Women's Perceived (Un)safety:

A nexus between Encounters, (In)visibility and Belonging

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Abstract

This thesis explores the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety in Stockholm. Because of Sweden's reputation as safe, there has been a concerning lack of research on women's safety in Sweden's capital, which this research seeks to address through its focus on women's perceived (un)safety in three neighbourhoods: Hammarby Sjöstad, Kista and Husby.

This thesis makes three original contributions: methodological, empirical, and conceptual. First, the research developed a unique methodological approach consisting of walking interviews, relief maps and focus groups, all conducted remotely during the Covid-19 pandemic. The strength of these methods accumulated when used in combination, forming a creative approach to explore the intersectional complexities of women's perceived (un)safety. The research process was conducted with 16 differently-situated women, 5 from Hammarby Sjöstad and Kista, and 6 from Husby. Beyond its input to studies on women's safety, this study's methodological innovations contribute to discussions surrounding remote methodologies.

This thesis offers a unique empirical analysis of women's perceived (un)safety in understudied neighbourhoods. The findings move us beyond preliminary discussions of "Swedish" women's fears of "immigrant" men, proving more complex than Sweden's international reputation would imply, and previous quantitative research has suggested. This study pushes us to consider the intersectional nature of "Swedish" and "immigrant" women's fears and its entwinement with local and national structures of belonging. This empirical study is hence at once unique but simultaneously improves understandings of women's (un)safety in other Scandinavian contexts.

Finally, it offers a new conceptual framework in order to better gauge women's perceptions. This framework, centred around notions of (in)visibility and intersectionality, synthesises two scholarships: interactionist theories, and encounters literatures. The study underscores the significance of encounters in shaping how women's perceived (un)safety is experienced. It also contributes to intersectional understandings through considering how these processes vary amongst differently-situated women within and between different neighbourhoods.

Dedications and Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to my Grandparents, Grandma Joanie and Ba-Ba, Grandma Sheila and John.

It's been nearly four years now since I first moved to Newcastle and begun my master's in preparation for beginning the PhD. At the risk of sounding cliché, the last four years have been such a journey in so many respects, all of which I am incredibly grateful for, and feel fortunate to have had. I couldn't be more grateful for the people that I have met on the way, and the experiences that have accompanied this process.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction: The Importance of Women's Everyday Encounters

The past few years have been marked by renewed attention to the issue of women's safety in public space, largely owing to the high-profile murder of Sarah Everard (Bhattacharyya, 2021; Lowerson, 2022; Stöckl & Quigg, 2021). In the Spring of 2021, the British media was flooded with CTTV footage showing Everard encountering her perpetrator, Wayne Couzens, in Clapham Common, London (See: Figure 1). Her death sparked nationwide and international conversations, focused on the final moments of her encounter, and more broadly, prompting overdue discussions on women's safety in the public realm. In the short-term, the advice that followed, encouraged women to avoid public space as announced by London Metropolitan Police who warned female residents of Clapham to not go out alone. In the long-term however, women were asked to be increasingly vigilant as stated by Philip Allot (North Yorkshire Police Commissioner) who urged women to become more 'streetwise'. Gendered advisories, such as these, are far from uncommon: a survey of previous police and state advisories confirm that women have been long expected to take action to avoid unwanted harassment, leaving the behaviours of perpetrators, unproblematised and unaddressed (See: Gardner, 1990; Lennox, 2021; Nicholls, 2017; Stanko, 1990; Rader, 2008; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). It was instead Cressida Dick's (Commissioner of Police of Metropolis) subsequent address that captured my attention, drawing attention to aspects of women's perceived (un)safety in public space that have been wrongly overlooked in public and academic discourse. Addressing the women of the UK, she announced, "It is entirely reasonable for you [women] to seek further reassurance of that officer's identity and intention". For Dick, it was somehow Sarah Everard at fault for misjudging the potential threat of Wayne Couzens upon her initial encounter, despite Sarah 'doing everything right'. Whilst Dick's statement similarly spoke to the individual responsibilisation of women's safety, it more importantly underscored the ways in which women are encouraged to make a series of judgements on the potential threat of any passers-by, implicit in Allot's encouragement to remain 'streetwise'.
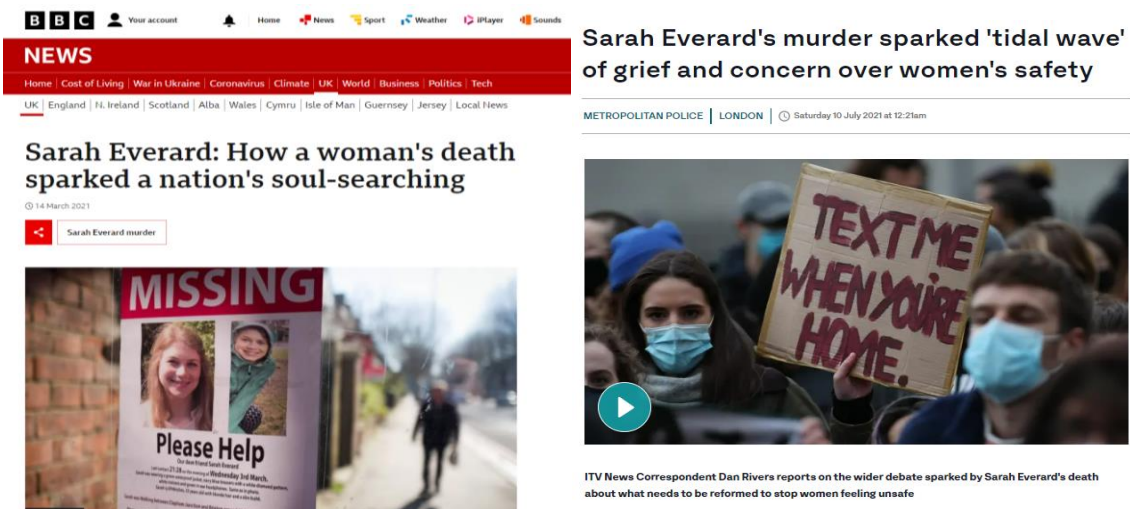
Figure 1: Articles on Sarah Everard's Murder, BBC (left), ITV (Right)

Albeit lesser discussed in public and academic discourse, women are encouraged to pre-empt threat through the use of stereotypes to judge strangers encountered (Biernat, 2003; Roy & Bailey, 2021). Vera-Gray & Kelly (2020, 226) for example, explore how women develop an attuned sense of their surrounding environment and those within it, drawing on a risk template to evaluate the safest way to proceed. These rapid judgements are premised on different non-verbal and embodied cues including passers-by's appearance, behaviour, and body language (Gardner, 1990; Roy & Bailey, 2021). In the absence of other information, these cues are used to ascertain passers-by's perceived threat, subsequently informing how women adjust themselves. It is hence here that I make a distinction between women's (un)safety and perceived (un)safety as despite their interconnection, the latter shall remain the focus of this thesis due to my interest in processes of evaluation during women's encounters within public space (Fileborn, 2016).

I have used Sarah Everard's murder and the advice that followed, to highlight the importance of these processes of judgement for women's perceived (un)safety, given it is during these extreme moments where they are rendered hyper-visible (Brekhus, 2003; Haldrup, Koefoed & Simonsen, 2006). The attention of this thesis, however, shall be confined to women's perceived (un)safety during their everyday encounters in public space, which dominate their daily life, yet remain lesser discussed in academic and public discourse. Despite my initial focus on the UK context, I shall explore women's everyday encounters across three neighbourhoods in Stockholm, Sweden, arguing that public and academic attention has gone wrongly amiss, diverted to seemingly more dangerous Western European metropolises including London, the site of Sarah Everard's death. Drawing this together, this thesis seeks to argue that

understanding women's perceptions of (un)safety during their daily encounters shall help formulate better-informed strategies which will facilitate women's right to the city, both in Sweden and beyond (Roy & Bailey, 2021).

Against this backdrop, this chapter will provide an overview of this study's unique conceptual, empirical, and methodological approach. In the absence of detailed Swedish scholarship, it will first review earlier Anglo-American literatures on women's perceived (un)safety where I shall highlight their theoretical gaps, underscoring the need for a new conceptual framework. Section 1.3 will turn to two particularly important parts of this framework, examining broader literatures on (in)visibility and intersectionality. These emerge as key tenets of this study's overarching conceptual approach which broadly draws from interactionist and encounters scholarship. Following theoretical and conceptual discussions, section 1.4 will explore this study's empirical context, setting out the rationale for its focus on Sweden and Stockholm specifically, focused on women's encounters across three neighbourhoods. After discussing my conceptual and empirical contributions, section 1.5 shall outline my methodological approach that emerges as the third and final original contribution. In this section, I shall review current methodological approaches in studies on women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden, subsequently justifying my three-stage qualitative research process consisting of walking interviews, relief maps and focus groups. Whilst the sections in this introduction shall mostly draw on studies that address women's perceived (un)safety, subsequent chapters shall adopt a broader lens, drawing on bodies of work beyond the field of women's safety, with the aim to better understand women's everyday encounters in relation to their intersectional perceived (un)safety. With this in mind, this chapter will close by introducing the research questions whilst summarising its theoretical, empirical, and methodological originality, before outlining the structure for the remainder of the thesis.

1.2. Theoretical Gaps

1.2.1. Women's perceived (un)safety in public space

Before proceeding, it is important to note that the literatures drawn upon in the next sections mostly derive from the UK and US, despite this study's focus on the Swedish context. The reason for this focus stems from the absence of detailed research on women's perceived (un)safety in Stockholm and Sweden generally, an aspect that shall be further explored within the empirical section of this chapter, underscoring the significance of this study's contextual

focus (See: 1.4). For now, however, our attention shall turn to the current mainstream scholarship on women's perceived (un)safety in Western European and North American contexts which lay the foundations for our theoretical understandings and conceptual framework.

The fact that women express a greater sense of unsafety than men has been well established across extant research (Lupton, 1999; Pain, 1991; Valentine, 1992). Whilst several explanations are proposed, Brownmiller's (1975) shadow of sexual assault hypothesis provides the most convincing argument, positing that women's fear of sexual harassment and in particular, rape underpin their higher fears. Research indicates that women are particularly fearful within public space despite the fact that most incidents occur in the home by individuals known to them (Koskela & Pain, 2000; Lupton, 1999; Stanko, 1990; Whitzman, 2007). To better understand this spatial 'paradox', feminist geographers highlight the gendered division of space where women are socialised to understand the home as a "haven of safety" (Valentine, 1992, 24; Campbell, 2005; Kern, 2005). The public realm, however, is understood to be policed by men, where the broader threats of sexual harassment and violence are seen to remind women of their lack of belonging. This thesis is hence predominantly confined to women's encounters in public space, given their heightened sense of unsafety (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Before proceeding however, it is important to note that feminist scholar Carolyn Whitzman (2007) has made repeated calls to look beyond constructed dichotomies between safe private and dangerous public spaces, leading her to conceptualise these spaces as mutually conditioned. Revisiting our previous statement, this thesis shall hence continue to focus on women's encounters in public space, whilst remaining conscious of the ways in which their encounters are entangled with their perceptions and experiences within and across public realms.

1.2.2. Within public space: identifying "dangerous places and people"

Against this backdrop, feminist geographer Gill Valentine has explored how women engage in boundary-making processes through attaching fear to particular places and people in order to maintain an illusion of control over their safety in public space (Valentine, 1989, 171; Koskela & Pain, 2000). Turning to its spatial aspects, women are understood to associate fear with particular micro-environments, focused on the dangers of "high-rise environments" (Gifford, 2007; Newman, 1972) and "public transport nodes", to name a few (Ceccato, 2012; Uittenboogard & Ceccato, 2012). Descriptions of unsafe 'micro-spaces' are often followed by

4

brief explanations which make superficial references to their physical characteristics including their weak illumination and limited visibility (See: Hale, 1996; Lupton, 1999; Painter, 1996). Similarly homogenising modes of thinking can be identified at a larger scale where entire neighbourhoods are myopically cast as "safe" or "unsafe" with most accounts focused on their social characteristics, examining the dangers of 'low-income' or 'ethnic-minority' communities (Day, Stump & Carreon, 2003).

After having briefly addressed its spatial dimensions, I shall turn to the latter clause of Valentine's assertion, where certain groups are positioned as "threatening" for women depending on their social identity (Pain, 2001; Schuermans, 2011). Race in particular, emerges as a strong predictor of women's fears, where women are understood to fear men of colour due to stereotypes of criminality and hyper-sexuality (Chapple et al., 2017; Day et al., 2003; Gordon & Riger, 1989; Pain, 2001; Valentine, 1989). For women of colour specifically, their fears are structured by race yet in a more complex manner, where concerns of sexual assault are accompanied by fears of racial harassment (Day et al., 2003; Madriz, 1997; Pain, 2001). Alongside these discussions, an emerging yet lesser-developed body of work addresses the significance of social class. More than two decades ago, Madriz (1997, 347) reflects on her participants' insights, "Criminals are 'new immigrants' – a code-word for dark-skinned immigrants – and are lazy, poor dirty, wanting to live off of others, garbage, on welfare". Whilst this statement begins to recognise crucial interlinkages between racialised and classed stereotypes (See: 1.2.3), our attention here focuses on Madriz's discussion of class and more specifically, women's fears of the working-class other. Recent work has surprisingly failed to expand on women's fears of working-class men and instead, remains focused on the relationship between social class and the notion of respectability. Beverley Skeggs' (1997, 2005) work is particularly active in this discussion, noting the ways in which middle-class women are seen as less deserving of sexual harassment owing to their greater respectability (Vaadal, 2020). Working-class women, however, are often seen to dress and behave in an indecent manner, rendering them more vulnerable to subsequent harassment from men of colour or working-class men (Madriz, 1997; Sandberg, 2011). Whilst this study shall focus on racialised and class-based processes, other identity categorisations - including age and sexual orientation - have also captured scholarly attention in relation to women's perceived (un)safety (See: Pain, 1997, for discussions of age, Valentine, 1993, for discussions of sexual

orientation). These bodies of work are beyond the scope of this thesis yet are worthy of note for future studies.

The reader may be surprised by the brevity of this section, yet its aim was not to provide a comprehensive overview of women's fears of particular places and people, given this thesis makes the argument that these remain specific to the individual in question and hence, will be explored in the following chapters. Instead, the purpose of the prior paragraphs was to underscore the ways in which women's fears have been largely discussed through a dichotomised lens where particular places and people are consistently cast as dangerous for 'vulnerable' women.

1.2.3. Within public space: responding to "dangerous places and people"

In response to their fears of particular places and people, women are understood to undertake what is known as "safety work", largely defined as the development of routine, planned practices as a means of negotiating one's perceived (un)safety (Edwards & Maxwell, 2021; Gilow, 2015; Vaadal, 2020; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). One of the most common practices is place-avoidance, what Valentine (1992, 85) frames as the "spatial expression of the patriarchy" given the male dominance of public space is subsequently maintained (Stanko, 1990). Other strategies operate directly on women's bodies, these include remaining vigilant and alert, or adapting one's appearance, body language and clothing, to name a few (Nicholls, 2017; Vera-Gray, 2018; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Implicit in these responses is the underlying notion that women must take individual responsibility when faced with threat and are subsequently blamed if their 'safety work' fails, as encapsulated by Madriz's ground-breaking book, "Nothing bad happens to good girls" (Nicholls, 2017, 262; Fileborn, 2016; Skeggs 1997; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Taken together, the scholarship on women's perceived (un)safety has tended to follow a similar pattern, examining how women experience and negotiate their safety within overarching patriarchal structures. An interplay between structural considerations and individual action is hence at the heart of women's perceived (un)safety in public space and will hence form the basis of this study.

Research on women's perceived (un)safety has been increasingly critiqued for essentialising gender, and in doing so, associating femininity only with fearfulness and ignoring other intersecting factors including their race, class, and place of residence, for example. For the question of safety work for example, recent studies have mostly focused on its effectiveness,

whether it mitigates gendered risks (See: Nicholls, 2017; Vera-Gray, 2018; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020) or diminishes their fears (See: Fileborn, 2016; Starkweather, 2007). Absent is any consideration of the ways in which the type and nature of safety work may vary amongst differently-situated women in diverse contexts. Instead, the same 'safety work' is assumed for all women, whether it be the undertaking of certain bodily strategies or the avoidance of particular places. Conscious of this omission, Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020, 225) conclude their chapter, "With the importance of an intersectional approach in mind, more attention is needed in research and practice to understand the full extent and range of women's embodied safety work". Beyond discussions of women's 'safety work', Vera-Gray and Kelly's (2020) critique resonates with the women's safety scholarship as a whole, marred by its limited intersectional considerations, where similar people and places are presumed to be feared by all women, and the same safety work undertaken in response (Greenberg-Raanan & Avni, 2020; Koskela, 1997; Pain, 2001). Whilst section 1.4 shall outline the general tenets of this study's intersectional approach, the attention of the next section shall focus on the use of intersectional frameworks in current studies on women's perceived (un)safety, the likes of which have begun to make better progress in recognising the complex nature of women's perceived (un)safety in public space.

1.2.4. Intersectional studies

Since its emergence in the black feminist movement (Crenshaw, 1991), intersectional theories have been used in research on women's perceived (un)safety to explore how different aspects of social identity work together in distinct ways to determine the nature and geography of their fear (Day, 1999; Listerborn, 2015; Pain, 2001). To date however, there are only two prominent examples of studies of women's fear of crime using an intersectional lens. Madriz (1997) uses focus groups to investigate how perceptions of (un)safety affect the lives of women residing in America (Jackson, 2016). Informed by an intersectional framework, her findings point to the ways in which participants consistently envisage poor men of colour as criminals, whilst white, middle-class women are mostly cast as victims (Jackson, 2016, 12; Madriz, 1997). The second example emerges from Day (1999) whose study draws on interviews with white, black, and Hispanic women in California, exploring their fear of crime in public areas. Justifying the need for an intersectional lens, Day (1999) argues that a person's gender, race, or class alone cannot explain their fear of crime. Combined, their use of intersectional frameworks begins to recognise the complex nature of women's perceived

(un)safety through exploring how differently-situated women experience and negotiate their safety in a myriad of ways (Edwards & Maxwell, 2021; Jackson, Harris & Valentine, 2017). This process, however, has mostly been examined from the perspectives of racially and economically marginalised women (Gordon & Riger, 1989; Madriz, 1997; Stanko, 1990), with very little work addressing interlocking systems of privilege and oppression with respect to fear of violence (Kern, 2005, 358). Whilst the intersectionality of women's perceived (un)safety shall remain a key focus of this research, this study shall further develop existing limited work through bringing discussion of privilege into a realm that has traditionally focused on systems of oppression in order to gauge relations of dominance between women (Kern, 2005, 358).

The above studies can be used to understand the general tenets of women's perceived (un)safety and for this reason, will be drawn upon throughout the following chapters. However, they fall short in exploring how these processes come into being during women's everyday encounters. Lacking from these studies is any consideration of how differently-situated women negotiate their perceived (un)safety during their encounters through a series of judgements. The most promising development towards furthering our understandings of women's encounters is made by Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) and Kern (2005) through their discussions of (in)visibility. The notion of (in)visibility will emerge as a central concept in this research, providing the foundations for an improved understanding of women's perceived (un)safety in public space. For this reason, the next section shall turn to current conceptions of (in)visibility within studies on women's perceived (un)safety before turning to its broader scholarship.

1.3. New Conceptual Framework:

1.3.1: (In)visibility: within women's perceived (un)safety

Examining women's perceptions in public space, Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) engage with the notion of (in)visibility, pushing beyond more conventional discussions of natural surveillance, lighting and (in)visibility in earlier women's safety literatures (See: 1.2.2). Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020, 270) instead argue that experiences of harassment serve to produce feelings of unbelonging, heightened by what they term an "inescapable gendered visibility" in public space (Vera-Gray & Fileborn, 2018; Roy & Bailey, 2021). They proceed to explore how women actively navigate this sense of unbelonging through their 'safety work'. These adaptations are

understood to respond to an overarching gendered message that "Women need to be less - less vocal, less *visible*, less free" in order to feel safe (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020, 218, italics). To a certain extent, their commentaries align with earlier discussions, interested in how women experience and negotiate their perceived (un)safety in public space, yet their focus on (in)visibility begins to imbue these processes with a sense of dynamism, through underscoring how these processes emerge during women's everyday navigation of public space.

Kern (2005)'s study in Toronto follows a similar trajectory to Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) albeit with a more exceptional focus on white, middle-class women. Whilst sexual harassment may occur, Kern explains that their identities as white, middle-class Canadians mostly places them within the 'norm'. For these women, their identities are constructed as invisible in that they "do not serve as markers of difference" and are hence read as belonging in most spaces (Kern, 2005, 368). When these same women move through non-white spaces, she notes that they perceive themselves as visible and attempt to not to stand out, through dressing conservatively or avoiding "looking lost", for example (Kern, 2005, 368; Stanko, 1990). Through their analysis, these feminist scholars successfully claim (in)visibility as a pivotal concept in understanding women's perceived (un)safety during everyday encounters, both in terms of overarching gendered structures and their subsequent agency in managing their (in)visibility. Despite this promising start, neither deeply engage with the notion and hence, leave the relationship with ambiguous, instantaneous processes of judgement, largely unexplored.

