aspirations, and boundary work and place attachment.

In the following paragraphs, I present the main findings before I discuss the thesis’ implications regarding policies on social mix, and give suggestions for further research.

8.1. Social inequalities hinder class-crossing relationships

In the thesis, I firstly asked how social and spatial differences materialised in the daily lives of youth from Hovseter and Røa. I took the opening of the youth club in Hovseter as a point of departure, which had been initiated as part of the urban area programme *Hovseterløftet* in order to promote social interactions and social ties among youths from Hovseter and Røa.

Despite the policymakers and community workers' intention of creating a socially mixed meeting place for all the district's youths, the club mainly attracted working-class ethnic minority youths from Hovseter. Therefore, the club did not manage to build bridging social capital among adolescents from Hovseter and Røa.

I argued that one of the reasons why the youth club was more attractive for youths from Hovseter than their peers from Røa was the differences in their daily life and material conditions. Youths from Hovseter did not attend organised activities, instead they had much free time after school where they hung out with friends in the neighbourhood. Many of the youths stressed a lack of interest in organised activities. In addition, due to economic constraints, many could not afford to participate in these and few families could afford to travel during vacations. Moreover, due to small social housing apartments, many did not have much space for visits. Most of the youths from Røa, on the other hand, participated in organised activities several times a week and had a busier schedule. Their parents could pay for the activities and the equipment needed. When they met with friends, they were often at home at one another's detached or semi detached houses. During vacations, families from Røa travelled abroad or spent time at their cabins.

In the youths' narratives, shared interests were stressed as a reason for choosing friends. Most of the consociate relationships were formed among those who participated in activities together after school, which contributed to homogeneous groups in terms of class and ethnicity since youths from Hovseter and Røa did not take part in the same activities. I argued that the differences in the organisation of daily life and thus how the youths from Hovseter and Røa engaged in few social relationships and lived separate lives was in large part structured by social class.

8.2. Group identity and sense of belonging create homogeneous groups

Departing from the finding that the organisation of daily life was structured around social class, which further contributed to few social relationships between youths from Hovseter and Røa in their spare time, I went on to ask how the social and spatial differences influenced social interactions and relations among the youths. In this, I focused on the youths' narratives regarding the creation of groups and sense of belonging.

At the secondary school, social groups across class and ethnicity were created, in particular among the girls. However, these groups did not transfer to social relationships outside school and did not build bridging social capital.

I argued that, in addition to differences in social class, group identity and sense of belonging played a role in the formation of friendships and groups in Hovseter and Røa. Symbolic boundaries based on class, ethnicity, and residency were drawn among the youths, contributing to the creation of groups. Some of the young adults from Hovseter articulated their sense of belonging to certain groups explicitly, stating that they felt more at ease being with friends with similar economic constraints. Others expressed that they were more comfortable among ethnic minority youths like themselves due to shared experiences of being ethnic minorities.

Differences in social class and ethnicity among youth from Hovseter and Røa were reinforced due to the context, since Hovseter stood out in the West End. Drawing upon Bourdieu's notion of *sense of one's place*, I argued that working-class ethnic minority youths from Hovseter did not feel at ease in the Vestre Aker district or the West End due to the lack of correspondence between habitus and field. Youths from Røa, on the other hand, felt a sense of belonging to their neighbourhood, the district, and the West End. This contributed to the differences in thoughts on future residency: many of the latter considered these areas as proper places to live as adults, whereas many of the youths from Hovseter wanted to move from the West End.

Place was also of importance in the creation of groups, since different places were associated with people. The expression "the West End's East End" illustrates how the youths,

both from Hovseter and Røa, defined Hovseter in relation to its surroundings. Although youths from Hovseter rarely met prejudices related to their residency when they met people from other areas in Oslo, they experienced some territorial stigmatisation within the Vestre Aker district. Moreover, I found that one of the reasons why some of the youths from Røa did not want to visit the youth club was because it was considered a place for the working-class ethnic minority youths from Hovseter, a place youths from Røa did not feel they belonged.

8.3. Equally preoccupied with school despite different preconditions

After having analysed the daily life of youths from Hovseter and Røa, how they created groups and their feeling of belonging to peers and places, I went on to ask how the social and spatial differences in Hovseter and Røa affected the youths' perceptions of school and their educational aspirations.