1.3.2: (In)visibility: further afield

Whilst (in)visibility has received limited attention in women's safety studies, a more developed body of work exists beyond this field, focused on relationships between (in)visibility and sexual orientation (See: Corteen, 2002; Mason, 2001; Nicholls, 2017) and migration and racialisation (See: Baird, 2014; Guðjónsdóttir, 2014; Mas Giralt, 2011; Juul, 2014; Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014; Nagel & Staeheli, 2008). Across this scholarship, (in)visibility is approached in a myriad of ways, in the context of everyday encounters (Guðjónsdóttir 2014; Toivanen 2014), organised public events (Juul, 2014), media debates (Huhta, 2014) and institutional-level discussions (Baird, 2014; Gruss, 2019). Given this study's focus on women's encounters, our attention is mostly confined to the former body of work which takes forward Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) and Kern's (2005) engagement with embodied (in)visibility (Mas-Giralt, 2011). In

this field, (in)visibility can be understood as concerned with how one is made visible to, and thus, read by others during encounters (Nicholls, 2017, 262; Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014).

Considerations of (in)visibility have been identified as key in processes of risk management amongst non-heterosexual or racialised communities, with previous research usefully exploring the ways in which minority individuals manage their own bodies to hide visible markers in attempt to minimise the risk of homophobic or racialised violence in public space (Giraud, 2021; Mas Giralt, 2011; Nagel & Staeheli, 2008; Nicholls, 2017). Similar to Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) and Kern's (2005) analysis, their discussions of (in)visibility help to understand the role and significance of embodied encounters in everyday navigations of public space, with particular attention paid to the way in which passers-by rely on a range of visible symbolic cues, such as clothing and bodily presentation, to make judgements on others belonging and accordingly adjust their own appearance and behaviour (Fileborn, 2016). Despite their contributions, these discussions downplay the contextual variability of the spectrum of (in)visibility as for the most part, scholars juxtapose visibility with invisibility, myopically claiming that a person automatically is one but not the other (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014) (For exception, See: Juul, 2014). Studies of (in)visibility during everyday encounters are seen to benefit from an intersectional approach (Hardy & Chakraborti, 2020, 17; Huysentruyt, Meier, & Dewaele, 2015; 2015; Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014; Mas Giralt, 2011).

Whilst I shall draw upon insights from (in)visibility scholarship, this thesis will further these discussions through developing a new conceptual framework that draws upon pivotal notions of (in)visibility and belonging. This framework draws on insights from Barthian interactionist theories and the geographies of encounters literature, in order to offer a unique perspective and advance knowledge surrounding women's perceived (un)safety in public space. In contrast to the discussions above, this new framework provides the tools to understand how women navigate public space in order to feel safe. It more specifically helps understand how women develop complex systems of evaluation, involving assessments of passers-by and the surrounding environment followed by subsequent adjustments in their behaviour as outlined in the introductory section of this chapter. Whilst this study's conceptual framework shall be explored in depth in chapter three, the next section shall turn to this study's overarching intersectional framework, that alongside discussions around (in)visibility, emerges as a key thread of the overarching conceptual framework.

1.3.3. Intersectionality

In considering these questions, this conceptual framework shall be guided by intersectional principles in line with the overarching aim to explore the perceptions of differently-situated women and hence, acknowledge the complexities that characterise the processes discussed above. With this in mind, this section shall address three key tenets of this study's overarching intersectional framework. Earlier intersectional research predominantly focused on intersections that mutually constitute subordination, as is the case of the 'triple disadvantage' of women of colour from lower classes (Christensen, 2009; Koskela, 2020). Owing to its origins in Crenshaw's (1991) work, there is hence a misconception that intersectionality is a framework only assigned to understanding the lives of the oppressed, leading scholars to question whether all citizens are intersectional or whether only the marginalised possess an intersectional identity (Bastia, 2014; Mollet & Faria, 2018; Zack, 2005). Whilst previous intersectional research focused on the most marginalised, this thesis follows in the footsteps of Bastia (2014) and Nash (2008) who advocate that intersectional analysis must address oppression and privilege if intersectionality is to act as an anti-exclusionary tool (Bastia, 2014; Levine-Rasky, 2011; Nash, 2008). Applying this to this study, this research adopts an innovative approach through considering intersections of privilege and disadvantage through the lens of differently-situated women's perceived (un)safety (Huysentruyt et al.,2015, 158; Kern, 2005; Levine-Rasky, 2011; Sacks & Lindholm, 2002).

Looking beyond the subjects themselves, the analysis of the relation between these categories equally emerges as a contentious topic (Rodo-De-Zarate & Jorba, 2012; Rodo-De Zarate & Baylina, 2018). Initial attempts to explore relationships between different 'categories' led to the establishment of various metaphors including 'addition' and 'multiplication' (Choo & Ferree, 2010; McBride, Hebson & Holgate, 2015; Valentine, 2007). This manner of thinking has since been criticised as essentialist owing to the manner in which it interprets identities as a set of distinct differences incrementally added to one another (Christensen, 2009; Eaves, 2017; Huadraz & Uttal, 1999; Valentine, 2007; Valentine, 2010). West and Fenstermaker (1995) importantly argue that the focus should be confined to how individuals accomplish identities (Valentine, 2007; West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Through this approach, they conceptualise identities as neither naturally occurring nor culturally and socially-constructed categories but rather as emergent properties that are not reducible to biological essences and role expectations (Staunæs, 2003; Valentine, 2007; West & Fenstermaker, 1995). They hence successfully explore how identities emerge in interactions - or more significant for this study,

encounters - as opposed to stable understandings of social differences (Valentine, 2007). West and Fenstermaker (1995) hence understand the intersection of identities in terms of 'a doing', a more fluid coming-together, in which identities and difference are undone and done (Staunæs, 2003; Valentine, 2007). The 'identities' studied in this study are accordingly reconceptualised as 'situated accomplishments' during women's encounters in order to recognise the unstable, fluid nature of intersections between categories (Nash, 2008).

Significant for this study, Valentine (2007) argues that the concept of intersectionality has received little attention within geography, despite the fact that feminist geographers have analysed relationships between gender and race (Kobayashi & Peake, 1994; Pratt, 2002) and gender and class (Walby, 1986). The broader intersectionality debate has conversely largely ignored the importance of space and overlooked the "dominant spatial orderings that define who is in place /out of place, who belongs and who does not" (Sandberg & Tollefesen, 2010, 5; Walby 1986, 19; Hopkins, 2018; Mollett & Faria, 2018). Instead, there is a trend to analyse power relations with regard to the time-period in which they were conceived (Sawyer, 2002; Stubberud & Ringrose, 2014). In the Swedish context, scholars give particular precedence to historical accounts at the expense of any spatial considerations, for example, focusing on the history of intersectionality of postcolonial feminism in the Nordic region (See: Kuokkanen 2015; Josefsen, Mörkenstam, and Saglie, 2015). Due to their limited engagement with space, this thesis will apply geography's theoretical development on space to intersectionality scholarship in order to provide different perspectives on the relationship between categories and spatiality, enhancing previous discussions of the relationships with race and class (See: 1.2.2) (Valentine, 2007). This will provide a more contextualised view of intersectional dynamics, and better engage with what has been termed 'situated' accomplishments (Valentine, 2007). As my research discusses women's perceived (un)safety in three neighbourhoods, this situationalism shall become evident in participants' lives as they renegotiate their identities within and between spaces in different neighbourhoods (Koskela, 2020, 34).

Alongside previous discussions of (in)visibility, this intersectional framework emerges as a key tenet of this study's overarching conceptual framework. Whilst studies on (in)visibility shall be revisited during subsequent discussions of encounters, this study's intersectional framework emerges as a key thread throughout the entire framework, informing both interactionist and encounters scholarship. This framework shall be used to explore the intersectional nature of

women's perceived (un)safety, interested in the ways differently-situated women experience and negotiate their perceived (un)safety during everyday encounters. More details on this study's conceptual framework shall be provided in chapter three, but for now, our attention shall turn to this study's empirical context which emerges as this thesis' second contribution.

1.4. Empirical Gaps

My aforementioned emphasis on the spatiality of these processes leads me to discuss the empirical context of this thesis, Stockholm, Sweden (See Figure 2, for location). This focus has grown from my longstanding research on women's perceived (un)safety in Stockholm, shaped by findings from my undergraduate and master's studies. My undergraduate research, focused on Hammarby Sjostad, unearthed concerning trends amongst "Swedish" women, revealing the extent to which their perceived safety was dependent on social and spatial segregation. This led to my master's research in Husby, which explored the perspectives of "immigrant" women, subsequently shaping this PhD and its interest in three Stockholm neighbourhoods, Hammarby Sjostad, Husby and Kista.

For many readers, this focus may come as a surprise, as has been proven countless times when conversations around the topic of my thesis have been met with questions, "But why, Stockholm? Isn't it safe?" or "Why don't you research somewhere else, more dangerous than Sweden?". This is in spite of recent figures where 28.5% of women in Sweden, aged 20 to 24, state that they have been exposed to a sexual offence, in contrast to 3.2% of men, or more broadly, 7.5% of all women were exposed to a sexual offence in 2021, compared to 1.1% of men (Bra, 2022). Instead, responses to my thesis allude to Stockholm and Sweden's global reputation as very safe and perceived as such, placed on a pedestal as a prime example of gender equality and multiculturalism, and where women report to feel very safe (Pred, 1997, 2000). Herein partially lies this thesis' argument for the study of Stockholm, Sweden, given its reputation has myopically diverted international academic and public attention to other European cities as demonstrated by the wealth of studies on the UK and US in this chapter's theoretical section, subsequently leaving the issue of women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden unaddressed.

To justify this empirical focus, this section shall reflect upon extant limited studies on women's perceived (un)safety across Stockholm that point to the need for further study. This section will be accordingly organised into two parts that address qualitative and quantitative studies

respectively, the separation of which was deemed necessary due to their diverse foci and findings. Chapter two will further explore the contextual backdrop of this study where it will position these debates against the broader national, city and neighbourhood backdrop, examining dominant divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes". The relevance of this binary stems from its significance for the question of women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden alongside participants' initial widespread self-identification as either/or. Combined, this shall justify my empirical focus on three neighbourhoods across Stockholm, Sweden, pointing to its under-researched nature alongside its uniqueness in relation to the question of women's perceived (un)safety.
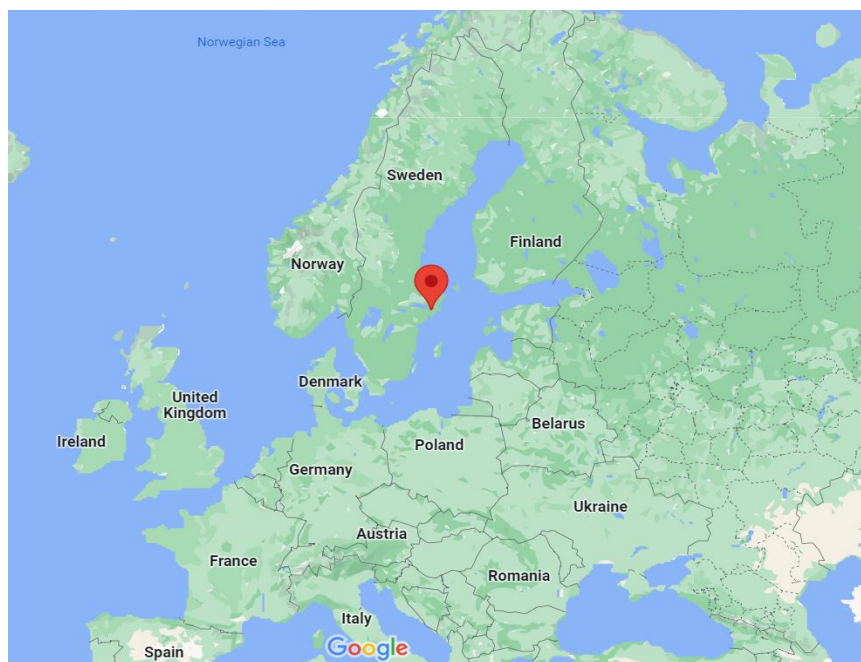
Figure 2: Location of Stockholm, Sweden

Arriving at the qualitative scholarship on women's safety in Sweden, a range of studies can be found, stretching from work on repeat offenders in Swedish towns, to more macro-level studies on public and policy responses, to finally, the perceived (un)safety of specific groups. Whilst this work is diverse in its nature, I argue that this scholarship is somewhat sporadic in its focus and limited in its quantity, as will be illustrated in the following summary. Linda Sandberg (2011, 2013, 2016, 2020, 2021) emerges as one of most frequently-cited scholars, with her earlier ground-breaking work focused on the impact of repeat offenders on women's perceived (un)safety within Swedish towns. In her later papers, she turns to examine public and policy responses, a trend witnessed further afield in broader Swedish and European studies of women's perceived (un)safety, and somewhat at odds with this focus on women's

everyday encounters (See also: Heber, 2009, 2011; Sandberg & Ronnblom, 2016). Moving away from recent preoccupations with top-down perspectives, Johannson, Laflamme and Eliasson (2012) study addresses female adolescents' perceived safety in public space whilst Listerborn (2015) examines the perspectives of Muslim women in Malmo, Sweden. Important for this study, Sjöberg and Giritli-Nygren (2020) add to these debates through analysing the perceived (un)safety amongst the oppressed – including wheelchair users, the elderly and LGBTQ members - rather than focusing on one distinct group in Swedish society, as is the case with Johannsson et al.,'s (2012) and Listerborn's (2015) study. Despite their intersectional framework, absent is any attention to *women's* perceived safety or more privileged groups, whose perspectives continue to remain 'unmarked' and undiscussed (Gokieli, 2017; Koobak & Thapar Björkert, 2012). Extant studies on women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden emerge as limited yet simultaneously sporadic especially when compared to the wealth of literature across other European and North American contexts (See: 1.2). Even more problematic however, is the absence of any study addressing the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety, a troubling omission in light of recent findings from quantitative studies, to which I shall now turn.

Findings from quantitative studies underscore worrying trends that have otherwise gone amiss in qualitative scholarship. More recently, statistical surveys have documented differences in women's *levels* of perceived (un)safety across Stockholm. Using results from Stockholm Police Safety Survey, important variations have been consistently identified between the "Swedish city" and "immigrant suburbs" with "Swedish" women feeling '*very safe'* in the former compared to their reports of '*feeling unsafe'* in the latter (Ceccato 2013; Johansson & Haandrikman, 2021; Yates & Ceccato, 2020). These findings paint a troubling picture of how residential segregation serves to maintain women's perceived safety across neighbourhoods, standing in contrast to Stockholm's international reputation as homogeneously safe and perceived as such. Despite these findings, extant quantitative studies have failed to move beyond cursory acknowledgements of its uneven spatial nature, whilst to my knowledge, no qualitative study exists on this topic. The argument for the study of Stockholm is hence not that women's fears are greater in Stockholm than other European cities, but rather both the city and nation generally, has been wrongly under-studied owing to its international reputation. Before continuing to place Sweden on its global pedestal and looking to its cities for societal lessons in women's safety, further research is needed on the

intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety, underscoring the significance of this study's contextual backdrop.

Against this backdrop, my research works towards filling the substantial gap in knowledge concerning women's (un)safety in public space in Stockholm through examining women's perceived (un)safety within and between three diverse neighbourhoods, Hammarby Sjöstad, Husby and Kista, none of which have been studied in relation to the question of women's safety (See: Figure 3 for locations). Chapter two will set out the rationale for the inclusion of these neighbourhoods, focused on their diverse demographic structures and urban planning, that make for exciting backdrops to study the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety. Whilst this section has focused on extant studies of women's perceived (un)safety, chapter two will consider the broader backdrop, focused on the city and nation scale, with a particular interest in the division between "immigrants" and "Swedes" which emerges as key for women's perceived (un)safety. This will further rationalise my study of Stockholm, Sweden, adding to arguments discussed above, through underscoring its unique backdrop that justifies its differentiation from other European contexts. Combined, this study's empirical focus on Sweden, Stockholm and the three neighbourhoods, emerges as my second original contribution.
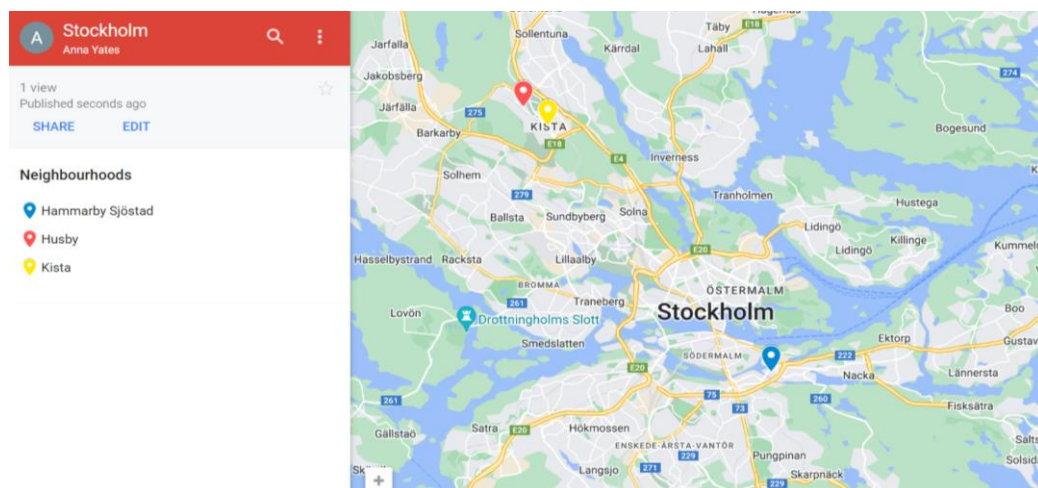
Figure 3: Locations of Neighbourhood Case-Studies: Hammarby Sjöstad, Husby and Kista

1.5. Methodological Gaps

In order to address theoretical and empirical gaps, a novel remote methodological approach was designed and implemented, consisting of a three-stage process, including walking interviews, relief maps and focus groups (See: Figure 4). Informed by a feminist framework,

these were conducted online with sixteen women, all of which resided within one of the three neighbourhoods. More details on this process and the stages of recruitment, data collection and analysis shall be outlined in chapter four. The purpose of this section, however, is to highlight this thesis' contributions to extant methodological discussions surrounding women's perceived (un)safety and intersectionality more generally.
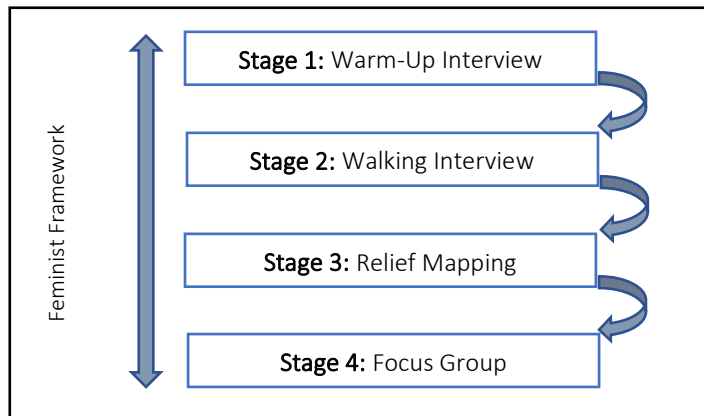
Figure 4: Research Process

Across studies on fear of crime, quantitative methods have tended to dominate, both within and beyond the Swedish context (Farrall, Bannister, Ditton, & Gilchrist, 1997; Hale, 1996). Whilst I do not wish to undermine their contributions to an otherwise sparse field, their focus on 'levels' of fear of crime is fundamentally at odds with this study's interest in the 'nature' of women's perceived (un)safety (Madriz, 1997). Quantitative tools, including Stockholm's safety surveys, are somewhat ill-equipped to gauge the intricacy of this study's focus on women's everyday encounters in relation to their perceived (un)safety. It is for this reason that this study chose to deploy qualitative methods within its methodological approach, the likes of which remain particularly limited in extant studies on women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden. Even when present, Swedish scholars tend to draw upon more conventional methods including semi-structured interviews, a critique that holds for studies further afield in the European and North American context. This study's three-stage research method hence aims to revitalise existing methodological approaches through providing a creative approach, wherein each stage has been carefully designed to explore the complexities of women's perceived (un)safety in Stockholm, Sweden.

Alongside this contribution, this methodological approach is also informed by this study's broader intersectional framework (See: 1.4). One of the most prominent critiques levied at

intersectionality scholarship is its lack of clear methodology (Bastia, 2014; Rodó-de-Zárate & Jorba, 2012). In response, McCall (2005) argues that a specific methodology must be developed in order for intersectionality to achieve its potential and grasp the complex realities that it was intended to address (Davis, 2008). Rejecting this proposal, I instead adhere to Hopkins' (2018) viewpoint, where he argues that one's choice of methods and methodology should be related to the power relations in specific contexts, in other words, not one specific method or methodology need be associated with intersectionality (Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Hopkins, 2018). The three methods used within this study have hence been carefully adapted to ensure that their intersectional nature is recognised (Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Hopkins, 2018; Phipps, 2016). Chapter four will provide a detailed overview of this study's methodological approach that responds to gaps in women's safety studies in Sweden and further afield, alongside broader intersectional scholarship. Drawing this together, this study's methodological approach emerges as its third contribution.

1.6. Research Originality and Research Questions

This introduction has underscored the three-fold originality of this thesis, *conceptually, empirically,* and *methodologically.* Trying to make sense of women's perceptions and experiences, alongside the public discourse surrounding their perceived (un)safety, led me to employ a new conceptual framework. This framework, centred around notions of (in)visibility and intersectionality, shall be explored in chapter three, where I will explore and critique two bodies of work, interactionist theories and encounters literatures. Using this conceptual framework, this study underscores the significance of embodied encounters in shaping how women's perceived (un)safety is experienced and negotiated. It will simultaneously contribute to improved intersectional understandings through considering how the processes involved in women's everyday encounters, vary amongst differently-situated women within and between different neighbourhoods. Alongside theoretical contributions, this thesis offers a unique empirical analysis of women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden. Previous sections have identified concerning gaps in extant studies which this research seeks to address through its focus on women's perceived (un)safety in three understudied Stockholm neighbourhoods. This scarcity of research extends to public space in Sweden generally, with studies of women's safety predominantly conducted in Western European and North American contexts. This empirical study is hence at once unique but simultaneously aims to improve understandings of women's perceived (un)safety in other Swedish and Scandinavian contexts. Finally, this

study offers a unique methodological approach, subsequently revitalising an otherwise stagnant field, in Sweden and further afield. It equally aims to contribute to growing intersectionality scholarship, particularly those focused on the possibilities of intersectional methods. Drawing this together, this thesis offers three unique contributions - conceptually, empirically, and methodologically - that shall be fully explored in subsequent chapters through the following research question:

> Through the lens of the encounter, how do differently-situated women experience and negotiate structures of belonging – boundaries and hierarchies - within and between different neighbourhoods in relation to their perceived (un)safety in public space?

This research question shall be addressed through the following sub-questions. Question one and two shall be addressed in chapters five and six, whilst question three will be explored in chapter seven:

1. How are boundaries of belonging (re)produced by the 'majority' population in each neighbourhood?
2. How are hierarchies of belonging experienced and navigated by women within each neighbourhood?
3. How do differently-situated women navigate structures of belonging, across and within different neighbourhoods?

1.7. Thesis Structure

To address these questions, the thesis is structured as follows. *Chapter two* will explore the context of this study, focused on divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes" that emerge as significant for women's perceived (un)safety (See: 1.4). The first half of this chapter shall address this focus at the nation and city scale where it will explore the stigmatisation of "immigrants" by Swedes at the national level, before focusing on patterns of residential segregation across Stockholm between stigmatised "immigrant" suburbs and the "Swedish" inner-city. The second half of this chapter shall introduce three neighbourhood case-studies, setting out the rationale for their inclusion, focused on their diverse demographics and unique urban planning. *Chapter three* will outline this study's conceptual framework, drawing from two bodies of work, interactionist and encounters scholarship, which have not been used before in tandem. It will first explore key tenets of interactionist scholarship before turning to the encounters literature, in order to gauge how 'first impressions' emerge as the main site of

boundary-making in women's everyday navigations of public space. I make the argument that these scholarships have been brought together in a critical manner, to not only better understand my overarching interest in women's perceived (un)safety, but also to benefit their own development as distinct scholarships. *Chapter four* shall turn to this study's final original contribution, focused on its methodological approach. I shall first provide an overview of this study's methodological framework, focused on its mixed, intersectional, spatial, and remote dimensions, before outlining the specifics of each method. The chapter will close by offering reflections on data analysis and researcher positionality.

Informed by its unique empirical, conceptual, and methodological approach, chapters *five, six and seven* will explore the data elicited from this approach. Whilst previous interactionist research has mostly analysed the perspectives of either the 'minority' or 'majority' group, this thesis will address interactionist processes through the "Swedish" 'majority' and "immigrant" 'minority' perspective in chapters five and six respectively (See: 3.2.3 for more detail on this approach). *Chapter five* will discuss findings from interviews with white, middle-class "Swedish" women residing within Hammarby Sjöstad. The first half of the chapter shall consider how national boundaries of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes" emerge as significant for women's everyday encounters in relation to their perceived (un)safety. It will discuss how these boundaries of belonging are reproduced during women's individual encounters and Hammarby's broader neighbourhood networks. The second part of chapter five shall explore hierarchies of belonging within 'Swedishness', interested in how one participant with Romanian ethnicity experiences and negotiates said hierarchies to feel safe. *Chapter six* will turn to findings from "immigrant" women living within Husby, revealing how they assert their local belonging as 'Husby' women in response to their national unbelonging as "immigrant" women. This highlights the importance of local and national boundaries of belonging for their everyday encounters in relation to their perceived (un)safety. It will adopt a similar structure to the previous chapter through considering how these boundaries of belonging are reproduced during women's encounters and broader neighbourhood networks. The chapter will also consider hierarchies of belonging within 'Husbyness' and how these are negotiated by differently-situated women in order to feel safe. This chapter will conclude through reflecting on white, working-class "Swedish" perspectives, who are excluded from aforementioned local and national structures of belonging. *Chapter seven* shall consider the perceptions and experiences of women whom I refer to as 'chameleons', shifting our attention

away from women's everyday navigations *within* their neighbourhoods to how they move *between* different neighbourhoods. In this chapter, I will explore how certain women navigate different national and local structures – boundaries and hierarchies - of belonging. From here, I will conclude in *chapter eight* through answering my three research questions, and summarising this study's theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions.

Chapter 2. Contextual Reflections: Discourses of Race across Nation, City, and Neighbourhoods

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of this study's context which is organised into three sections that address the national, city and neighbourhood scale. It begins with the *national* context where I explore recent waves of immigration, leading to the emergence of a public discourse which differentiates between "immigrants" and "Swedes". Within this section, I explore how this discourse is perpetuated by macro-level institutions, encouraging the stigmatisation of "immigrants" across Swedish society. I am particularly interested in the criminalisation of "immigrant" men by national media outlets and political institutions, due to this study's focus on women's perceived (un)safety. These discussions are then positioned against a framework of Nordic exceptionalism, alluding to Sweden's international reputation as a gender-equal, multi-cultural utopia. I then explore how this reputation has affected the ways in which international and Swedish scholars have approached binaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes". After addressing the national scale, I explore the *city* scale where I focus on Stockholm. In this section, I explore how social binaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes" correspond to spatial divisions across the city between the "immigrant" suburbs and "Swedish" inner-city. I particularly focus on popular representations of "immigrant" suburbs as dangerous 'no-go' zones, entangled with the issue of women's perceived (un)safety. The chapter then closes by introducing my *neighbourhood* case-studies, Hammarby Sjöstad, Husby and Kista, all located within Stockholm. I shall outline the rationale for their inclusion within this study, focusing on their diverse demographic profiles and urban planning, rendering them interesting backdrops for explorations of the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety. This chapter will conclude by summarising its empirical contributions, at the nation, city, and neighbourhood scale.

2.2. Sweden

2.2.1. Mass waves of immigration: "immigrants" and "Swedes"

Today, Sweden emerges as one of the most diverse Western nations, with almost a third of its population being either born abroad or born in Sweden with one or two foreign parents (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019, 139; Adolfsson, 2021; Grobgeld & Bursell, 2021). As opposed to former colonial powers, Sweden transitioned from a relatively ethnically-homogenous

country to a country of immigration in a short period of time (Bursell, 2012, 473; Grobgeld & Bursell, 2021, Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019, 139; Osanami Torngren, 2020, 458). In 1940, only 1% of Sweden's population was foreign-born, whilst thousands of European migrants arrived in Sweden for employment during the post-war decades (Bursell, 2012, 473; Grobgeld & Bursell, 2021, 4). During the second half of the 1970s, large groups of immigrants from non-Western countries moved to Sweden, signalling the replacement of labour migration with refugee migration (Hubinette & Lundström, 2011, 45; Gokieli, 2017; Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Kustermans, 2016). Since then, immigration to Sweden has been largely dominated by immigrants of colour where the largest countries of origin include Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Somalia (Hubinette & Lundström, 2011, 45; Grobgeld & Bursell, 2021, 4; Behtoui, 2021). According to Hubinette and Lundström (2011, 45), it was only at this point that integration began to be seen as a "failed project", subsequently leading to the widespread differentiation between "immigrants" and "Swedes" (in Swedish: invandrare and Svenska) (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019, 141).[1]

Sweden has since emerged as what Hubinette and Arbouz (2019, 139) describe as "one of the Western world's most segregated, stratified and segmented societies" with stark inequalities between "immigrants" and "Swedes". Against this backdrop, immigrants continue to be socially stigmatised within various societal arenas, including the housing, labour, and legal market, and in everyday public space (Eliassi, 2013, 14; Adolfsson, 2021, Grobgeld & Bursell, 2021; Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019, 45). Sweden's anti-immigration discourse is best encapsulated by recent political elections, in particular, the electoral success of the right-wing populist party, the Swedish Democrats (SD), whose campaign continues to highlight various social problems that have supposedly accompanied Sweden's growing "immigrant" population (Adolfsson, 2021; Behtoui, 2021; Dahltstedt & Neergaard, 2015; Garner, 2014). Whilst SD represents more radical anti-immigrant politics, mainstream Swedish political and media outlets have also become more accommodating of anti-immigration discourses and policies where immigrants are frequently represented as burdens to social welfare and as criminal elements, fuelling their stigmatisation (Eliassi, 2013, 13, 129). The latter representation, focused on crime, emerges as one of the most common topics in political and

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[1] Throughout this thesis, the terms "immigrants" and "Swedes" are used with quotation marks as their usage does not correspond to their official definition which refers to an individual's place of birth. The exact meaning of these terms shall be clarified in subsequent chapters.

media discussions surrounding immigrants, an aspect that shall now be further explored, due to its significance for this study.

2.2.2. Women's safety: "immigrant" men

Anna Bredstrom's (2003) paper on the 'Rissne Rape' emerged as one of the first Swedish studies to address mainstream representations of "immigrants" in relation to the issue of women's safety. Within her study, Bredstrom focuses on media and political debates surrounding the 'Rissne Rape' where a fourteen-year-old girl was gang-raped by a group of men in Rissne, Stockholm in early 2000. Bredstrom (2003, 79) argues that the initial conversations that followed, addressed psychological questions as to "why boys commit rape". These discussions, however, took a rapid turn once it became known that the perpetrators were "of immigrant background" (Bredstrom, 2002b, cited in Bredstrom 2003, 79). From here, debates centred on 'their' presumed 'culture', broadly indicative of dominant conceptions of immigrant men as "patriarchal" and "backwards" (Bredstrom, 2003; Christensen, 2009; Keskinen et al., 2009; Keskinen, 2018).

In recent years, emerging debates have focused on "honour-related violence", understood by media and broader public discourse to widely affect the lives of young "immigrant" men and women in Sweden (Eliassi, 2013). The killing of Fadime Sadinhal in January 2002 was one of the first murders to capture the attention of the Swedish media and public at large, where explanations of her death were framed in relation to "immigrant" culture (Bredstrom, 2003; Eliassi, 2013). Fadime was seen to have been killed by her father due to her "Swedish" lifestyle that challenged patriarchal 'Kurdish' or more broadly, "immigrant traditions" (Bredstrom, 2003; Eliassi, 2013; Haghverdian, 2010). Interviewees of Kurdish background in Eliassi's (2013) study blamed the Swedish media for fuelling negative images of immigrants as 'honour killers' where "immigrant" men are mostly represented as oppressive in contrast to modern "Swedish" men (Grip, 2002, cited in Eliassi, 2013, 149). Sweden is consistently understood as the 'good example' concerning gender equality and women's positions in society (Sandberg & Ronnblom, 2013). Since Fadime's murder, "immigrant" women are repeatedly represented as targets of social control, considered to originate in patriarchal norms that restrict their sexuality in the name of so-called 'honour culture' (Gronli Rosten & Smette, 2021).

Whilst this thesis focuses on women's daily navigations of public space, these two bodies of work begin to underscore the gendered nature of boundaries between "immigrants" and

"Swedes" and its subsequent significance for the question of women's safety. Through this discussion, it becomes possible to understand how macro-level organisations, including media and political institutions, construct "immigrant" men as violent, seen to endanger "Swedish" and "immigrant" women, subsequently exaggerating overarching political and moral boundaries between "Swedes" and "immigrants" (Adolfsson, 2021; Eliassi, 2013; Hubinette & Lundström, 2011).

2.2.3. Nordic exceptionalism: international and domestic research

The central theme of the previous sections has been the importance of binary oppositions between "Swedes" and "immigrants" that organise the population's everyday lives (Baird, 2014; Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Osanami-Torngren, 2020; Runfors, 2021). Particular attention has been placed on the criminalisation of "immigrant" men owing to this study's focus on women's perceived (un)safety (Eliassi, 2013). This section shall critique current research on this topic through positioning these debates against a broader framework of Nordic exceptionalism. The notion of Nordic exceptionalism refers to the ways in which Nordic countries are predominantly understood as anti-racist and gender-equal, with Sweden emerging as the prime example of this ethos (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Larsen et al., 2021; Stoltz, 2021). In particular, Sweden is seen as an international paradise for gender and racial equality in which racialised and gendered matters are treated as either belonging to its past or beyond its borders, subsequently rendering racism and sexism a non-Swedish issue (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Hubinette & Lundström, 2011). Key for this study, this mode of thought has had huge repercussions on the nature of academic research on prejudice against "immigrants" in Sweden that shall be accordingly explored at the *international* and *domestic* level.

For *international* readers, discussions of tensions between "immigrants" and "Swedes" and more specifically, prejudice against "immigrant" men may come as a surprise. The image of Sweden as one of the most progressive Western countries is well-established at a global level, meaning international academic attention has been mostly diverted to seemingly more problematic European and Northern American contexts (Dahlstedt et al., 2017; Hubinette & Tigervall, 2009, 336). One exception emerges in the form of Alan Pred's (2000) ground-breaking book, "Even in Sweden", whose title best encapsulates the shock elicited by news of prejudice within Sweden's borders. Despite Pred's contributions, Sweden's international reputation continues to operate as a façade, leaving its issues of racialised and gendered

discrimination under-researched by international scholars. This trickles down to conversations around women's perceived (un)safety where "Swedish" fears of "immigrant" men remain unknown, protected by its global façade as a very safe, equal country (Hubinette & Tigervall, 2009, 335; Coe, 2018; Christensen, 2009). The argument for the study of women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden is hence not that there is more inequality than elsewhere in Europe but rather its international liberal reputation has operated as a façade, masking its concerning reality discussed in 1.4 and 2.2.2 (Pettersson, 2013).

Now our attention shall turn to *domestic* scholarship where there has been growing research on divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes". Important for this study, a small branch of this scholarship has begun to problematise binaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes" and its framing as an ethnic categorisation. Particularly active within this body of work are Swedish Geographers, Tobias Hubinette and Catrin Lundström (2011). Reflecting on the shootings of Swedes of colour, they note how police reports refer to victims as "immigrants" despite having lived in Sweden their entire lives. Hubinette and Lundström make the overarching observation that being a person of colour is frequently conflated with being an "immigrant" in the Swedish context, signalling at the ways in which bodily understandings of race and cultural understandings of ethnicity have collapsed (Hubinette & Lundström, 2011, 194; Gokieli, 2017). In light of its significance, I will quickly take this opportunity to define these terms, drawing from Osanami Torngren's distinction. According to Osanami Torngren (2020, 460), race focuses on visible phenotypes including embodied and biological features whilst ethnicity is not always visible and based on the idea of common culture, language, and religion (See also: Hubinette & Tigervall, 2009; Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014). In this study however, I am most interested in processes of racialisation, defined by Miles (1994: 109-114, in Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014, 161) as "a social process through which (real or imagined) embodied and biological features become associated with certain meanings and values". Whilst the significance of racialisation shall become clear in subsequent chapters, the attention of this section shall be confined to the conflation of race and ethnicity in the Swedish academic context.

Against a backdrop of Nordic exceptionalism, Hubinette and Lundström's (2011) analysis, alongside the work of other leading scholars, sheds light on Sweden's official colour blindness where race is deemed irrelevant and removed as a category from public and academic discourse (See also: Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Gokieli, 2017; Hallgren, 2005;

Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Osanami Torngren, 2020; Runfors, 2021). In their autobiographical accounts, Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen (2014) express frustration regarding this omission, which they argue, prevents them from addressing patterns of racialised inclusion and exclusion. The erasure of race from everyday, institutional, and academic vocabulary emerges as a unique feature of the Swedish context, explaining how racial prejudice is predominantly addressed through an ethnic lens. This rests in contrast with other heavily-researched contexts including the US and UK where 'race' and racialisation occupy a central place (Phillipson, 2016, 10). Such differences in academic and institutional context prevent directly translating findings from North American and European contexts into the Swedish context, further justifying its separate study (Garner, 2014; Phillipson, 2016, 10; Runfors, 2021).

The importance of these criticisms rests in their ability to elucidate this study's unique contextual contributions. My critiques levied at *international* scholarship underscore the importance of this research which seeks to explore otherwise ignored divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes" through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety. My analysis of *domestic* scholarship points at Sweden's unique contextual backdrop that not only underscores the need to reclaim the concept of race and racialisation, but also provides key contextual information for upcoming chapters. Whilst I will later explore participants' interpretations of these terms, clarifications in this section were necessary to provide preliminary understandings of participants' frequent usage of "immigrants" and "Swedes" in their interviews. Drawing this together, this section has highlighted huge gaps in international research and unique perspectives in Swedish research. From here, our attention shall turn to the city-scale where I will explore how aforementioned divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes" play out across its capital, providing the backdrop for this study's focus on women's perceived (un)safety.

2.3. Stockholm

2.3.1. Residential segregation: "Immigrant" suburbs and "Swedish" inner-city

Sweden exhibits one of the most extreme patterns of residential segregation in Europe (Hubinette & Lundström, 2011; Runfors, 2016; Thörn & Thörn, 2017). Within Sweden, Stockholm holds one of the highest segregation index levels in which its "suburbs", composed of working-class, immigrant descendants, rests in contrast to its "inner-city", defined by its

homogenous, white, middle-class Swedish population (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019, 143; Lilja, 2015; Lundström, 2010). Important for this study, the aforementioned binary categorisations between "Swedes" and "immigrants" accordingly correspond with spatial divisions between the "Swedish" inner-city and "immigrant" suburbs (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019, 143; Behtoui, 2021; Runfors, 2016). Several explanations have been proposed to explain the cause of this development, the most convincing of which is the development of the Million Homes Programme (in Swedish: Miljonprogrammet). This was a housing programme adopted by the Swedish parliament that sought to have one million houses constructed between 1965 and 1975 in order to ease housing shortages (Bråmå, 2006; Kustermans, 2016; Listerborn, 2013; Lundström, 2010; Pred, 2000). Through this programme, houses were designed according to basic functional architectural principles, described by Pred (2000) as stark and alienating, and were intended to function as small cities beyond the city-centre (Hall & Vidén, 2005; Pred, 2000). These high-rise buildings rapidly lost their appeal however, once the purchase of family-dwellings in the centre became available, enabled by inflation and tax reductions (Pred, 2000). In these circumstances, housing authorities steadily directed the most recent waves of immigrants – largely originating from Africa and the Middle-East – to these mass-built developments (Castell, 2010; Listerborn, 2013; Pred, 2001). As more immigrants arrived, white, middle-class Swedes continued to flee to central Stockholm, leading to a concentration of immigrants of colour within peripheral neighbourhoods (Legeby, 2010; Tunstrom & Wang, 2019). Within these highly-segregated suburbs, most remaining "Swedish" citizens were white, working-class, suffering from unemployment, meaning racial segregation had become entwined with classed segregation (Pred, 2000).

2.3.2. Stigmatised "immigrant" suburbs

The attention of Swedish public discourse is mostly confined to Stockholm's "immigrant" suburbs at the expense of any discussions of its counterpart, the "Swedish" inner-city. In public and academic discourse, "immigrants" and their place of residence are treated as clearly-bounded stigmatised categories, devoid of any discussions of its interconnections with the "Swedish" city (Castell, 2010; Godin, 2006; Pred, 1997, 2000; Slooter, 2019). This thesis hence aims to respond to this gap through focusing on "Swedish" residents and their place of residence through the lens of Hammarby Sjöstad (2.4.2). For now, however, this section shall focus on public and academic representations of the "immigrant" suburbs.