I found that the majority of the youths were preoccupied with school and were high achievers. The institutional habitus of Hovseter School was influenced by the high share of upper-middle-class pupils from Røa, contributing to a norm of valuing academic work which benefited youths both from Hovseter and Røa in regard to cultural integration. Youths from Røa were rich in cultural capital, which they benefited from in their institutional experience. They were at ease within the institution, and many discussed issues about school and the choice of upper-secondary education with their parents. I found that even though the working-class pupils did not have the same preconditions as their upper-middle-class peers, some of the working-class ethnic minority pupils were encouraged and influenced by their parents and siblings to work hard at school and to pursue higher education.

In the choice of upper-secondary school, youths from Hovseter were concerned about the choice of track and less preoccupied with which school they wanted to apply to. Several of the youths from Hovseter considered the vocational track as an option, and around half of the young adults I met at the club were enrolled in a vocational programme. This was not the case for the youths from Røa. They were confident about their choice of the academic track and many already knew that they wanted to pursue higher education. Pupils from Røa were more concerned about

the type of school, and many preferred a school rich in cultural capital rather than economic capital. Among some of the ethnic minority youths, however, multiethnic upper-secondary schools were considered attractive.

8.4. Implications for social mix policies

Urban area programmes have been initiated in Norway as well as in other European and North-American countries in order to solve challenges related to poverty, social problems, and residential segregation among ethnic minorities. Through changing both spatial and social structures within an area, the aim is to improve the living conditions and counteract negative neighbourhood effects. Moreover, policymakers hope to improve the area's reputation and to make it more attractive in order to prevent "resourceful" residents from moving from the neighbourhood and to increase the same group of people to move to the area. By increasing social mix within the neighbourhoods, policymakers assume, among other things, that social capital and role model effects will be encouraged. In Hovseter, the creation of a youth club through the urban area programme *Hovseterløftet* was in line with these policies.

The findings of this thesis illustrate that the objectives behind urban area programmes do not necessarily materialise. Social inequalities are difficult to overcome, and neither the school, the youth club nor the proximity in geographical space have managed to promote bridging social capital among adolescents from Hovseter and Røa, despite the context of current social mix policies, the Norwegian welfare state and the large presence of upper-middle-class residents.

Although the thesis describes youth life in Hovseter and Røa, which is a specific and to some extent unique context in Oslo, it might also demonstrate some of the general challenges regarding Norwegian social mix policies. I argue that the case of Hovseter and Røa can shed light on current policies of social mix and Norwegian urban area programmes, and suggest some possible implications below.

The study illustrates that social class and economic constraints of residents must be taken into considerations in developing social mix policies. When confronted with spatial and material structures and contrasts of the scale and importance found at Hovseter and Røa, social mix

policies seem to have limitations. The ways in which symbolic boundary-drawing and stigmatisation based on class and residency hindered social integration indicate that social mix policies, in order to achieve the articulated aims, must be supplemented with policies on, amongst other things, social welfare, housing and urban planning.

Although this thesis demonstrates challenges with social mix policies and their effects, it is important to acknowledge that many of the urban area initiatives have been beneficial for the residents. At Hovseter, the youth club has become an important meeting place for adolescents from Hovseter. The social mix at the school facilitated some crossing social networks, and the institutional habitus contributed to norms of valuing academic work which benefited youths from both Hovseter and Røa. Moreover, youths from Hovseter and Røa explicitly said that they valued social diversity. This indicates that despite the limits of social mix policies, the emphasis on creating mixed neighborhoods and schools can still contribute to a mutual perception of social and ethnic differences as a resource in society at large.

Social mix policies in Norway currently draw upon studies from the East End in Oslo in defining their means and ends. In the work of this thesis, I have found that results from studies on working-class ethnic minority youths from the East End do not necessarily apply to the working-class ethnic minority youths from Hovseter and Røa. Despite similar social and economic experiences, the different contexts of the areas and schools result in different social processes. Therefore, policies regarding youth, social mix, and integration call for contextualised means.

8.5. Suggestions for further research

Little previous research has been done on analysing the potential effects of the Norwegian urban area programmes' initiatives and strategies. The findings of this thesis indicate that the objectives behind these programmes do not necessarily materialise. This illustrates that policymakers are in need of a larger critical knowledge base that could be used to discuss the aims of area-based initiatives and the tools used to accomplish them.