Stereotypes levied at Stockholm's "immigrant" suburbs are somewhat similar to those levied at "the estates" in the UK, 'the projects' in the US and 'the banlieue' in France (Listerborn, 2013). These areas are collectively reminiscent of what Loic Wacquant (2010) refers to as "territoriality stigmatised" (Sernhede, 2011, 161; Lofstrand & Uhnoo, 2014). According to Wacquant (2010), stigmatised neighbourhoods are entangled with media and societal discourses that works to demonise their living conditions in a manner that incites fear, both within and beyond these neighbourhoods (Sernhede, 2011, 163; Lundström, 2017). Writing in the Swedish context, Dahlstedt et al., (2017) explores boundaries between inside and outside of place, where the inside is treated as normalised Swedish society whilst the outside emerges as the parallel stigmatised suburban society (Stephenson, 2021). Stockholm's suburbs are understood as places for those not worthy of living within the inner-city, where the dangerous "immigrant" other resides (Keskinen, 2018; Lofstrand & Uhnoo, 2014; Stephenson, 2021).

Politicians and media outlets play an important role in recreating negative representations of these areas, with most depicting the suburbs as "unsafe places" or as sites for "exotic expressions of multiculturalism" (Listerborn, 2013, 152; Lofstrand & Uhnoo, 2014; Pred, 2000). In recent years, the former stereotype has tended to dominate, with the "suburbs" represented as hyper-criminal ghettos and as "perilous no-go zones" (Lundström, 2010, 152; Schierups, Ålund & Kings, 2014, 7). Testament to this, a police report published in 2014, titled "A National Overview of Criminal Networks that have a Major Impact within Local Communities" (Rikskriminalpolisen 2014), named fifty-five neighbourhoods in which local criminal networks were understood to have a major impact, all of which were Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods (Thapar-Bjorkert, Molina & Villacura, 2019). Devoid of any local perspectives, the publication discussed the suburbs in tandem with well-entrenched stereotypes of criminality. Since then, subsequent reports have continued to tar such neighbourhoods with criminal representations, reproducing existing patterns of segregation (Tunstrom & Wang, 2019). Alongside state and police reports, the media has also played a role in maintaining its criminal reputation to the extent that Heber (2011) notes that the location of crimes is only noted when it has occurred within the suburbs. The following headlines provide clear examples of this: "Rinkeby awaits its next murder: Grief mixed with fear following the fatal shooting of a nineteen-year-old" (Gustafsson & Håård, 2002, 8) or "It could happen again – Terror of the violence in Bagarmossen is now spreading" (Helm, 2002, cited in Heber, 2011, 72). In daily Swedish discourse, the concept "suburb" (in Swedish: förorten) has

become associated with crime, the implications of which are highly gendered (Pred, 2000). Key for this study, these spaces are represented as 'no-go' zones for "Swedish" women due to the presumed threat found amongst "immigrant" men who occupy their public space (Heber, 2011; Keskinen, 2018).

These reflections can be positioned within the aforementioned framework of Nordic exceptionalism. At the *international* level, Sweden's world-renowned reputation as a gender-equal and multi-cultural society has operated as a façade, blocking any academic and public discussions regarding Stockholm's extreme residential segregation (Hallgren, 2005; Sawyer, 2002; Tigervall & Hubinette, 2010). Whilst its suburbs have been subject to some scholarly attention at the *national level,* they continue to be framed as a place of residence for "immigrants" despite being home to second-generation immigrants who hold Swedish citizenship. At this point, I hence seek to underscore parallels between discussions at the nation and city-scale, first, identifying huge gaps in international research whilst second, noting the absence of any considerations of race and racialisation in domestic scholarship. Combined, these reflections further justify the study of Stockholm, Sweden, in relation to the question of women's perceived (un)safety.

2.4. Stockholm's Neighbourhoods

2.4.1. Stockholm's boroughs and demographics

Having addressed the national and city context, this section will provide an overview of three neighbourhood case-studies where participants were recruited. Out of Stockholm's fourteen boroughs, the first neighbourhood, Hammarby Sjöstad, is found in Sodermalm and is hence located in central Stockholm (See Figure 5: Blue circle). The remaining two neighbourhoods, Husby and Kista, are located in Rinkeby-Kista, the most Northern borough of Stockholm, (See Figure 5: Orange circle). Husby and Kista are found adjacently, enabling residents to walk between each neighbourhood in fifteen minutes, an aspect that will emerge as significant in later chapters. In the following sections, I shall justify the inclusion of each neighbourhood through describing their demographics and urban planning layouts. Before proceeding however, I shall provide an overview of Stockholm's demographic profile for the purposes of comparison, particularly focused on its population size, ethnic composition, and social class. Beginning with the former, Stockholm has a population of 978, 770 people as of 2021, when the most recent census was undertaken (Stockholms Stad, 2021). 34.3% of the population has

a foreign background, defined as whether they were either born abroad or domestic born with two born-abroad parents (Stockholms Stad, 2021). Of the key groups, 37.9% of these are Asian, 16.7% are African and 26.7% are European (Stockholms Stad, 2021). In terms of education and employment, 27.8% and 61% have secondary and post-secondary education, respectively, whilst the average income is 413,000 SEK and 3.4% are unemployed (Stockholms Stad, 2021). With these figures in mind, I shall now turn to explore each neighbourhood, beginning with Hammarby Sjöstad.
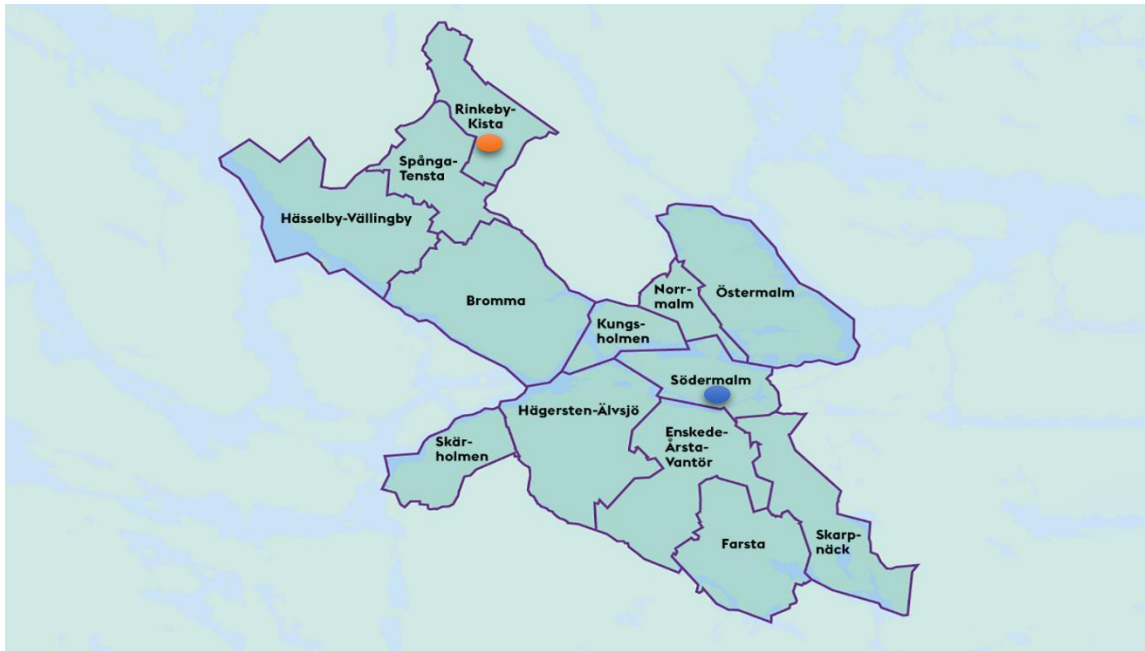
Figure 5: Stockholm's Boroughs

2.4.2. Hammarby Sjöstad

Hammarby Sjöstad - formally known as Sodra Hammarbyhamnen - is the first case-study and the focus of chapter five (See Figure 6 for location in borough). The neighbourhood has a population of 20,747, making it the largest neighbourhood in this study (Stockholms Stad, 2021). Its growing population is attributed to its positive reputation, deemed very safe and perceived as such, resulting in long waiting lists for its apartments, as often discussed by participants in interviews. Its population is mostly Swedish, with only 4,763 (23%) of its residents being of 'foreign background', hence, placing it below Stockholm's average of 34% (Stockholms Stad, 2021). Amongst those 'foreign-born', 30.3% are Asian, 4.6% are African and 37.6% are European, making the latter the largest group (Stockholms Stad, 2021). In terms of education, 24.9% have secondary education whilst 68.8% have post-secondary education, once again, higher than Stockholm's' average of 27.8% and 61% (Stockholms Stad, 2021). The

average income is 503,500 SEK whilst only 1.8% are unemployed (Stockholms Stad, 2021).
Cumulatively, these figures justify its reputation as a white, middle-class neighbourhood or
more colloquially, a "Swedish" neighbourhood.
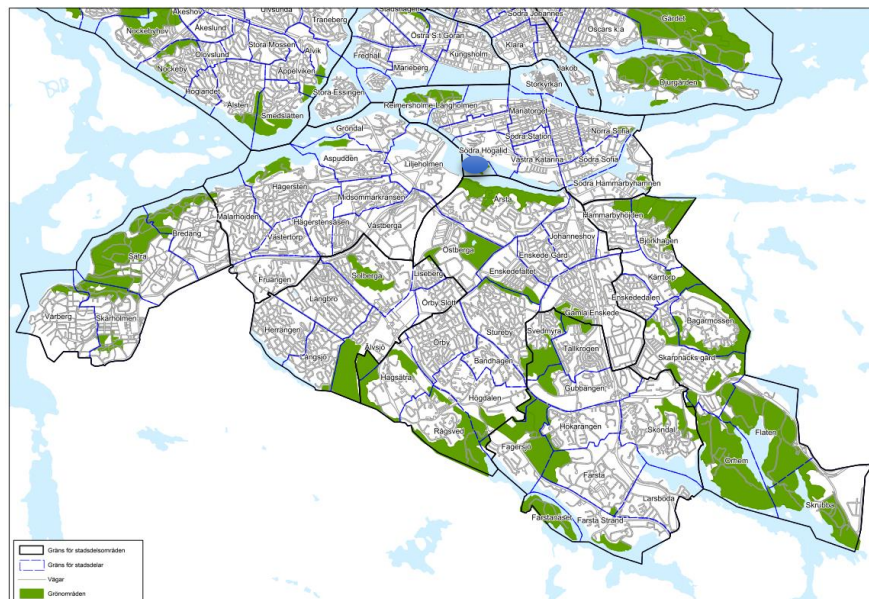
Figure 6: Location of Hammarby in Sodermalm

The neighbourhood itself is fairly recent, given its planning and construction begun in 1990
and 1999 respectively (See Figure 7 for neighbourhood map). The area was originally a
brownfield site and was subsequently rebuilt to become a residential area (Grönlund, 2011).
The resulting neighbourhood has since gained a reputation as one of Sweden's largest
regeneration projects where it was redesigned with the aim to foster eco-sustainability and
social sustainability in a mixed, open community (Grönlund, 2011). Through its unique design,
environmentally-friendly urban buildings have been placed along the waterfront, and its
boulevard serviced by a tram (Grönlund, 2011). Architects also incorporated various sightlines
which connect different areas of the neighbourhood, and internal courtyards with public
spaces outside, the likes of which emerge as significant in section 5.6.1 (Grönlund, 2011). Since
its completion, its environmentally-sustainable design has captured academic attention as
demonstrated by the plethora of urban planning journals that celebrate its success as an 'eco-
friendly' neighbourhood (See: Freudenthal, 2010; Mahzouni, 2015; Svane, 2008). This study,
however, seeks to move away from this focus, exploring the neighbourhood through the lens
of its lesser-known goal of social sustainability, subsequently providing the opportunity to
research the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety in an otherwise privileged,
white, middle-class "Swedish" space.
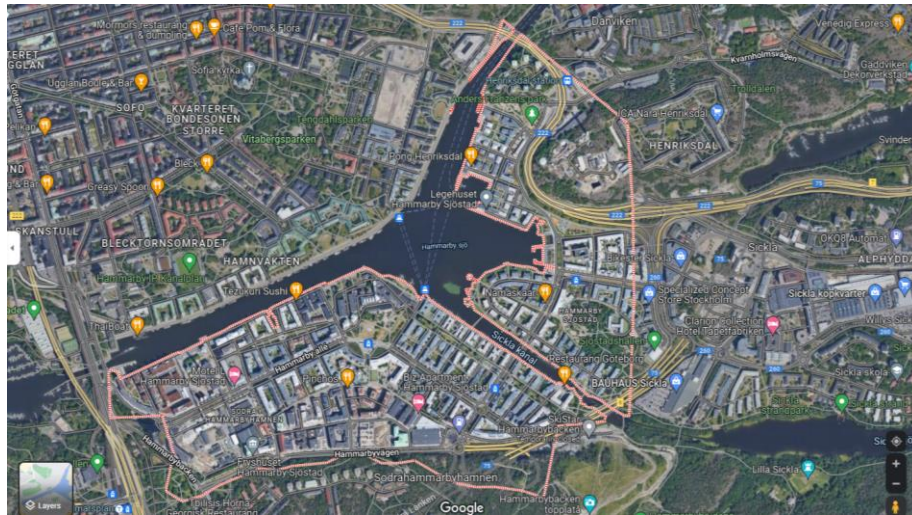
Figure 7: Satellite Image of Hammarby Sjöstad

2.4.3. Husby

Husby, is the second neighbourhood case-study, and the focus of chapter six (See Figure 8). The neighbourhood has a total population of 11,832 as of 2021, of which 87.15% have foreign background, substantially higher than Hammarby Sjöstad and Stockholm (Stockholms Stad, 2021). Within the population, 47.4% are Asian, 36.1% are African and 26.7% are European, standing in stark contrast to Hammarby and Stockholm's less diverse demographic profiles (Stockholms Stad, 2021). Census statistics on education levels within Husby are similarly different to what has been described above, given 39.8% and 30.9% of Husby's population have secondary and post-secondary education, respectively, whilst the average income is 236,000 SEK and unemployment rates rest at 9% (Stockholms Stad, 2021). Due to its demographic composition, it is widely known as an "immigrant" neighbourhood, subsequently providing a point of comparison with Hammarby Sjöstad as a "Swedish" neighbourhood.
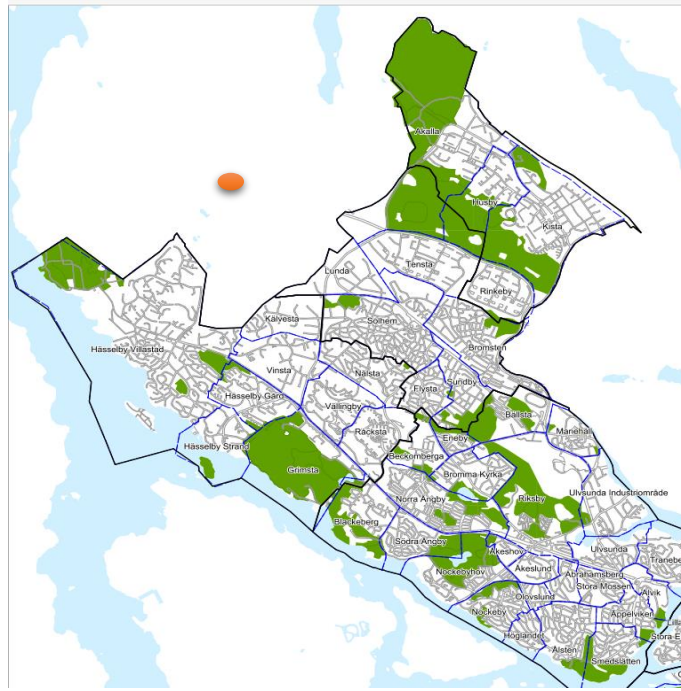
Figure 8: Location of Husby in Rinkeby-Kista

Husby was constructed as part of the 'Million Homes Programme' and hence, shares a similar design to other "no-go zones" including Tensta and Rinkeby (Kustermans, 2016) (See: Figure 9). These neighbourhoods are designed in a way that cars cannot enter residential spaces, meaning they are described as two-tiered neighbourhoods where bridges connect pedestrian paths above its roads (Kustermans, 2016). On the pedestrian level, high-rise buildings are gathered around open spaces that mostly contain playgrounds and communal laundry rooms (Kustermans, 2016). Within Husby, several spaces are used as meeting places including its square, shops, and the metro (Listerborn, 2013). These places are mostly seen as 'male-dominated' and have been described as 'unappealing' for women (Listerborn, 2013, 303). In the warmer months, its surrounding green spaces including Husby Gard also act as social spaces where barbeques take place (Listerborn, 2013).
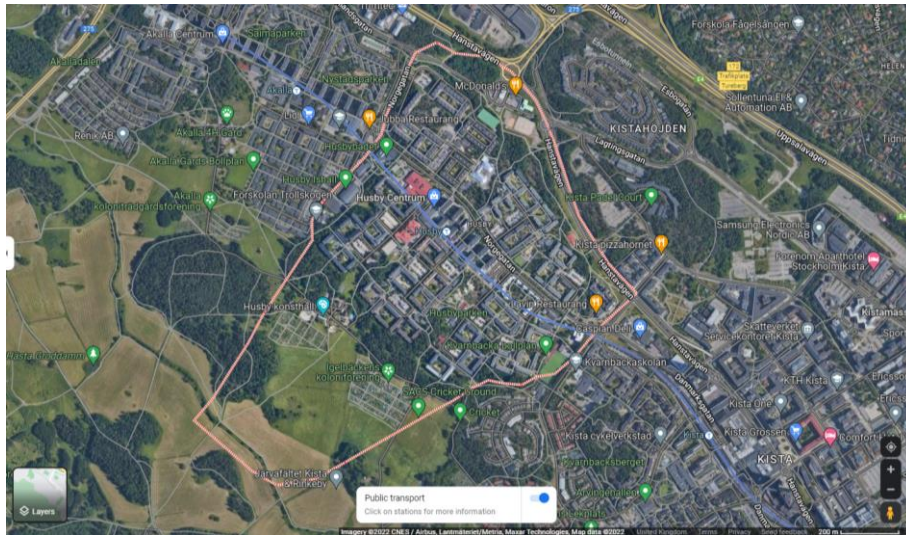
Figure 9: Satellite Image of Husby

Up until this point, Husby has been subject to limited research especially when compared to the wealth of studies on other Stockholm suburbs, most notably Rinkeby (See: Andersson & Bråmå, 2018; Massa & Boccagni, 2021). At the time of writing, the only studies of note, focused on the '2013 Suburban Riots' which were triggered by the police killing of an elderly man in Husby, subsequently prompting accusations of police brutality (See: Bjørgo & Mareš, 2019; Thapar-Bjorkert, Molina & Villacura, 2019; Kustermans, 2016). The riots proceeded to spread from Husby to other Stockholm suburbs, capturing national and international media attention (Ahmed, 2014; Holdo & Bengtsson, 2020; Hornqvist, 2016; Kustermans, 2016). With this exception, Husby has hitherto received little scholarly attention particularly in relation to the question of women's perceived (un)safety despite its reputation as an "immigrant" 'no-go' zone. This neighbourhood hence provides the ideal opportunity to explore women's perceived (un)safety from the lesser-researched perspective of "immigrant" women whose perspectives are overshadowed by "Swedes" and "immigrant" men.

2.4.4. Kista

Our attention finally turns to Kista that emerges as the third and supplementary case-study, discussed throughout chapters five, six and seven (See: Figure 10). Kista has a similar population size as Husby, with around 13,783 inhabitants as of 2021 (Stockholms Stad, 2021). Of its population, 76% are foreign-born whereby 60.7% are Asian, 15.6% African and 15.4% European (Stockholms Stad, 2021). In terms of its education rates, 27.8% of Kista's population have secondary education whilst 53.7% have post-secondary education (Stockholms Stad, 2021). The average income is 327,000 SEK and 5.7% are unemployed (Stockholms Stad, 2021).

Kista is known as neither a "Swedish" nor "immigrant" neighbourhood in contrast to Hammarby and Husby, whom are more easily located on either side of the binary. Its ambiguous reputation is largely attributed to the statistics discussed above, that point to its mixed demographic regarding its ethnic and class composition. This ambiguity is compounded by its function as a commercial hub and residential neighbourhood. As described by Listerborn (2013), Kista is referred to as the 'Silicon Valley of Sweden' owing to its high-tech industries. It also contains one of Sweden's biggest shopping centres, Kista Galleria (or Kista Mall), which was frequently visited by participants.
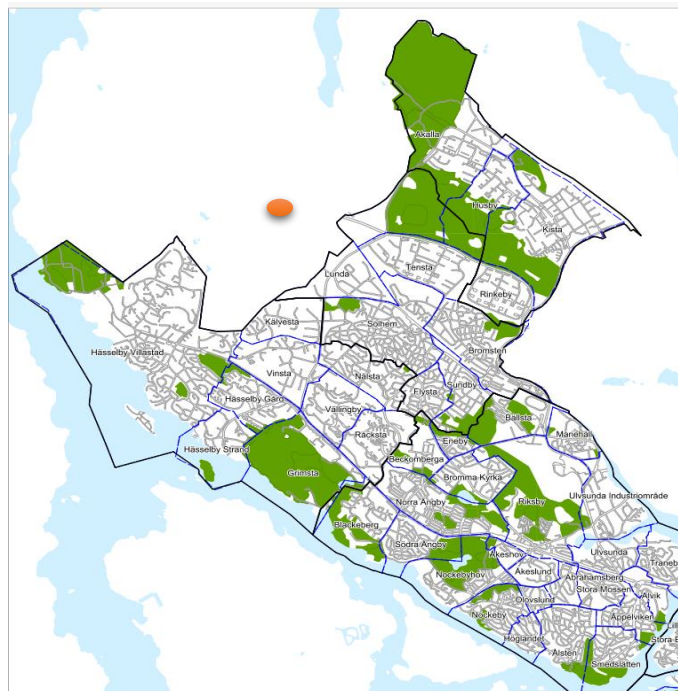
Figure 10: Location of Kista in Rinkeby-Kista

Kista is also home to an expanding residential area which has received limited academic attention compared to the number of studies on its status as a commercial hub (See: Barinaga & Ramfelt, 2004; Blau, 2001; Deverell, 2003) (See Figure 11). This omission further justifies this study's decision to include Kista as the third case-study, in addition to its unique in-between status as neither an "immigrant" nor "Swedish" neighbourhood coupled with its close proximity to Husby. Regarding the latter, participants within Listerborn's (2013) study on "Gender and Glocalities" makes note of its juxtaposition, as one participant summarises "With the Kista Centre so close, it was of course natural to go there to shop or have a coffee" (Listerborn, 2013, 303). At the time of writing, no scholar has fully explored the effects of this close proximity, especially through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety. This neighbourhood hence provides the unique opportunity to explore how differently-situated

36

women navigate diverse neighbourhoods. Drawing this together, the past three sections have sought to justify the inclusion of each neighbourhood, focused on their diverse demographic and unique urban planning, that cumulatively render them exciting backdrops to study the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety.
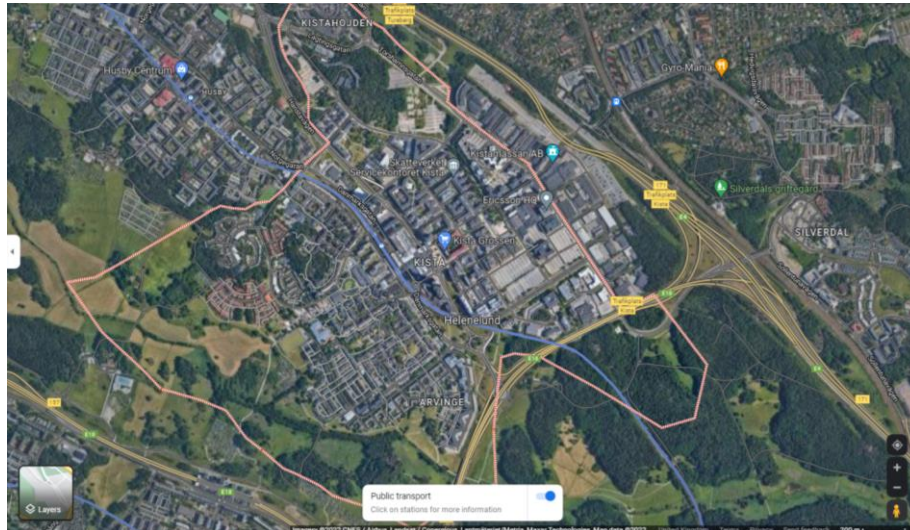
Figure 11: Satellite Image of Kista

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of this study's context, justifying its focus on women's perceived (un)safety in three neighbourhoods across Stockholm, Sweden. The attention of this chapter was predominantly confined to dominant divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes" due to its significance for the question of women's perceived (un)safety in Stockholm, Sweden. This focus builds from the introduction of this thesis, where its contextual section focused on studies on women's perceived (un)safety in Stockholm, Sweden. Taken together, they cumulatively underscore the significance of this study's focus on women's everyday encounters in Stockholm, Sweden, in relation to the question of their perceived (un)safety.

In the first section, I explored how mass migration triggered dichotomies between "immigrants" and "Swedes," leading the former to be stigmatised across different spheres. Key for this study, "immigrant" men have been subject to particular discrimination owing to their presumed patriarchal values that represent a threat to "Swedish" women. I placed these discussions within a broader framework of 'Nordic exceptionalism' which pointed to gaps and weaknesses in international and domestic research, respectively. In the second section, I

explored how divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes" play out across Sweden's capital, leading to its label as one of the most segregated European cities. I particularly focused on the stigmatisation of "immigrant" suburbs, understood as dangerous for "Swedish" women, mirroring discussions of "immigrants" at national level. Combined, these sections highlighted the significance of this study and its unique contextual backdrop, which remains myopically under-researched in contrast to its European counterparts. The final section introduced my neighbourhood case-studies, all of which are diverse in their demographics and urban planning, making for interesting backdrops for my research on the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety. Whilst I have dealt with these scales of nation, city and neighbourhood in separate sections, subsequent chapters shall explore their interconnections through the lens of women's encounters in public space within and between different neighbourhoods. The attention of the next chapter shall discuss the conceptual framework, used to explore women's everyday encounters against this contextual backdrop.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Underpinnings: Women's Safety: Interactionism, Encounters and Intersectionality

3.1. Introduction

The discussions outlined in chapters one and two lay the foundations for this study's conceptual framework that seeks to demonstrate the importance of everyday encounters in relation to women's perceived (un)safety. Chapter one reflected upon how women feel visible in public space owing to their gendered unbelongings (Kern, 2005; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Against this background, women engage in boundary-making processes through attaching fear to particular groups in specific places using processes of stereotyping given they cannot be fearful of 'all men at all times' (Valentine, 1989, 171; Koskela & Pain, 2000). In response, they seek to manage their perceived (in)visibility through "safety work" that render them less visible (Kern, 2005; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Taken together, this body of literature implicitly underscores the significance of themes of belonging and (in)visibility alongside group boundaries through the lens of women's encounters in public space. Until now however, these themes have remained unexplored in scholarship on women's safety that are more generalised in their nature and fail to consider the actual moment of women's encounters and the nuanced processes that underly them.

Alongside these gendered dimensions, chapter two explored this study's context as it is against this background that participants are engaged in boundary-making processes, learning to identify potential threats (Dahinden, Duemmler & Moret, 2014; Duemmler, Dahinden & Moret, 2010). Chapter two established the significance of binary oppositions between "Swedes" and "immigrants" that organise women's everyday life (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Runfors, 2016). Recent Swedish scholarship has focused on the latter, myopically framing "immigrants" as a clearly-bounded category, stigmatised by the rest of society (Behtoui, 2021; Slooter, 2019). Our attention turned to the arguments used by Swedish media and political outlets that construct "immigrants" as a negative social identity, represented as criminal elements in society (Eliassi 2013, 129). These lines of thought gained traction through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety where immigrant masculinity is represented as threatening for women (Eliassi, 2013). The ethnicization of violence against women subsequently works to exaggerate boundaries between "Swedes" and "immigrants" (Eliassi, 2013). Alongside chapter one's emphasis on women's everyday encounters, (in)visibility and belonging, chapter

two underscored the importance of similar themes of social identity, boundary-making and belonging for women's safety in the Swedish context. Despite its significance, no work has hitherto brought these themes together through the lens of women's everyday encounters in public space in relation to their perceived (un)safety in Stockholm, Sweden.

Against this backdrop, this chapter aims to bring together preliminary discussions from chapters one and two by drawing upon and contributing to two bodies of work that have never been discussed in tandem: interactionist theories and encounters. Considerations of boundaries led me to interactionist theories due to their focus on how people construct group boundaries – between "Swedes" and "immigrants" - and understand their belonging through 'interactions' with others (Barth 1998; Duemmler et al., 2010; Fechter, 2007; Jenkins 2000, 2008; Koskela 2020; Williams, 2018). These theories also drew attention to how individuals negotiate these boundaries and their concomitant belonging to particular social identities (Koskela 2020; Wimmer 2008a, 2013). Whilst interactionist theories shifted my focus to the negotiations that surround the (re)production of group boundaries, an intersectional perspective was crucial to explore differences within overarching social identities, guided by this study's broader intersectional framework (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Koskela 2020; Valentine, 2007). Insights from the encounters literature or 'first impressions' specifically, provide the conceptual lens to understand how boundary-making processes occur during 'interactions' that have otherwise been left critically unexamined by interactionist theorists. This study's focus on 'first impressions' (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018) underscored the importance of discussions surrounding (in)visibility during women's "interactions" in public space where judgements on belonging are predominantly made through (in)visible cues carried on passers'-by bodies. Informed by this study's intersectional framework, discussions of 'first impressions' were equally imbued with intersectional considerations in order to gauge the different experiences amongst differently-situated women within and across different neighbourhoods. Combined, this conceptual approach forms the basis of subsequent chapters that explore the significance of women's everyday encounters through the lens of their perceived (un)safety. This will help draw attention to the dynamic processes of judgement invoked in differently-situated women's navigations of public space. The following sections will explore these bodies of work, highlighting their parallels, despite never having been previously used in tandem, and bringing them together in a critical manner that compensates for their respective gaps and weaknesses in light of broader feminist, intersectional

perspectives. The resulting framework serves as a productive interpretive lens for subsequent empirical chapters in addition to future studies on women's safety.

To achieve this, the first half of this chapter will introduce and critique interactionist theories, mostly through the lens of Fredrik Barth's theorisations on ethnic identifications (3.2.1 - 2). Whilst interactionist thought is predominantly used to explore ethnic identifications, this section will underscore their broader applicability to multi-ethnic social identifications including "Swedes" and "immigrants". Following this, I shall closely examine their relational understandings of social identifications, interested in processes of external categorisation and internal self-identification (3.2.3 - 4). The next section shall address what Alba (2005) and Wimmer (2008a, 2013) term 'boundary-making' strategies, before positioning these discussions in broader debates on relationships between structure and agency (3.2.4). From here, I will explore this study's focus on belonging in relation to social identities, interested in how women understand their social identities but also in the manner that they develop a sense of belonging (3.2.5). Informed by this study's intersectional framework, the first half of this chapter shall conclude with some intersectional considerations that are otherwise lacking in interactionist thought (3.2.6).

The second half of this chapter draws upon the encounters scholarship to consider how interactionist processes play out during 'encounters', replacing interactionist scholars' vague emphases on 'interactions' (3.3.1). I first consider current conceptualisations of encounters (3.3.2), before providing an overview of contemporary scholarship, which is largely based on a dialogue between two bodies of work, 'geographies of encounter' and 'doing of encounters' (3.3.3). These scholarships are explored with the aim to first, situate my subsequent focus on 'first impressions', and second, examine two criticisms raised by Hopkins (2014), levied at their (lack of) embodied and relational considerations (3.3.4). Definitions of 'first impressions' are subsequently discussed where an emphasis on (in)visibility is brought to the fore and its alignment with this study is outlined, responding to Hopkins' (2014) critiques. Key for this study, the following sections explore how (national) belonging is read and managed through 'first impressions' (3.3.5 - 6). Throughout this discussion, I shall draw upon the broader (in)visibility and encounters scholarship, outlined in the introduction (1.3.1 - 2) and this chapter (3.3.1 - 3), respectively, with the hope to better align 'first impressions' with this study's focus on women's perceived (un)safety. Similar to discussions of interactionist scholarship, the second half of this chapter shall close with some intersectional reflections,

lacking from discussions of 'first impressions', and Nordic encounters scholarship as a whole (3.3.7). This chapter's conclusion provides an overview of this study's conceptual approach, centred on interactionist and encounters scholarship (3.4). In light of feminist, intersectional perspectives, the following discussions shall demonstrate how these two bodies of work have been brought together in a novel, critical manner to understand the broader issue of women's perceived (un)safety (See: 1.2).

3.2. Interactionist Theories

3.2.1. Social identity from an interactionist perspective:

Whilst one's personal identity refers to individual personality traits, a person's social identity is part of their understanding of themselves that is connected to their feelings of belonging to a social group (Halej, 2014; Koskela, 2020; Slooter, 2019; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This differentiation gains significance in this study due to its interest in social identities, "Swedes" and "immigrants". Through an interactionist perspective, these social identities are understood as neither a "thing" nor "essence" but rather something one "does" (Jenkins 2008, 5, 2012, 159; Boccagni, 2014; Gillen, 2016; Mozetič, 2018). They are hence understood as fluid and dynamic, rather than fixed (Anthias, 2008; Mozetič, 2018; Slooter 2019). Brubaker and Cooper (2000) and Malešević (2002) make calls to abandon the noun '(social) identity' given its subsequent vulnerability to reification. Whilst I sympathise with their concerns, calls to discard the term 'identity' are somewhat infeasible given the word not only appears throughout public discourse but is well-established in the social sciences' conceptual vocabulary (Jenkins 2008, 14). Faced with these challenges, this study will continue to use the term, "(social) identities" whilst remaining conscious that this refers to *processes* of (social) identification.

Whilst these arguments are of importance, this approach is not unique to interactionism as similar constructivist debates can be found across the social sciences literature. Testament to this, section 1.3.3 explored how identities are understood as "practical accomplishments" rather than "static forms" in intersectional studies (Hall & Du Gay, 2011; Jenkins 1994, 218; Valentine 2007; West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Interactionist scholars, however, extend these debates through considering how (social) identifications are simultaneously internal and subjective yet include an imposed element in the form of categorisations that reflect how others perceive us (Barth, 1969; Jenkins 2008, 2012; Koskela 2020, 26). Social identities are

hence dependent on individuals surrounding us and are continually (re)produced during *interactions* (e.g., Barth, 1969; Jenkins 2008; Koskela 2020; Wimmer, 2013). From this brief description, it becomes possible to gauge how interactionist insights may help explore women's navigations of public space as outlined in the previous chapters. Women's everyday encounters involve 'interactions' with passers-by where women seek to establish their belonging to broader social identities and ascertain their threat (Koskela & Pain, 2000; Valentine, 1989). Whilst I have sought to establish some preliminary parallels, the first half of this chapter shall delve into interactionist scholarship through exploring key tenets of its ongoing debate that will be harnessed through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety.

3.2.2. Key tenets of 'interactionism'

The parameters of interactionist theory are somewhat ambiguous as argued by Koskela (2020, 26) who premises her thesis by cautioning "interactionism is not so much a school of thought" but rather a "range of scholars connected by an analytical perspective" (Barth 1969, 1998; Jenkins, 1994, 2000, 2012; Wimmer 2008a, 2008b, 2013, 2014). Its ambiguity is best encapsulated by the absence of a well-established name, to which Koskela (2020) responds through referring to those who subscribe to "interactionist" thought as "interactionists". Whilst this study will hereon refer to these scholars as "interactionists", understandings of the field of "interactionism" must go beyond mere semantic gestures to more detailed considerations of its key tenets.

This study's understandings of "interactionism" draws from a branch of work on ethnic boundaries, spearheaded by Barth (1969) and subsequently developed by Jenkins (1994, 2000, 2012) alongside Wimmer (2008a, 2008b, 2013, 2014), all of whom explore how ethnic boundaries and the identities that they enclose, are neither predetermined nor fixed but instead, (re)produced through interactions (Koskela, 2021). These scholars offer the most crucial theoretical insights, which will be used alongside recent empirical and conceptual contributions from Duemmler et al., (2010), Koskela (2019, 2020, 2021) and Slooter (2019). Whilst Barth's original theorisations have its antecedents in the likes of Erving Goffman, the depth of Barth's conceptualisations superseded previous contributions through his theorisations of (ethnic) identification within a broader set of arguments about interaction. For this reason, Barth's work provides the most useful starting point for our understanding of

interactionist theories, and it is hence in this way that this thesis positions itself within a scholarship that focuses on ethnic boundaries.

Before proceeding, a precursory remark must be made. By virtue of focusing on Barth's work, it will come as no surprise that most references cited below focus on the construction of ethnic identities. At first glance, this may appear to rest in tension with this study's interest in multi-ethnic groups including "immigrants". In light of this, interactionist scholars have previously argued that their theories can be used beyond the realm of ethnic identities to other multi-ethnic or non-ethnic social identities (Aarset, 2018; McLaughlin, 2007; Wimmer, 2013). Jenkins (2008, 130) for example, highlights that Barth's understandings "apply to a universe of identification, wider than ethnicity" (Jenkins 2008, 130) due to Barth's interest in the broader organisation of social difference. In the Nordic context, Haikkola (2011) also attests to the general applicability of interactionist tools, using interactionist theories to understand divisions between "Finns", "foreigners" and "immigrants". In this regard, it is hence surprising that questions of non-ethnic identities continue to receive marginal attention in interactionist scholarship despite its broader applicability, given interactionist scholars continue to remain fixated on questions of ethnic identities (Barth 1969; Jenkins 1997; Lamont & Molnar, 2002; Lamont, 2014). This study accordingly seeks to use interactionist tools to understand "Swedish" and "immigrant" social identities, with the aim to broaden the perspective of current interactionist scholarship. In the hope that I have resolved this initial paradox, the specifics of my contribution will become clear in later chapters, yet for now, our attention shall be confined to interactionist theory through the lens of ethnic identity.

As discussed above, it was within Barth's ground-breaking collection of essays 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries' where it was first argued that ethnic groups exist through the (re)production of their boundaries (Duemmler et al., 2010, 23). Through his explorations of Swat in North-Western Pakistan, Barth (1969) underscored the extent of cultural overlap between different ethnic groups, alongside the cultural variety within each group, cumulatively recognising the malleable, situational nature of group boundaries (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992, cited in Clarke, 2020, 96; Aarset, 2018; Hummel, 2014; Slooter, 2019). He subsequently proposed a shift from a focus on the content of identities - or what he referred to as "cultural stuff" - to the boundaries that define ethnic groups (Barth, 1969, 15; Brubaker, 2014; Duemmler et al., 2010; Fechter, 2007; Slooter 2019). Barth (1969) argued that ethnic groups must be

understood as the outcome of self-identifications and categorisation by others, subsequently adopting an interactional, relational perspectives of ethnicity and social identities generally (Duemmler et al., 2010, 23; Malipula, 2016; Midtbøen, 2018; Osanami-Torngren, 2020). Drawing this together, his theories provided an alternative to prior understandings that framed ethnicity as produced within discontinuous groups through appeals to common histories and cultural practices (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013, 116; Hummell, 2014; Malipula, 2016; Midtbøen, 2018). From here, interest in boundary work increased, defined by an interest in interactions at the boundaries between ethnic groups rather than the 'cultural stuff' found within boundaries (Bail, 2008; Barth 1969; Koskela, 2020; Malipula, 2016; Slooter, 2019).

Later however, many argued, including Barth himself, that successful analyses of ethnic identity cannot fully eschew the significance of "cultural stuff" (Aarset, 2018; Dahinden et al., 2014; Duemmler et al., 2010; Hummell, 2014; Previsic, 2018; Slooter 2019). Handelman (1977, cited in Previsic, 2018) for example, argues that cultural differences and ethnic boundaries may coincide, yet is simultaneously conscious that this only represents one part of the continuum, given ethnic boundaries may occasionally divide populations along evident culture lines but unite individuals who follow diverse cultural practices (Wimmer 2008b, 983; Malipula, 2016). With this in mind, Fearon and Laitin (2000, 248) develop Barth's earlier definitions through defining ethnic identities as "sets of people given a label (or labels) and distinguished by two main features (1) rules of membership that decide who is and who is not a member of the category; and (2) content, that is, sets of characteristics (such as beliefs, desires, moral commitments, and physical attributes) thought to be typical of members of the category or behaviours expected or obliged of members in certain situations (roles)". Whilst their definition successfully captures both boundaries and content, Fearon and Laitin (2000) position ethnic identities as only imposed by others, and hence, ignore a crucial aspect of interactionist theorisation, self-definition (Slooter 2019). In interactionist thought, ethnic identity not only includes a definition imposed by others but also an individual's self-definition (Koskela 2020, 27).