This thesis has contributed to a broader understanding of youths in Oslo and illustrates the importance of studying those who live in the West End. If one was to undertake further studies on Hovseter and Røa, several questions would be of interest. Further research could have followed this study's participants, examining their choice of upper-secondary school as well as education and/or career, and to analyse how the social mix in Hovseter and Røa potentially affected their (young) adult selves. Another question for further studies is how adult residents in Hovseter and Røa live together in diversity and how and where social interaction and networks between them unfold. Because of the the way in which the school encouraged some social ties across class and ethnicity among the youths, one could ask whether the institution also provoked interaction among the parents.

Finally, I argue that it is important to discuss academically the underlying aims of social mix policies and the discourses behind, which can be criticised for constructing the middle class as a normative ideal and defining what it takes to be considered socially and culturally integrated.

After conducting an extensive research project on Furuset, a multi-ethnic area in Oslo's East End, Eriksen (in Herbjørnsrud, 2019) argues that Furuset can say something about the complexity he believes Norway will face during the 2020s and beyond in terms of social inequalities and ethnic diversity. As this may be the case for many areas in Oslo, in particular its eastern parts, I argue that the findings from Hovseter and Røa might in some aspects be more illustrative of social processes within areas where working-class and minority ethnic groups constitute a minority amidst a middle-class and ethnic majority. With this, I stress how further research on Hovseter and Røa, along with other areas of similar social and spatial contrasts, could prove to be valuable sources for understanding processes related to social mix and integration, social class and educational aspirations, as well as boundary work and place attachment.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Introduksjon

- Først av alt, kan du si hva du har gjort så langt denne uka/helgen?
- Hva skal du gjøre etter skolen i dag?
- Planer for helgen?

Fritid, interesser, venner, osv.

- Hva liker du å gjøre i fritiden?
 - o Er du aktiv i idrett eller andre foreninger? Hvis ja, hvilke? Hvorfor akkurat denne?
 - o Annet: kino, tv/netflix, tv/dataspill, konserter, bøker, apper, shopping, fester?
- Bruker du ungdomshuset B7?
 - o Hvis ja, hva synes du om B7? Hvem pleier du å være der med?
 - o Hvis nei, hvorfor ikke? Hvem pleier å være på B7 tror du?
- Kan du fortelle meg om vennene dine?
 - o Hvem de er, hvordan du ble kjent med dem, hvor de bor, hva du liker med dem?
 - o Hva gjør dere sammen, hvor er det dere pleier å henge?
 - o Har du med venner hjem/drar hjem til vennene dine?
- Hva pleier du å gjøre i ferier?
 - o Hva gjorde du i sommerferien? Høstferien?
- Har familien din hytte/hytter?
- Er du ofte sammen med familien din? Hva gjør dere sammen?
- Hjelper du til med noe hjemme? (Barnepass, innkjøp, rydding og vasking, etc.)
- Har du kjæreste/har du hatt kjæreste før?
 - o I så fall, hvor møttes dere? Hvor lenge var/har dere vært sammen?
- Er du religiøs?
 - o Hvis ja, hvilken rolle spiller din religion i livet ditt?

Bolig og nabolag

- Hvor bor du og hvem bor du sammen med?
- Hvor lenge har du bodd der?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive stedet du bor?
 - o Det fysiske/arkitektoniske, menneskene som bor der, etc.
- Hva liker du ved stedet?
- Hva liker du mindre?
- Føler du at du "hører til" der du bor? Hvorfor, hvorfor ikke?

- Har du venner som bor i området der du bor, eller bor de andre steder? I så fall hvor?
- Pleier du/familien din å være sammen med naboene?
- Hvordan vil du beskrive områdene rundt Hovseter skole? Er det en forskjell mellom Hovseter/Røa/Holmen/Bogstad og på folkene som bor der? Forskjell på deg og de som bor i de andre områdene?
- Hvordan tror du Hovseter og Røa blir oppfattet av andre i Oslo? Er det forskjell?

Skoleliv

- Beskriv hvordan det er å gå på Hovseter skole.
- Hva liker du best?
- Hva liker du minst?
- Kan du beskrive klassen du går i for meg?
 - Er de andre i klassen ”lik” deg eller annerledes enn deg?
- Hva gjør du i friminuttene? Hvem er du sammen med?
- Hva synes du om å gjøre lekser?
- Skulker du? Hva synes du om andre som skulker?
- Er du opptatt av å gjøre det bra på skolen og få gode karakterer? Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- Er foreldrene dine opptatte av skolearbeidet ditt?
 - o Snakker dere om skolen hjemme? Hjelper de til med lekser?