Significant for this study, Jenkins (1994, 2000, 2008) explores Barth's emphasis on relationality that frames ethnic identification as the result of external categorisation and internal self-identification (Haikkola, 2011; Hummell, 2014; Koskela 2020; Lamont, Pendergrass &

Pachucki, 2015; Mozetič, 2018). Jenkins (1994) accordingly differentiates between "categories" and "groups", the former referring to external definitions imposed on us by others and the latter alluding to one's internal definitions, to which he collectively refers to as the "external and internal moments of identification" (Jenkins, 2000). Jenkins (1994, 2008) urges the reader to understand the 'external' and 'internal' as simultaneous and interdependent, cautioning that his phrasing does not imply a necessary sequence, first (external) categorisation and then (internal) identification, for example. Instead, there are constant negotiations between the external and internal, and it is within this interplay that one's (social) identity is created (Koskela 2020, 27). Following this, this thesis positions (social) identity as "a practical accomplishment, a process" (Jenkins 2008, 46), achieved through a "dialectical interplay" between categorisation and self-identification in which "neither comes first nor exists without the other" (Jenkins 2014, 111; Slooter 2019).

Stressing the simultaneity and interdependency of this process should not imply that each is equally important in specific situations. Instead, its precise workings are influenced by broader power relations, an aspect often neglected by interactionist scholars (For exceptions, See: Boccagni, 2014; Duemmler et al., 2010; Hummell, 2014; Jenkins 2008, 126). This study will consider the power context in which this process unfolds, which subsequently gives different degrees of weight to internal and external definitions of identity (Slooter 2019, 160). The next section will examine the specifics of Jenkins' dialectic of identification, beginning with external categorisation and proceeding to internal identification, whilst exploring the power context in which it occurs (Slooter, 2019). The chronology of this discussion should not negate from Jenkins' emphasis on simultaneity and interdependency but is rather structured in this way for the purposes of explanation. Whilst chapters five, six and seven shall further explore its interdependency and simultaneity, one can more cynically conclude that any attempts to capture its simultaneous nature will always falter due to the static nature of written word (Jenkins 2008, 47; Slooter 2019).

3.2.3. Categorisation

Within interactionism, individuals who have symbolic power as representatives of the "dominant referent culture" are able to allocate others into groups (Lewellen, 2002, 106; Koskela 2020, 27; Halej, 2015). The act of external categorisation is accordingly embedded in

power relations given it stems from capacity of one group to impose categorisations upon another (Jenkins 2008, 23; Duemmler et al., 2010; Wimmer, 2008a). These categorisations are mostly premised upon classifications of different people and are hence simplifications that rely on processes of stereotyping (Liebkind, 1992; Koskela 2020, 28; Runfors 2016, 1848, 1949; Roozeboom, 2021). Jenkins (2000, 10, in Slooter, 2019) elaborates on its significance, arguing "categorisation is a routine and necessary contribution to how we make sense of, and impute predictability to, a complex human world of which our knowledge is always limited, and our in which our knowledge of other humans is particularly limited". Whilst the act of categorisation is framed as an essential cognitive mechanism required for sorting unfamiliar individuals in women's everyday encounters, Jenkins (2008, 13) simultaneously cautions against overly deterministic understandings, noting it fails "to predict who will do what". His caution is justified for several reasons, arguing first, individual behaviour is often too complex to be predictable, and second, people often engage with multiple "maps" of identifications, the likes of which are neither clear-cut nor in agreement with one other (Jenkins 2008, 13-14). In light of these comments, I will revisit Jenkins' (2000, 10) prior statement on the power of categorisation, and instead make the argument that its significance stems not from its ability to "*make sense of*" complexity in everyday life but instead its capacity to *maintain the illusion* that one may know what to expect of unfamiliar persons when encountering them in public space.

Beyond the interactionist realm the role of categorisation has been underplayed in previous theorisations of social identities in favour of exploring internal definitions, an imbalance that Jenkins (1994, 219) warns results in "one-sided" understandings. Whilst interactionist scholars have crucially acknowledged the importance of categorisation, discussions around the 'external' moments of identification have been predominantly addressed through the lens of macro-level institutions (Jenkins, 2008, 40-45, cited in Haikkola, 2011; Frost, 2011; Lamont & Mizrachi, 2012). This stems from its perceived significance, where categorisations by institutions are seen to "represent one of the most important agents of categorisation" (Mozetič, 2018, 236). Testament to this, Slooter (2019) and Sion (2014) explore how the state categorises residents, what Sion (2014, 74) refers to as "state-work". As highlighted in chapter two however, it is not only the state but equally the media that is involved in the categorisations of certain groups (Midtbøen, 2018; Roggeband & Van der Haar, 2018). Through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety, Eliassi (2013) and Grip (2002) respectively

explore the Swedish media's involvement in fuelling negative images of Kurds as 'honour killers' and "immigrants" as oppressive. Although this work marks a welcome departure from previous 'one-sided' analyses (Jenkins, 1994), social categorisations are not only imposed from the macro-level but are also (re)produced by "everyday people" (Jenkins, 2008, 40-45; Mozetič, 2018; Slooter 2019).

In her study of skilled migration, Koskela (2020) makes headway with this question by analysing the "referent culture" (Lewellen 2002, 106) through the lens of the Finnish state and media, and more significantly, the Finnish population. She subsequently introduces an important distinction between 'stereotypes' and 'meta-stereotypes', the latter referring to how people perceive themselves to be understood by others (Voraeur, Main & O'Connell, 1998). A meta-stereotype accordingly refers to "a person's beliefs regarding the stereotype that out-group-members hold about his or her own group" (ibid, 917; cited in Klein & Azzi, 2001). Koskela (2020) continues to focus on "meta-stereotyping" – in this case, how skilled migrants feel they are perceived by Finns –at the expense of any considerations of "stereotyping" – in terms of what Finns directly think about skilled migrants (Koskela 2014, 2019, 2020, 2021). Whilst this study draws upon Koskela's (2014) useful distinction between stereotyping and meta-stereotyping, her limited considerations of stereotyping on the part of the Finnish majority reflect broader weaknesses of the interactionist literature. More broadly, Duemmler et al., (2010) argue that interactionist scholars either analyse the majority or minority perspective, failing to recognise its necessarily relational nature. This study addresses this gap through first exploring the act of external categorisation and "stereotyping" through the lens of the Swedish state and media in chapter two and more importantly, residents of 'Swedish majority' in chapter five. It will simultaneously consider 'meta-stereotyping' through the lens of the 'immigrant minority' in chapter 6, in order to provide a more relational, comprehensive overview of Jenkins' "dialectic of identification".

3.2.4. Self-defined identities and boundary-making strategies

Following discussions of external categorisations, our attention now turns to the internal side of Jenkins' "dialectic of identification". Others' categorisations or perceived categorisations – the latter known as 'meta-stereotyping' (Koskela, 2020; Vorauer et al., 1998) – influence one's self-definition, leading individuals to (re)negotiate their internal definitions (Koskela 2020, 28; Runfors, 2016). Their perception of the value – positive or negative – of the external categorisation, coupled with how consensual or conflictual the external categorisation is

understood to be in relation to one's self-defined identity, and on the wider power relations that affect potential for resistance, will affect the form that said (re)negotiations take (Klein & Azzi, 2001; Koskela 2020). Interactionist studies are flooded with case-study examples that document conflict between internal and external definitions, leading to the undertaking of boundary-making strategies to negotiate more "positive" ethnic identities for oneself (Koskela 2021, 24; Haikkola, 2011). These instances of conflict importantly (re)draw our attention to the role of others in validating our identity, further reiterating the mutual entanglement of internal and external identifications (Jenkins 2008, 123). Nonetheless, Haikkola (2011, 158) argues that productions are more harmonious than current research suggests, given external and internal identifications can reinforce each other, "validating the maintenance of a social identity". These harmonious identifications are lesser discussed across interactionist literatures, with most focused on more visible, 'interesting' instances of conflict (Haikkola 2011; Koskela 2021). In response, this study seeks to document examples of both conflict and harmony during women's navigations of public space to better reflect everyday examples of social identification.

Exploring these strategies, Jenkins (2000) understands these negotiations as taking the form of different levels of internalisation, ranging from acceptance, resistance, reinforcement to denial (Previsic, 2018). Alongside Jenkins' initial insights, other theorists have discussed a range of other responses against external categorisations (See: Alba 2005; Tilly 2004; Zolberg & Woon 1999). Whilst some of these shall be discussed in later chapters, the attention of this section is confined to Alba and Wimmer's scholarship that provide the most useful tools for examining the nature of boundaries and boundary-making strategies respectively (Alba, 2005; Wimmer 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2013). In focusing on boundary characteristics, Alba (2005, 25) contrasts 'bright' and 'blurry' ethnic boundaries. When boundaries are 'bright', the distinction involved is unambiguous and individuals are conscious at all times where they are positioned (Alba, 2005, cited in Aarset, 2018; McKay, 2021). In contrast, blurry boundaries are "zones of self-presentation and social representation that allow for ambiguous locations with respect to the boundary" (Alba 2005, 20, cited in Aarset, 2018, 299; McKay, 2021).

Wimmer provides a typology of boundary-making strategies, the likes of which has been deemed the most exhaustive in interactionist research (McKay, 2021; Song, 2014). Although Jenkins understands negotiations as leading to internalisation, Wimmer addresses the 'interactions' surrounding these negotiations (Koskela 2020, 29). In this vein, Wimmer (2008a)

describes five overarching strategies used by individuals to transform ethnic boundaries, defined as "expanding" and "contracting", and "transvaluation", "positional moves" and "boundary blurring". The first two are used to shift group boundaries through either expanding or restricting individuals included in one's ethnic category (Duemmler et al., 2010; Wimmer 2008a). These are largely understood as collective strategies that influence entire groups, for example, an ethnic group challenging the national system (Koskela 2021, 248; Wimmer 2008a, 1031; Koskela, 2019). The final three and more frequently discussed, are individual strategies that change the meaning or effects of the boundaries in different ways (Bursell 2012; Eliassi, 2013; Koskela 2021). 'Transvaluation' strategies change boundaries through challenging the hierarchical ordering of ethnic categories (Wimmer, 2008a). This firstly occurs through 'normative inversion' which valorises a previously subordinate group, for example, the group may redefine itself with a new positive meaning through the stigmatisation of the dominant majority (Halej, 2015; Wimmer, 2008a). It can also secondly emerge through 'equalisation' which results in moral and political equality between the dominant and subordinate groups (Halej, 2015; Wimmer, 2008a). In contrast, 'positional' moves seek to change one's position within an otherwise established boundary. In other words, people may try to cross from one group to another "without any real change" in the boundary itself, either through assimilation or passing (Alba, 2005; Duemmler et al., 2010; Sion, 2014; Wimmer 2008a). The most common positional move discussed across the literature is the latter, 'passing', that is defined by Goffman (1959, cited in Becker, 2015) as a performance that creates the pretence of belonging to a non-stigmatised ethnic group. Finally, 'boundary-blurring' strategies are used to emphasise other non-ethnic forms of belonging, reducing the significance of ethnicity as the main principle of categorisation and social organisation (Sion 2014; Wimmer 2008a). Whilst Wimmer refers to his typology as "boundary strategies", his focus on both "boundaries" and "cultural stuff" lead Slooter (2019, 619) to rename these mechanisms as "social identification strategies", which I shall replicate, in light of previous criticisms levelled at the use of 'identity' (See: 3.2.1). Further details of Wimmer's "social identification strategies" shall be revisited in the following chapters where certain aspects shall be reconsidered in line with this study's context, interested in women's responses to the categorisations seen to be imposed on them.

Wimmer's "social identification" strategies, similar to Jenkins' internalisations, are targeted at the majority "audience". According to Koskela (2020, 29), "the language of identity strategies

is therefore defined by the prevalent referent culture" in order to be "understood by the audience" (Jenkins 2008) and to "gain recognition" (Koskela 2020; Lamont 2014; Lewellen 2002, 106). She subsequently argues that identity negotiations are only considered "for the time being complete" after individuals achieve this recognition (Koskela 2020, 29). Despite Koskela's emphasis on the brief temporality of this completion, previous interactionist studies fail to explore the ways in which people become attuned and undertake the so-called 'language of strategies' during their everyday encounters. Most interactionist studies instead present the act of external categorisation and subsequent (re)negotiation as a linear, pre-given process. Koskela (2021, 35) accordingly explores how skilled migrants use the same identity markers by which they feel they are externally categorised by the Finnish public as their tools for strategies of boundary negotiations. Missing from her discussion, however, is any consideration of how this "language" is learnt, failing to consider the presumed complexity of these socialisation processes that shall be addressed through this study's focus on women's encounters in public space (discussed in 3.3).

Jenkins' and Wimmer's insights can be positioned in debates on structure and agency which explore how individuals act within broader societal structure (Koskela 2020, 30; Mozetič, 2018). Jenkins and Wimmer's boundary-making processes are premised on interplays between agency – in the form of internal definition and boundary-making strategies– and structure – as external categorisations (Koskela 2020, 30). Barth's contributions to the structure-agency debate are less clear-cut however, given he continues to face criticism for his perceived emphasis on agency at the expense of considerations of power (Asad, 1972; Evens, 1977). Given the importance of Barth's insights, coupled with the veracity of these criticisms, I will revisit his arguments to trace this line of thought. In his earlier work, Barth (1969) describes individuals as rational actors with clear goals (Grobgeld & Bursell, 2021; Previsic, 2018). Similar to Goffman (1959), Barth argues that individuals seek to 'be' – and to be 'seen to be' – 'something' or 'somebody'. This not only refers to the right to self-definition but also to being seen in a positive way by others, a crucial observation in light of findings in later chapters (Jenkins 2008). Their identities are enacted through what Lewellen (2002, 12) refers to as "cost-benefit manipulation" where people emphasise parts of their identity that are deemed most appropriate to the situation (Koskela 2020, 31). Wimmer (2013, 5, 2014) however, cautions that this focus on strategy should "not imply an exclusive focus on economic gains or political advantage" and instead, "prizes in these struggles are diverse".

These can include honour and prestige of belonging, feelings of dignity, and most importantly yet otherwise neglected in interactionist research, "personal security…granted by a sense of belonging to a community". Whilst this study shall later explore this emphasis on safety, our attention for now returns to Barth's discussion of strategic actors, the likes of which prompted the criticism discussed above. In Barth's defence, his considerations of broader power structures are implicit rather than absent. Whilst he views actors as "strategic", his emphasis on agency should not be misinterpreted as understanding actors as "free agents" with full control over their identities. In his later works for example, he crucially clarifies that their choice is dependent on broader power structures (Barth, 1998; Koskela 2020; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013). Despite others' reservations, Barth's work and interactionist scholarship generally, demonstrates the importance of individual agency in processes of identity-making whilst simultaneously recognising that they are restricted by broader social structures (Koskela 2020, 29). These considerations of structure and agency are at the heart of this study's focus on women's perceived (un)safety, given women's everyday 'safety work' can only be understood with reference to broader structures within which their negotiations occur.

3.2.5. Belonging

Our previous discussions are drawn together through the notion of belonging which up until this point, has only been implicitly discussed. In this thesis, social identities do not only refer to how people are perceived and perceived by others but equally relate to their sense of belonging. Given its significance, the concept of belonging merits further explanation, especially in light of the criticisms levied at its under-theorisation (Anthias, 2006, 19; Antonsich, 2010, 644; Halse, 2018). Antonsich (2010, 644) for example, critiques how belonging has been "treated as a self-explanatory term", left undefined by many scholars. Explaining this, Yuval-Davis (2006) argues that belonging tends to become naturalised in hegemonic formations, becoming so ingrained that people struggle to articulate what it entails, leaving it undefined (Fileborn, 2016, 90). For Yuval-Davis (2006) however, it is only when one's stable connections to the collectivity becomes threatened that is then reflected upon, subsequently explaining many scholars' preference to address the notion of unbelonging than belonging (Ahmed, 2007). These explanations underscore the significance of said moments of disruption for improving our understanding of belonging as shall be illustrated in subsequent chapters (Bennett, 2012; Fathi, 2017; Halse, 2018; Pettersson, 2013).

Yuval-Davis (2006) provides the "most comprehensive analytical efforts" to study the notion of belonging through her differentiation between 'belonging' and 'politics of belonging', the likes of which shall structure this section (Antonsich, 2010, 645; Christensen, 2009; Halse, 2018). In keeping with Yuval-Davis' conceptualisation, 'belonging' is first positioned as a subjective emotional attachment where one feels similar or "at home" within a particular collective (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 197, 2011; Christensen, 2009; Tkach, 2016). The term 'home' is understood to refer to symbolic spaces of familiarity as opposed to domesticated spaces that feminist geographers have sought to challenge as 'safe spaces' (See: 1.2.1) (Antonsich 2010, 645; Whitzman, 2007). Whilst self-identification is crucial for one's sense of belonging, it also entails a sense of acceptance granted by the broader collective, leading us to explore what Yuval-Davis terms the 'politics of belonging' (Clarke, 2020; Strømsø 2019). This draws attention to the social, relative side of belonging, negotiated between individuals in the position to grant belonging and conversely, those who claim to belong (Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2010). This sense of acceptance shall be explored in this study with regards to informal dynamics and acts of recognition by the public, rather than formal membership such as citizenship status, for example (Fechter, 2007; Jenkins 2000; Strømsø 2019). Understandings of belonging as an active project dependent on negotiations, returns our attention to interactionist theories, that seeks to explore how individuals construct group boundaries and understand their belonging through interactions with others (Halse, 2018; Koskela 2020). Through this discussion, it becomes possible to understand the ways in which Yuval-Davis' conceptualisation of belonging align with this study's interactionist framework and its interest in self-identification and external categorisation.

Despite her contributions, Yuval-Davis' (2006) work is critiqued for its limited reflections on the role of place, risking representing feelings and practices of belonging as aspatial (Antonsich, 2010, 647). These processes however, are "inherently geographical", underlain by different perspectives regarding the appropriateness of certain bodies in particular places (Matejskova, 2013, 33; Antonsich, 2010). Paying attention to the role of place, recent Swedish studies have predominantly engaged with national or transnational scales of belonging, seen to offer "more explicit examples of borders in relation to community" (Stephenson, 2021, 47). Further afield however, international scholars underscore the significance of the transnational, global and increasingly, virtual scales of belonging (See: Bredstrom, 2003; Dahlstedt et al., 2017). Taken together, these studies myopically suggest the purported

demise of the local as a site of belonging, where virtual, transnational, and global connections are seen to replace local face-to-face connections (Bennett, 2012). Whilst this study seeks to reclaim the significance of local scales, it equally takes issue with the manner in which connections between different scales have been myopically ignored, leading us to draw upon "scales of belonging" (Schuermans, 2011). Key to this concept is a relational approach, which conceptualises scales as interwoven rather than hierarchically organised, and simultaneous rather than distinct (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2012). Positioning itself within existing studies, this study responds to the theoretical gaps I have identified, through considering participants' belonging at multiple 'scales of belonging', starting at the level of women's encounters in their local neighbourhood (Bennett, 2012; Petersson, 2013; Sriskandarajah, 2019).

3.2.6. Intersectionality

Up this point, this chapter has provided an overview of this study's focus on interactionism and belonging. The second half of this chapter will turn to the scholarship on encounters and notions of (in)visibility, identified in chapter 1 as key aspects of this study's conceptual framework. Before doing so however, I shall return to the overarching intersectional framework which is key to my conceptual framework, feeding into and critically informing our understandings of interactionist scholarship. The previous sections have sought to illustrate the ways in which interactionist theories provide a useful framework to better understand women's encounters, the specificities of which will become clear in later chapters. Despite their contributions, interactionist theories fall short in understanding intersectional nuances within and between overarching "social identities", failing to consider how "immigrants" or "Swedes" are differentiated by social location (Williams, 2018). For Sion (2014, 74), intersectionality is hence "obliterated" in interactionist research, given groups are myopically cast as "abstract, homogenous" entities.

Although some attention has been paid to race, ethnicity, religion and nationality, gender dynamics remain undiscussed, a troubling absence in light of this study's focus on women's perceived (un)safety (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; McKay, 2021; Werbner, 2018). Grosz (1994), alongside Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos (2013), attribute this absence to dominant conceptions of 'groups' as gender-neutral yet masculinist. Even amongst the few instances where gender is addressed, it is mostly relegated as a secondary concern. Koskela (2019, 327) for example, immediately disregards gender as a secondary category that "does not appear as a central concern". Whilst Eliassi (2013) and Slooter (2019) seek to

explore its role, they skirt around any detailed considerations, merely asserting that certain "social identification strategies" are more common for women than men yet provide limited explanation as to why (For exceptions: See: Duemmler et al., 2010; Dahinden et al., 2014; Sion, 2014; Tkach, 2016). Despite the brevity of their reflections, their work importantly demonstrates the importance of gender within interactionist thought, leading Dahinden et al., (2014, 313) to call for the scrutinization of gender representations in interactionist scholarship. Whilst the absence of gender in interactionist thought is discerning, the above call should not be misinterpreted to pre-emptively include gender within interactionist research (Hankivsky et al., 2014). Although this research shall consider the role of gender within overarching social identities of "immigrants" and "Swedes", the above call is underscored to make a push for broader intersectional considerations in interactionist scholarship (Alba 2005, Jenkins 2008, Wimmer 2008a, Zolberg and Woon, 1999).

Calls to include intersectional perspectives also lead us to reflect on the role of space, given its significance in this study. With the exception of a few scholars (Fechter, 2007; McKay, 2021), interactionist scholars have failed to address the manner in which interactionist processes occur in and through space. Fechter (2007, 35) emerges as an exception to this, exploring gated spaces created by European expats through the drawing of racialised boundaries in Jakarta. Dahltstedt et al., (2018) and Stephenson (2021) address similar spatialised questions in the Swedish context, interested in how the 'suburbs' constitute a spatial form of racial othering (McKay, 2021). Lesser recognised in the Swedish context, however, is the notion of 'white spaces', these include places of racial privilege where racialised subordinate groups "are typically absent, not expected or marginalised when present", an aspect that this study shall address through its study of Hammarby Sjöstad (See: 2.3.2) (Anderson, 2015, 10, cited in McKay, 2021). Whilst scholars have begun to address the spatial dimensions of 'boundary-making' through discussions of segregation at the city-scale, this study shall extend these limited discussions through considering interactionist processes within and between different spaces, ranging from micro-spaces within the neighbourhood (Osborne, 2022) to neighbourhoods, to cities and the nation, adhering with my prior interest in 'scales of belonging' (See: 3.2.5) (Schuermans, 2011; Toivanen, 2014).

This conceptual framework shall hence follow in the example of Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos' (2013) innovative study that seeks to combine interactionist theories with intersectional perspectives (Arora et al., 2019). The benefits of linking these theories together

stems from how they inform one another, through the former's interest in the (un)making of boundaries, and the latter's interest in diversity within these boundaries (Arora et al., 2019; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Williams 2018). Both interactionist and intersectional approaches share a common premise, focused on structure and agency, social identities and belonging (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Koskela 2020; Williams 2018). In their ground-breaking article, Korteweg and Triadafilopoulos (2013) use this framework to explore how state policies construct immigrants as subjects in ways that determine the conditions for their membership in host countries. Like other scholars, they hence draw upon interactionist theories to explore macro-level processes, ignoring everyday interactions on the ground which shall be addressed in this study (See: 3.2.3). Furthering current interactionist scholarship, this study seeks to combine interactionist and intersectional perspectives to explore women's everyday "interactions" in public space, leading us to the second half of this chapter.

3.3. Encounters

3.3.1. Interactionist theories and encounters

Whilst interactionist theories provide useful tools to understand how people experience and negotiate their belonging to social identities, few scholars have analysed how these processes play out in everyday life. Interactionist scholars have consistently acknowledged the significance of "interactions" as key sites in everyday boundary-making processes; however, they do not move beyond these cursory acknowledgements. In the Swedish context for example, Osanami-Torngren (2020, 458) note that "immigrant" identities develop through 'interaction' with the majority society yet simultaneously fails to move beyond this superficial recognition of its significance (Khosravi, 2012). By consequence, processes of internal and external identification are treated as abstract notions, ignoring their materialisation in everyday contexts (Juhila, 2004). Even amongst empirical case-studies, insights into the internal-external dialectic and "social identification" strategies revolve around generalised static reflections, ignoring the dynamism of everyday interactions where individuals experience, shift, and transform ethnic boundaries of belonging (Back et al., 2012; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). For this reason, our attention turns to the encounters scholarship given it provides the necessary theoretical tools to better understand interactionists' focus on interactions and the messy, emergent processes underscored in the first half of this chapter (Halse, 2018; Swanton, 2016). Drawing on the encounters scholarship and 'first impressions'

provides a more fine-grained lens to address interactionist perspectives on social identities and belonging and more specifically, their focus on 'interactions' as the site of boundary-making processes. Armed with its theoretical tools, this study's focus on 'encounters' replaces previously vague emphases on general 'interactions' with in-depth analyses of 'first impressions'. Closer observations of everyday life - enabled through the lens of 'first impressions' - will help provide more nuanced understandings regarding women's navigations of public space in relation to their perceived (un)safety.

3.3.2. Conceptual understandings

Similar to discussions around 'belonging' (Antonsich, 2010), the encounters scholarship has been criticised by Darling and Wilson (2016) and Wilson (2017) for its lack of conceptual clarity, the extent of which becomes apparent following a survey of previous studies (See: Back et al., 2012; Peterson, 2021, Sriskandarajah, 2019). In the field of interactionism, Duemmler et al., (2010) emerge as one of few scholars who approach the "internal-external dialectic" through the lens of "encounters" rather than more commonly-studied "interactions". In their study of young people, they critically explore how ethnic boundaries are maintained and contested during everyday encounters between Swiss and Albanian students. Despite this welcomed focus, this distinction appears redundant given they show little signs of conceptual engagement, manifesting itself in their simultaneous use of terms 'encounters' and 'interactions'. This conflation highlights the lack of critical scrutiny around encounters, where it is often treated as a synonym for interactions, subsequently undermining the vast bodies of critical theoretical insights that typically accompany its usage (Darling & Wilson, 2016; Wilson, 2017). Beyond the realm of interactionism, Pettersson (2013) and Soljhell (2019) explore how ethnic belonging is negotiated between Swedish police and male "immigrant" teenagers within the suburbs. Whilst their findings are of great value to this study and its focus on belonging in Sweden, their conceptualisation of 'encounters' is left similarly unaddressed, emerging as a 'taken-for-granted' term, a criticism that can be levied at many scholars both beyond and within the field of interactionism. Without attention to how encounters are conceptualised, Wilson (2017, 452) cautions that it will emerge as an "empty referent", undermining its analytical potential.

In response to Wilson's (2017) criticism, this study will take Ahmed's (2000) understandings of encounters as a conceptual starting point that will be refined through this study. The lack of conceptual clarity around the term, means that few definitions are offered in previous

works, leading this study to build on implicit definitions and understandings. Encounters are defined by Ahmed (2000) as unpredictable face-to-face meetings in everyday life where difference is not fixed but emerges within encounters (Haldrup, Koefoed & Simonsen, 2008; Koefoed, Simonsen & De Neergard, 2012). Important for Ahmed's conceptualisation, encounters are intimately connected with the past and future, shaped by its spatial context, and broader power relations (Ahmed, 2000; Darling & Wilson, 2016; Harris et al., 2017; Simonsen, de Neergaard & Koefoed, 2019). It is hence Ahmed's (2000) definition that emerges as this study's starting point due to its focus on the underlying spatial and temporal context, alongside its incorporation of broader structure and agency debates, both of which have not been widely recognised across current encounters scholarship.

3.3.3. Two bodies of work: 'geographies of encounter' and 'doing of encounter'

Beyond questions of its conceptualisation, its contemporary scholarship is largely based on a dialogue between two bodies of work that I respectively refer to as the 'Geographies of Encounter' and 'Doing of Encounter' in the absence of any established terms (Swanton, 2016). Whilst I have approached the encounters scholarship in this manner, this division should not imply that this body of work cannot be organised in other ways. This differentiation instead emerges as the most fitting approach for this study and its interest in 'first impressions' (for other modes of organisation, See: Darling & Wilson, 2016; Nayak, 2017; Wilson, 2017). The aim of this section is hence not to pursue these discussions in depth but rather to outline their key tenets in order to situate my focus on 'first impressions'.

The phrase 'Geographies of Encounter' is used as a shorthand for a large body of work that addresses the value of encounters and their long-term potential for catalysing change, with a particular focus on differences of race and ethnicity (See: Amin & Thrift, 2008; Perrem, 2018; Wise, 2005; Valentine, 2008; Valentine & Sadgrove, 2014). Scholars are particularly interested in what they term 'meaningful encounters' that are defined by Askins (2016, 516) as the site of long-term positive changes in values towards the 'other' (Koefoed, Christensen & Simonsen, 2017; Lee, 2016; Valentine, 2008). Such discussions around 'meaningful' encounters are often approached through a binary between 'focused' and 'unfocused' interactions. 'Meaningful' encounters are understood to occur through focused interactions defined as where "people are gathered in and collaborate to sustain a shared focus of attention" (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2015, 78; Goffman, 1959; Schuermans, 2017). These mostly take place within what Amin (2002, 969) refers to as 'micro-publics' or what Schuermans (2017, 35) terms the

'parochial realm', the likes of which include workplaces, schools, or community centres, to name a few (Askins & Pain, 2011; Lee, 2016, 2019; Schuermans, 2017). Focused on community centres, Askins and Pain (2011) explore how joint activities challenge prejudices by encouraging regular co-operation between strangers, allowing new identifications to emerge (Amin, 2002; Lee, 2016).

Meaningful "focused encounters" are often constructed in tension with negative "unfocused interactions" within the public realm where "people are copresent without being mutually engaged in a shared activity" (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2015, 78; Goffman, 1959; Schuermans, 2017; Wilson, 2017). These encounters are swiftly dismissed, framed as incidental at best, following social norms, or at worst, fleeting encounters, accentuating negative stereotypes (Schuermans, 2017, 36; Valentine, 2008; Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). It is within the latter, 'unfocused' interactions, where the attention of this study mostly lies, given their significance in women's navigations of public space. Whilst I shall take forward their focus on 'unfocused' interactions and their emphasis on the significance of spatial context, this study shall approach these encounters from a different perspective. In his review of the encounters scholarship, Swanton (2016) makes the valid observation that much of the work on 'Geographies of Encounters' focuses on the long-term potential of everyday encounters, failing to give sufficient attention to the quality of the encounter itself. By this, it is meant that discussions around short-term processes of judgement, elicited by the coming-together of differently-situated bodies, are absent. It is this lacuna, that leads me to the second body of work, 'Doing of Encounters' scholarship, which better addresses this focus, and accordingly emerges as key for my focus on women's perceived (un)safety.

Important for this study, scholars here address the 'doing' of encounters, interested in how different bodies are read as 'strange' (See: Ahmed, 2000; Amin, 2012; Saldahna, 2007; Swanton, 2007, 2010, 2016; Willis, 2010). In Ahmed's (2000) 'Strange Encounters', face-to-face encounters involve modes of recognition which differentiate between the familiar and strange based upon one's visual appearance (Alcoff, 2006; Amoore, 2007; Schuermans, 2017; Wilson, 2011). In a similar vein, Amin (2010, 93) later writes, "The process of the categorisation of the other is very clear: a simple sensory stimulus triggers an automatic negative response…The result of phenotypical racism is the coding of particular strangers as always out-of-place". Through this process, he explores the 'visual regimes' of racial categorisation that differentiate specific conjunctions of skin colour, clothing, and behaviour as triggers of

racist thoughts and actions (Schuermans, 2016). Swanton's (2010) ethnographic study builds upon Ahmed (2000) and Amin's (2012) original theorisations through empirical examples, revealing how racism emerges through more-than-human encounters across restaurants, shops, taxis, and schools in Keighley, UK, leading certain bodies to be read as 'out-of-place' and 'strange'. Central to this study and its focus on women's fears, Ahmed later approaches these questions through the lens of fear, noting how bodily experiences of fear are entangled with what she terms 'politics of vision' (Schuermans, 2016, 100; Jackson et al., 2017; Lupton, 1999). She proceeds to explore how certain bodies are recognised as dangerous, and others as harmless, through recurring visual regimes that associate bodies with certain identities (Schuermans, 2011, 2016, 2017). Marking off social groups in this way, is deemed crucial for individuals' navigations of public space, helping to separate those with whom one feels safe, for whom one has clear expectations for how they will act (Migdal, 2004, 9). The following chapters will develop these theoretical insights to explore how different bodies are read, and threat judged, during women's fleeting encounters, where fears are projected upon differently-situated bodies.

The 'Doing of Encounters' scholarship has since come under heavy criticism, the most vocal of critics being Peter Hopkins. With the exception of Sara Ahmed's theorisations, Hopkins (2014, 1576) writes, "Many accounts of the strangers are curiously disembodied, with little indication of what the stranger actually looks like and how their embodiment is inter-related with their positioning as the stranger" (See: Amin, 2012; Swanton, 2007, 2010). Amin's (2012) 'Land of Strangers' is particularly critiqued in this regard, understood to lack an inter-corporeal focus, obliterating any considerations of the body (Hopkins, 2014; Nayak, 2010, 2017). Daniel Swanton's (2007, 2010) ethnographic work initially appears to make better headway with this question given his interest in how 'becoming stranger' or 'terrorist' in his case, rests on a particular racialised conjunction of accents, clothing, language, rumour, and material culture. Through these reflections, Swanton draws attention to the multisensorial nature of everyday encounters, often amiss in previous studies, including Ahmed's and Amin's prior theorisations that favour analysis of visual stimuli, reinforcing what Haldrup et al., (2006) refers to as the "ocularcentrism of the social sciences" (Matejskova, 2013; Swanton, 2007). I accordingly seek to take forward Swanton's (2010) conceptualisation of 'othering' as intrinsically multi-sensorial, resting on particular conjunctions of smells, sound, taste, touch, subsequently building upon Ahmed's original definition (See also: Ghertner, McFann & Goldstein, 2020;

Haldrup et al., 2006; Shaker, 2021; Shaker et al., 2021). Despite this contribution, Swanton's push to consider 'more-than-human' encounters, comes at the expense of in-depth considerations of their embodied nature, lost in thick descriptions of Keighley's material environment, as best demonstrated by the following excerpt, "On the streets of Keighley, race takes form temporarily, but repeatedly, through arrangements of skin colour, spoilers, Hip Hop, BMW badges, lay-bys, Hackney carriages, screeching tyres, tinted windows, taxi meters, side streets, and traffic lights" (Swanton, 2010b, 450). Here, the embodied nature of Keighley residents' encounters falls by the wayside, lending further weight to Hopkins' criticism of extant 'Doing of Encounters' scholarship. The need for more embodied accounts of everyday encounters gains pertinence in light of this study's focus on women's encounters, where visceral and bodily dimensions take centre-stage.

The second criticism voiced by Hopkins, and of equal importance to this study's focus, is the question of relationality. Despite Ahmed's original theorisations, Hopkins (2014) notes a tendency to "invest the figure of the stranger with a life of its own, insofar as it cuts the stranger off from the histories of its determination", or what Ahmed (2000, 5) succinctly terms "Stranger fetishization" (Bilge, 2021; Marotta, 2021; Jackson et al., 2017). It is hence not possible to simply 'be' a stranger but rather one 'becomes' a stranger through embodied encounters (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011). The stranger is hence not pre-given or existing in absolute terms but rather emerges as relational, constructed in encounters (Ahmed, 2000; Jackson et al., 2017; Nayak, 2010; Paolos & Goodman, 2004). This points to how one can be a stranger in one setting, and familiar in another, or as argued by Jackson et al., (2017), have different degrees of strangeness (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011, 343; Harris et al., 2017; Hughes, 2020). These criticisms gain even greater pertinence when considered against this study's interactionist framework, which points to relational understandings of social identity. Drawing this together, Hopkins' (2014) criticisms pave the way for this study's focus on 'first impressions' which better recognise the embodied and relational nature of everyday encounters.

3.3.4. First impressions: encounters, (in)visibility and belonging:

It is here that our attention turns to an emerging strand of work, focused on a particular type of encounter known as 'first impressions' (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). As it does not cross-reference to "doing of encounters" scholarship, "first impressions" are treated as a distinct body of work. Despite this, I have chosen to situate 'first impressions' within the 'doing of

encounters' scholarship, given first, their overlaps as both address the 'fleeting' moments of encounters, and second, in the hope they will benefit from one another's insights, subsequently finessing their development for this study. For the purposes of clarification, I shall first provide a definition of 'first impressions' in order to introduce the reader to its overarching meaning and demonstrate its alignment with this study where it is positioned as the main site of boundary-making during women's navigations of public space.

'First impressions' are defined by Erdal and Strømsø (2018, 129) as "fleeting moments" where "individuals pass each other with little to no interaction". Key to Erdal and Strømsø's theorisations of 'first impressions' and pivotal for this study, is their engagement with the notion of (in)visibility, where they are understood as rapid face-to-face encounters that trigger automatic reactions and *more or less* conscious reflections on the basis of one's racialised (in)visibility. Here, (in)visibility is closely tied to the physical and embodied, to something that can be seen (or not seen) due to visual cues (or lack thereof), subsequently reflecting their overarching function as "physical-appearance based first impressions" (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018, 121; Hopkins, 2014; Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014, 162; Mas Giralt, 2011). It is hence their engagement with (in)visibility that leads to their differentiation from the 'doing of encounters' scholarship whose theorisations would equally benefit from engaging with (in)visibilities. More specifically, focusing on questions of (in)visibility helps better address the *embodied* nature of encounters or more specifically, how an individual's embodied characteristics – and the values and meanings associated with these characteristics – influence their navigations of public space (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014). Against this broad conceptualisation, Erdal and Strømsø (2021) position 'first impressions' as sites of 'boundary-making' in relation to national belonging. Discussions of who is or who is not assumed to belong to the nation, and of assumptions about what national belonging looks like, are hence of importance (Antonsich, 2018; Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011). Erdal and Strømsø (2018) approach this question from the perspectives of the observer and onlooker, underscoring the *relational* nature of these encounters, otherwise lacking from the 'doing of encounters' scholarship. Combined, their conceptualisation of 'first impressions' implicitly draws together different aspects of this study's preceding theoretical discussion, from (in)visibility (1.3.1) to interactionist boundary-making (3.2) to belonging (3.2.5) to encounters (3.3.2 - 3). Through the subsequent discussion, I will further analyse its alignment with this study with the aim to offer a more specific

alternative to previous generalised conceptions of 'interactions', rife in interactionist scholarship, alongside more *embodied* and *relational* accounts of everyday encounters.

My focus on 'first impressions', however, should not be interpreted as a dismissal of other types of encounters. Erdal and Strømsø (2018, 120) in fact, begin their introduction, emphasising that, "Various encounters make the boundaries of the nation evident", despite their exclusive focus on 'first impressions' as sites of boundary-making. Ahmed (2000, 7) builds on this argument, addressing the interrelations between different encounters at different times, noting "Encounters remind us of other encounters" where they "presuppose other encounters of facing, other bodies, other spaces and other times" (See also: Amin, 2012; Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011, 346; Schuermans, 2017). Whilst definitions of first impressions underscore their unique temporality, as something that occurs in a brief momentary period, they are simultaneously entwined with past experiences, what Erdal and Strømsø (2018, 121) term "temporal layeredness" (Ahmed, 2000; Back et al., 2012; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018; Gottzen, 2013; Valentine, 2008). Lesser emphasised however, are the spatial dimensions of this relationality, that this study seeks to address through its consideration of 'first impressions' - and more broadly, encounters - across different spatial contexts. With this in mind, the rest of this chapter will situate "first impressions" as the main site of "boundary-making" in women's everyday navigations of public space, whilst remaining conscious of their entwinement with other encounters across different temporal and spatial contexts.

Before proceeding with Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) engagement with 'first impressions', a quick precursory remark shall be made regarding the type of references included in the discussion below. Whilst Erdal and Strømsø (2018) coin the term 'first impressions', their attention to visibility, race and belonging, is far from novel, drawing from a long-standing body of work that underscores similar processes. Various references discussed below that predate Erdal and Strømsø's conceptualisation do not explicitly refer to 'first impressions' yet will be drawn upon to supplement their theorisations. Despite this, I do underscore however, that Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) decision to draw these bodies of work together, alongside their engagement with (in)visibility through the lens of fleeting encounters, emerges as a novel conceptualisation. Through the following discussion, I seek to build on their conceptualisation, through incorporating facets of broader scholarship on (in)visibility, interactionism, and encounters that have been previously outlined, in order to finesse its use within this study.

3.3.5. Experiences of belonging

Erdal and Strømsø (2021) explore how 'first impressions' emerge as sites of national boundary-making amongst young people in Norway. In doing so, they draw on the notion of 'implicit bias', a concept developed in the study of human responses to racial difference and later applied to gender, ethnicity, and sexuality (Fiske, 2004; Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998; Rattansi, 2011; Roozeboom, 2021). In Fiske's (2004, 119) words, implicit bias refers to how, "People categorise others on the basis of salient cues, recruit associated stereotypes, trigger emotional prejudices and launch discriminatory behaviour". Fiske (2004), amongst others, caution against potential misinterpretations of these sequences as products of "neurological processes" (Roozeboom, 2021). In his book, 'Land of Strangers', Amin (2012, 93) verges dangerously close to these arguments through his focus on humans' "sorting instinct", implying that sorting individuals into races is inherent in human nature (Rattansi, 2011, 114). Instead, it must be emphasised that unconscious neural structures only set the foundations for social categorisation and rather, the broader context within which the bias occurs, informs how it is operationalised (Amodio, 2014; Roozeboom, 2021, 4; Rusche & Brewster, 2008). Whilst this discussion temporarily delves into psychological technicalities, these clarifications are of crucial importance in order to avoid representing these processes as 'automatic' and devoid from broader discriminatory structures (Philipson, 2016, 11). Erdal and Strømsø (2018) loosely signal at these debates, as alluded by their description above as "*more or less conscious*" yet fail move beyond this cursory acknowledgement, an oversight that this study sought to clarify.