Fremtidsvisjoner

- Hvilken linje og hvilken videregående skole har du lyst til å søke på? Hvorfor?
 - o Snakker du med foreldrene dine om dette?
- Har du tenkt på hva du har lyst til å gjøre etter videregående?
- Har du gjort deg noen tanker om hva du kunne tenke deg å jobbe med når du blir eldre?
- Har du noen rollemodeller? Begrunn.
- Har du tenkt noe på om hvor du har lyst til å bo når du flytter hjemmefra?
- Har du lyst på familie?
 - o I så fall, hvordan skal din kone/mann være?
- Kan du beskrive hvordan du tror/ønsker at ditt liv ser ut om når du er 30 år?
 - o Hva gjør du, hvor bor du, hvem er du sammen med? Hva drømmer du om skal skje?

Helt til sist

- Er det noe som engasjerer deg for tiden?
- Er det noe du bekymrer deg over?

Appendix 2: Personal information sheet

PERSONLIGE OPPLYSNINGER

Utfylles av informant og oppbevares separat

- Navn:
- Adresse:
- Alder og kjønn:
- Sivilstatus:
- Landbakgrunn og etnisk bakgrunn (fødeland og foreldres fødeland):
- Antall evt. søsken og søskens alder:
- Utdannelse:
- Eventuell jobb/sommerjobb:
- Faste fritidsaktiviteter/medlemskap i organisasjoner:
- Telefonnummer/e-post:

Foreldre

- Mors utdannelse:
- Fars utdannelse:
- Mors yrke:
- Fars yrke:

Bolig

- Type bolig (leilighet, enebolig, rekkehus):
- Antall rom i boligen:
- Har du eget rom?
- Eier eller leier dere boligen?
- Hvem bor du sammen med? (foreldre, søsken, øvrig familie)

Appendix 3: Information sheet and consent form

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet “Ungdomsliv i Oslo”?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskningsprosjekt hvor formålet er å forstå hvordan det er å være ungdom i Oslo og på Hovseter i dag. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål og metode

Jeg vil studere hvordan unge her på Hovseter/Røa-området lever sine liv. Hva gjør du på fritiden? Om du går på skolen, hvordan er det? Hva ønsker du å jobbe med? For å få kunnskap om dette, vil jeg snakke med ungdom og personer som jobber med unge her. Samtalene kan enten finne sted gjennom et avtalt intervju mellom oss, eller når jeg er sammen med dere – såkalt «deltakende observasjon.» Den deltakende observasjonen vil finne sted på Hovseter/i nærområdet i det offentlige rom, på ungdomsklubben, skolen og hjemme hos ungdom som inviterer meg hjem. Jeg vil observere hvilke aktiviteter dere holder på med, hvem dere er sammen med, hva dere gjør sammen med andre, både jevnaldrende, voksne og familie. Underveis i den deltakende observasjonen vil jeg stille spørsmål omkring deres fritidsaktiviteter, boligsituasjon, nabolaget, skoleforhold, familieforhold, vennskap, fremtidsutsikter og ambisjoner. Spørsmålene vil ligne på de som stilles i intervjuene og som står oppført i intervjuguiden. Jeg vil også spørre dere om deres etnisitet/tilhørighet og religion i den deltakende observasjonen.

Dette prosjektet er en del av min masteroppgave i sosiologi ved Universitetet i Oslo. I tillegg til masteroppgaven vil jeg skrive en vitenskapelig artikkel om ungdomslivene her – kanskje sammen min veileder. Sammen med min veileder, deltar jeg også i prosjektet «Et sted å være ung» som er med på å utvikle tilbudet til ungdom på Hovseter (som B7). Vi jobber særlig med å få ungdom til selv å bidra til å utvikle disse tilbudene. Informasjonen som kommer frem i mitt prosjekt, vil kunne brukes for å hjelpe oss i dette arbeidet med å gi ungdom et enda bedre tilbud her på Hovseter/i nærmiljøet.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Jeg studerer ved Universitetet i Oslo og er med på prosjektet «Et sted å være ung» som ledes fra Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet (AFI) ved OsloMet. AFI er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Du får spørsmål om å delta fordi du er bosatt her på Hovseter/Røa-området. Eller fordi du jobber med unge her (som ansatt på skolen, i bydelsadministrasjonen eller politiet).

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

- Om du ønsker å delta i prosjektet, kan det være at jeg stiller deg noen spørsmål mens vi prater og at jeg noen ganger vil notere hva som sies når vi er sammen. Det kan også være at jeg vil spørre deg om å stille opp til et frivillig intervju. Et intervju vil ta deg rundt en time. Intervjuet kan være alene eller sammen med andre. Jeg vil også spørre deg om du vil fylle ut et skjema med personopplysninger. Det er helt frivillig å fylle ut skjemaet, men det vil hjelpe meg/oss til å analysere dataene som samles inn. Hvis det er greit for deg, vil jeg også ta opp intervjuet på båndopptaker. Jeg vil også ta notater mens vi prater.
- Hvis du er foresatt til en jeg skal prate med, sender jeg deg gjerne spørsmålene/intervjuguiden på forhånd. Bare kontakt meg på telefon eller e-post (se under).

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg. Om du er elev ved Hovseter skole, vil det ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg og ditt forhold til skolen/lærer om du trekker deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

- Foruten meg vil min veileder ved OsloMet ha tilgang til nedskrevne intervjuer og relevante persondata slik at vi sammen kan skrive en vitenskapelig artikkel. Mine veiledere (ved OsloMet og Universitetet i Oslo) og jeg vil også diskutere oppgaven og feltarbeidet, men uten å gå inn på hvem som har sagt hva.
- Alle data om deg vil bli lagret på et innelåst kontor og digitale filer vil lages på en sikker forskningsserver.
- Om du samtykker (ved å krysse av nedenfor), vil vi også bruke informasjonen fra intervjuet/samtalene i arbeidet med å utvikle tilbud til unge/ungdom på Hovseter/bydelen. Dette vil eventuelt kun gjelde utdrag fra vårt intervju/samtale der vi snakker om det lokale ungdomstilbudet. Det er da relevant å vite alder, kjønn og etnisk bakgrunn til den som har sagt hva, men ikke ditt navn eller andre identifiserende opplysninger.

I oppgaven og artikkel vil vi oppgi Hovseter som stedet studien ble gjennomført, men ingen personer/individer vil kunne gjenkjennes.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 1. juni 2020, deretter vil vi lagre dataene/personopplysningene ett år til (til 1. juni 2021) for å skrive artikler. Deretter vil personopplysningene om deg slettes og datamaterialet vil bli anonymisert, men bevart på en forskningsserver ved OsloMet for videre forskning/oppfølgingsstudier.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet ved OsloMet har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet ved OsloMet ved Bengt Andersen, tlf: 99 74 68 39, e-post: bengt.andersen@oslomet.no eller Helle Dyrendahl Staven, tlf: 48 35 36 29, e-post: h.d.staven@sosgeo.uio.no
- Vårt personvernombud: *Ingrid S. Jacobsen* ved OsloMet: ingridj@oslomet.no
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Med vennlig hilsen

Bengt Andersen
Prosjektansvarlig
(Forsker/veileder)

Helle Dyrendahl Staven
Student

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet *Ungdomsliv i Oslo*, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- at mitt barn eller han/hun jeg er foresatt for, deltar i deltakende observasjoner i undervisning, friminutt og andre arenaer
- at mitt barn eller han/hun jeg er foresatt for, deltar i intervju
- at mitt barn eller han/hun jeg er foresatt for, deltar i gruppeintervju
- at mitt barns eller han/hun jeg er foresatt for sine personopplysninger lagres i et år etter prosjektslutt til å skrive vitenskapelig artikkel
- at relevant informasjon kan deles med prosjektet «Et sted å være ung» for å styrke arbeidet med å utvikle tilbud til unge/ungdom her på Hovseter/i nærmiljøet (beskrevet/avgrenset under punkt 3, under «Ditt personvern» over)

Jeg samtykker til at mitt barns eller han/hun jeg er foresatt for sine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. *1. juni 2020*

(Signert av forelder/foresatt, dato)

Forelder/foresatt til _____ i klasse _____

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet *Ungdomsliv i Oslo*, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

- å delta i intervju
- å delta i fokusgruppeintervju
- å delta i deltakende observasjoner
- at mine personopplysninger lagres i et år etter prosjektslutt til å skrive vitenskapelig artikkel
- at relevant informasjon kan deles med prosjektet «Et sted å være ung» for å styrke arbeidet med å utvikle tilbud til unge/ungdom her på Hovseter/i nærmiljøet (beskrevet/avgrenset under punkt 3, under «Ditt personvern» over)

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. *1. juni 2020*

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)