With this clarification in mind, Erdal and Strømsø (2018, 120) begin their article with a quote from a white student, "Meeting someone with dark skin colour, I will most likely think that he or she is from abroad and is not Norwegian". Following this, they examine the narratives of students with different skin colours, referred to as the 'observed', addressing their experiences of being observed and questioned on their origins by 'onlookers' (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018, 130). Central in these narratives are the ways in which skin colour, whiteness and race emerge as highly visible subject positions for national belonging (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). Beyond Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) observations, boundaries of national belonging have been increasingly discussed in racialised terms across the European and North American context, yet less present in these discussions are the voices of Nordic scholars (See: Antonsich, 2018, for discussions of Italy, Clarke, 2021, for discussions of UK). Whilst the latter have analysed visible signs of religious affiliation including the Muslim headscarf (Jakku, 2018;

Listerborn, 2015), the manner in which people are viewed differently due to their visible physical characteristics is a topic that Nordic scholars avoid, an important contextual observation which is left surprisingly undiscussed by Erdal and Strømsø (2018) yet is addressed in this study's contextual chapter (2.2.3). Nonetheless, what makes Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) contribution of particular interest, is their consideration of processes of (in)visibility, where judgements on one's national belonging are premised on the basis of one's skin colour. This reproduces what Antonsich (2018, 457) refers to as a "racialised visual economy of recognition", helping shed light on broader processes of racialisation in the Nordic context (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018; Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014, 161). This focus simultaneously responds to broader criticisms levied against encounters scholarship, as 'first impressions' are *relational* in that they come to define the self and other, hereby referred to as the 'onlooker' and the 'observed', yet are also *embodied*, tied to their skin colour (Hopkins, 2014; Nayak, 2017).

Whilst Clarke (2021, 4) praises their recognition of race, she is simultaneously critical of Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) conceptualisation of race as primarily about skin colour. Although her argument has a strong basis, Erdal and Strømsø (2018) do make occasional attempts to push beyond their focus on skin colour, sporadically referencing the significance of clothing and religious headwear. In keeping with Clarke's (2021) criticism however, Erdal and Strømsø (2018) make minimal attempts to move beyond these cursory acknowledgements, seemingly fixated on the significance of skin colour. This subsequently reinforces Clarke's (2021) call to consider other racialised extra-corporeal visible registers that signal national belonging. Runfors (2016) and Toivanen (2014) can be seen to retrospectively respond to this call, through their considerations of how "immigrants" are constructed as 'non-white' through their skin colour but also other lesser-studied phenotypes including hair and eye colour (See Also: Eliassi, 2013, 10; Mattsson, 2005; Lundström, 2010).

Although studies of (in)visibility have typically focused on visible phenotypical features, Clarke (2021) and Toivanen (2014) further caution on treating embodied features as the sole signifiers of racial belonging, pushing beyond Erdal and Strømsø's narrow conceptualisations. They instead note how individuals can become constructed as more 'visible' on the basis of an accent or behavioural traits that can emerge as markers of difference in specific contexts. Clarke (2021), for example, explores how white British participants use informal markers of accent, behaviour, and values to distinguish nationals from non-nationals. The question of 'audible visibility' is also explored in the Nordic context by Guðjónsdóttir (2014) and Toivanen

(2014) where the overhearing of language use in fleeting encounters are used to allocate individuals to the highly racialised notion of "immigrant" (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014). The combined effect of this work is to move beyond Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) fixation with (in)visibility in visual terms, through the lens of skin colour and instead, position 'first impressions' in relation to multi-sensorial visibility (Chavez & Hill, 2021; Haldrup et al., 2006, 2008). As Clarke (2021) warns, continuing to equate racial belonging with skin colour, will provide insufficient tools to understand the complexity of different racialisation processes through which certain groups become marked as (in)visible (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014). Through the lens of 'first impressions', one must consider how considerations of (in)visibilities are related to complex racialisation processes that push beyond physical dimensions of becoming (in)visible (Toivanen, 2014).

Despite this progress, common to most studies discussed above are dichotomist conceptions of (in)visibility, previously critiqued in relation to broader (in)visibility scholarship (See: 1.3.2). By this, it is meant that "immigrants" are represented as hyper-visible in contrast to the invisible 'national majority' (See: Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). Few scholars have sought to problematise dichotomist divisions of visibility and invisibility, myopically downplaying the contextual variability of the spectrum of (in)visibility (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014). Erdal and Strømsø (2018, 131) initially appear to make some progress with this debate through their discussions of the "multiplicity" of first impressions. Here, they begin to underscore participants' varied perceptions of boundaries of Norwegianness in diverse 'first impressions'. Despite this, they fail to further expand on this, leading us to turn to Koobak and Thapark-Bjokert's (2012) autobiographical study, which better engages with the contextual nature of their racialised (in)visibilities. Here, the authors take turn, reflecting on their arrival in Sweden, and their concomitant experiences on being read as "Swedes" and "immigrants" in everyday encounters across diverse contexts. Whilst they refer to 'encounters', their focus on fleeting moments and subsequent engagements with embodied invisibilities, closely aligns with our focus on 'first impressions', hence, justifying its inclusion within this section. Expanding on questions of contextual (in)visibilities, Koobak (2012) as an Estonian middle-class woman, first considers how her whiteness, academic status, along with her 'typically Scandinavian appearance', enables her to pass as a Swede in most 'first impressions', that is until she is heard to speak in English. For Thapark-Bjorkert (2012) however, her visibly different appearance as an Indian woman is consistently read as that of an "immigrant". Having recently

given birth, she reflects on her son's social identification in relation to her own (in)visibility. Whilst seen as the son of an "immigrant" mother when next to her in the maternity ward, he is quickly associated with 'Swedishness' upon her brief absence when left with a white woman in a nearby bed. Through their compelling autobiographical account, they encourage the reader to avoid conceptualising visible difference as fixed, moving beyond dichotomist conceptions of "visible immigrants" and "invisible Swedes". In keeping with our interactionist framework, Koobak and Thapark-Bjorkert (2012) underscore the contextual nature of definitions of "Swedes" and "immigrants", in other words, a person who is not considered a "Swede" or "immigrant" in one 'situation', may be seen as such in the next. For these scholars, what constitutes visible difference hence depends on the 'context' in hand. Whilst they rightfully recognise the contextual fluidity of their (in)visibility, Koobak and Thapark-Bjorkert (2012) discussions lack any deep considerations of 'how' and 'why' they are read in different ways, failing to move beyond the observations outlined above. It is in this way that I find myself at a similar conclusion reached in 1.3.2, whereby it is felt that studies of (in)visibility in 'first impressions' would benefit from an intersectional framework. The use of an intersectional framework would help consider how race, gender, nationality, class, and underlying geography intertwine to produce certain social locations for (in)visible individuals across different contexts which will help better understand how differently-situated women become (in)visible across different settings (Yuval-Davis, 2011, cited in Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014; Guðjónsdóttir, 2014).

Combined, this section has pushed beyond Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) narrow conceptualisation of 'first impressions' to better galvanise its potential within this study's broader intersectional framework that seeks to explores racialised extra-corporeal (in)visibilities. It equally pushes us to reflect on the contextual nature of these processes, rendering a person visible in one context yet invisible in another. This aligns with broader conversations around 'strangers' where the construction of who is a stranger depends on the context (Chavez & Hill, 2021; Harris et al., 2017; Hughes, 2020).

3.3.6. Negotiations of belonging

The second half of Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) article turns to what they refer to as the 'management of first impressions'. Whilst it is often assumed that only the 'majority' possess the power to categorise people as (in)visible, it is of equal importance to recognise how the 'minority' influence their own (in)visibility (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014, 162; Guðjónsdóttir,

2014; Huhta, 2014). Previous research has often ignored how migrants and minorities can partially negotiate the identities imposed on them (See Dahlstedt et al., 2017; Hubinette & Tigervall, 2009). Similar criticisms are broadly levelled at the 'strangers' and 'doing encounters' scholarship, where the voices of those categorised as strangers are 'curiously absent', leading Hopkins et al., (2017), Schuermans (2011), Shaker (2021) and Wright (2015) to highlight the importance of empirical research that enables the stranger to talk. Whilst Erdal and Strømsø (2018) make headway with this question, they surprisingly approach questions of agency through the lens of 'further encounters' rather than 'first impressions'. Their conclusion for example, focuses on the ways in which negative 'first impressions' are occasionally overcome through further positive personal interaction, mirroring the convivial tones of aforementioned 'geographies of encounters' scholarship, subsequently relegating 'first impressions' as a mere othering device. Whilst these arguments are of interest, Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) emphasis on the significance on further 'prolonged' encounters is at odds with their initial focus on 'first impressions'.

Far from specific to Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) study, few scholars consider how individuals negotiate their (in)visibility during fleeting encounters. Testament to this, Hallgren (2005) writes, "They [immigrants] may laugh out loud or choose to interpret insulting behaviour as nothing more than a joke… they keep quiet on the outside whilst storing up the hurt deep inside (337) … or opting for a more Swedish-sounding name was a key decision (334)". The latter ethnic strategy is frequently discussed within the Swedish context where recent legislation enables residents to adopt a new name from pre-existing databases, enabling them to pass as "Swedish" (See: Bursell, 2012, 477; Eliassi, 2013; Hallgren, 2005; Hubinette & Tigervall, 2009; Khosravi, 2012; Lulle & Balode, 2014; Runfors 2021). Although this strategy emerges as one of the most frequently-discussed responses, it equally mirrors broader trends in current scholarship that focus on individuals' navigation of 'othering' during prolonged encounters. Here, for example, one's name only emerges as a significant marker of difference during prolonged encounters where personal details are exchanged. Whilst scholars increasingly recognise the minority's agency, few address their negotiations of more fleeting encounters, characteristic of 'first impressions', subsequently failing to address how the question of (in)visibility comes to the fore when considering individuals' agency.

Although Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) conclusion predominantly focuses on the significance of personal relationships, they briefly discuss more relevant means of management of first

impressions. Earlier in their paper, they reflect on a participant's experiences at his work, "He spoke Norwegian properly, as he put it. When behind the McDonalds counter, he was representing the company, thus dressing more formally, and ensuring that his shirt was buttoned-up, all part of his performing a proper version of Norwegianness at work" (2018, 131). Whilst his skin colour initially seemed unnegotiable, the participant was able to successfully manage others' first impressions through adapting his clothing and language, what can be referred to as 'embodied' or 'audible' invisibility, respectively. Through this example, they successfully illustrate that first impressions are not pre-determined by power hierarchies, providing space for individuals' agency. Later in their article, Erdal and Strømsø (2018) consider other management strategies - or more fittingly, non-management– through the narratives of two female participants, both of which wear hijabs. For one, her constant 'othering' leads to a sense of resignation and an active non-management of 'first impressions', accepting boundaries between herself and the exclusionary Norwegian majority. The other participant is lesser concerned and somewhat dismissive of its importance. Here, the experiences of wearing a hijab in Norwegian society differed for each girl, more broadly, underscoring the subjective production of 'first impressions' as sites of boundary-making, which subsequently elicits different management strategies, or indeed, lack of, in the case of the former participant. Through these examples, Erdal and Strømsø (2018) begin to reveal how youths do (or do not) manage 'first impressions', demonstrating the dynamism and reflexivity amongst boundary-makers.

Despite these contributions, Erdal and Strømsø (2018) predominantly discuss individuals' agency through the lens of potentially 'positive' personal relationship beyond initial first impressions. On the one hand, one must recognise how 'first impressions' may transcend into other encounters, an argument that Ahmed strongly emphasises. Despite this, Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) aim to develop the conceptual tool of 'first impressions' feels incomplete due to their focus on the potential of 'prolonged encounters', leading us to return to interactionist scholarship and more specifically, Wimmer's typology. This provides a more systematic approach to understand the boundary-making strategies used by 'othered' participants during 'first impressions'. In subsequent chapters, his typology shall be used in combination with discussions of embodied strategies explored in broader (in)visibility scholarship (1.3.2) that foreground the importance of (in)visibility in participants' management of 'first impressions' (Hopkins, 2014). Shifting our attention away from specific

strategies used, Slooter (2019) addresses the contextual nature of the 'management of first impression'. In his interactionist study, he observes that young people do not follow one set of ethnic boundary-making strategies but often combine them, simultaneously deploying multiple strategies. This rests in contrast to other interactionist studies where boundary-making strategies are conceptualised as exclusive and distinct, failing to recognise how they may be used in tandem by the same individual. Pushing beyond this observation, he considers how different strategies are used in different 'situations', underscoring its contextual nature, discussed in the previous section (For exception, see: Morosanu & Fox, 2013, Lamont & Mizrachi, 2012; Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019). The exact nature of these 'situations' remain undiscussed however, reduced to a vague, abstract descriptor, leading us to question 'why' and 'how' different boundary-making strategies are used in 'first impressions' across diverse 'situations'. Conscious of this lacuna, Slooter (2019, 193) argues that more research is needed to explain when and why young people switch from one strategy to another, a gap that this study shall respond through its focus on women's 'safety work' across diverse spatial contexts.

Across the broader interactionist scholarship, most scholars have failed to provide systematic insights and analysis on why certain strategies are employed by differently-situated actors across diverse contexts. There have however, been a few exceptions, where scholars have addressed the situational nature of 'boundary-making strategies' with reference to individual personality traits (Witte, 2018) or the broader institutional and legal context at hand (Lamont & Mizrachi, 2012). In their study of Turks in Germany, Witte (2018, 1434) for example writes, "This strategy is for those with strong self-esteem". They later emphasise the significance of patience as a personality trait, collectively emphasising the importance of participants' individual traits in determining the ethnic strategy deployed. Thinking more broadly, Lamont and Mizrachi (2012), focus on how individuals' choice of strategy is influenced by cultural contexts or the broader legal and institutional structures, both of which mostly operate at the national scale. With reference to the former, they note how Ethiopian Jews' everyday navigations in Israel are affected by Zionist national narratives whilst ordinary working-class Brazilians embrace 'racial mixture' as a cultural tool (Mizrachi and Zawdu, 2012, Silva & Reis, 2012; cited in Lamont & Mizrachi, 2015, 374). Focused on the legal context, they explore how Middle-Eastern immigrants in Sweden in Bursell's (2012) study, achieve recognition through changing their name, an act made possible through legal infrastructure as discussed above (Lamont & Mizrachi, 2015, 375). Whilst personality traits along with cultural and institutional

factors inevitably impact 'first impressions' and concomitant 'social identification strategies', this study aims to explore the contextual variability through the intersectional nature of the 'situation' itself. Through this, I allude to the intersectional (in)visible identity of passers-by and the underlying micro-spatial context. These considerations have otherwise gone amiss in previous interactionist research yet are brought to the fore through our focus on 'first impressions' and more generally, women's encounters in public space. Through the lens of 'first impressions', I hence pose the same question, interested in how women navigate their (in)visibility across different 'situations' or contexts, once again, highlighting the need for an intersectional framework.

3.3.7. Intersectionality

The entire process, discussed above, is dependent on a person's intersectional identity and the underlying spatial context, collectively referred to as the 'situation' (Koobak & Thapark-Bjorkert, 2012; Slooter, 2019). Despite this dynamism, most studies continue to approach questions of invisibility and belonging through discussions of the racialisation of national boundaries of belonging, re-establishing how people of colour are positioned as "immigrants" at the national scale (Ahmed, 2000; Bauman, 1991, cited in Hopkins, 2014). Lacking are considerations of the intersectional complexities of this process, with limited reflections of other intersectional markers, including the role of gender, race, class, and space, which emerge as a key in this study's intersectional framework (See: 1.3.3). This criticism applies beyond 'first impressions' to this study's broader conceptual framework, given most interactionist and encounters literatures have adopted one-dimensional analyses, focused on issues of ethnicity and race respectively, ignoring spaces beyond and within the national scale. It is hence here that I emphasise the importance of an overarching intersectional framework that can help shed light on how differently-situated women experience and negotiate their belonging during 'first impressions' across different public spaces (Toivanen, 2014, 193).

3.4. Conclusions

This chapter has introduced the conceptual framework that will form the basis for this thesis, drawing from interactionist theories and encounters literatures, with the aim to better understand women's perceived (un)safety. Throughout this chapter, I have noted where this study seeks to make specific contributions or build upon existing debates. For the purposes of clarification however, I will use this final section to situate this study and its contributions

more generally. Informed by an intersectional framework, this conceptual framework positions "first impressions" as the main site of interactionist boundary-making processes in relation to women's everyday navigations of public space. This framework will help further this study's initial interest in the nexus between belonging and invisibility - initially implicitly discussed by Kern (2005) and Vera-Gray (2020) - in relation to the Swedish context and its respective focus on "Swedes" and "immigrants". Bringing together these bodies of work aims to enrich our current understanding of women's perceived (un)safety through drawing attention to the nuances of their everyday navigations through public space whilst simultaneously drawing attention to women's agency within overarching social structures, subsequently challenging stereotypes of passive femininity (Pain, 2001).

Bringing these literatures together not only helps to improve our understanding of women's perceived (un)safety but also hopes to benefit their own development as separate bodies of work. This study's focus on encounters provides a fine-grained lens to understand the workings of interactionist theories in everyday contexts. Most empirical studies, that draw upon interactionist theories, have provided abstract or empirically-generalised insights into 'internal' and 'external' identifications and the concomitant "social identification strategies". Armed with its theoretical tools, this study's focus on 'encounters' replaces previously vague emphases on general 'interactions' with in-depth analyses of 'first impressions'. Drawing on interactionist theories provides a structured approach to understand encounters and more specifically, 'first impressions'. The encounters literature has been critiqued for lacking conceptual clarity, particularly in light of its diverse empirical insights (Wilson, 2017). The interactionist literature and its respective focus on the internal-external dialectic helps make sense and better organise its empirical insights and complexities. Whilst this approach will be used in the context of women's safety, it is hoped that this framework has an impact beyond this realm, examining how social identities - and one's belonging to these groups - are negotiated in wordless interactions that dominate our everyday life in the public realm.

This overarching framework will be infused with an intersectional approach that seeks to explore the intersectional nature of women's everyday navigations across different spaces. All of these bodies of literature are united by a common criticism that centres on their one-dimensional analysis – whether it be ethnicity in the case of interactionist approaches, race and national belonging in encounters, and oppression in relation to studies on women's safety. These bodies of work are equally marred by their uneven considerations of space

whereby its significance is pushed to the backdrop despite its contributions. Informed by an intersectional framework, this thesis will consider how differently-situated women navigate 'first impressions' as a site of boundary-making across different neighbourhood spaces in relation to their perceived (un)safety. Chapter five will address these processes from the 'Swedish majority' perspective, which will emphasise the importance of national structures of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes" for women's perceived safety. Chapter six will consider these processes from 'minority' perspectives, considering their responses to their imposed categorisation as "immigrants" and subsequent emphasis on local belonging for their perceived (un)safety. Chapter 7 will draw together these findings through examining how differently-situated 'minority' and 'majority' women simultaneously negotiate national and local structures of belonging in relation to their perceived (un)safety. This study hence emerges as one of the few examples that addresses the "dialectic of identification" from both majority and minority perspectives or in this case, "Swedish" and "immigrant" women (Duemmler et al., 2010). Whilst this chapter has largely been devoid of reference to women's (un)safety, the following chapters shall illustrate how this framework will be used to explore women's perceived (un)safety.

Chapter 4: Methodology: Walking Interviews, Relief Mapping and Focus Groups

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the novel, remote methodological approach used to address this study's research questions and its overarching focus on women's perceived (un)safety (See Figure 12). Whilst I had intended to conduct this research in-person, the entirety of this project was undertaken remotely due to the unfolding pandemic, emerging as a key novel contribution of this thesis.

With this in mind, this chapter begins by highlighting the methodological grounding of this research, and the ways in which it is founded in feminist epistemologies, specifically notions of situated knowledge and researcher reflexivity. A general overview of the study's research design is subsequently presented, with particular emphasis placed on its mixed, intersectional, spatial, and remote nature. Using extracts from my research diary, this is followed by an analysis of the recruitment processes used to gain the final sample of sixteen participants. The specifics of each online method – walking interviews, relief maps and focus groups - are subsequently outlined, emphasising how their combined use offers a distinctive approach to understand the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety. The chapter then offers some reflection on data analysis processes, before addressing questions of researcher positionality in line with the study's reflexive, feminist approach. Particular attention is placed on the notion of 'embodied positionality' where I will explore the processes of categorisation and stereotyping elicited by my identity as a white, British woman in online spaces. The chapter will conclude with a consideration of ethical issues, before broadly reflecting on the overall methodological approach, that forms one of the three unique contributions of this study.
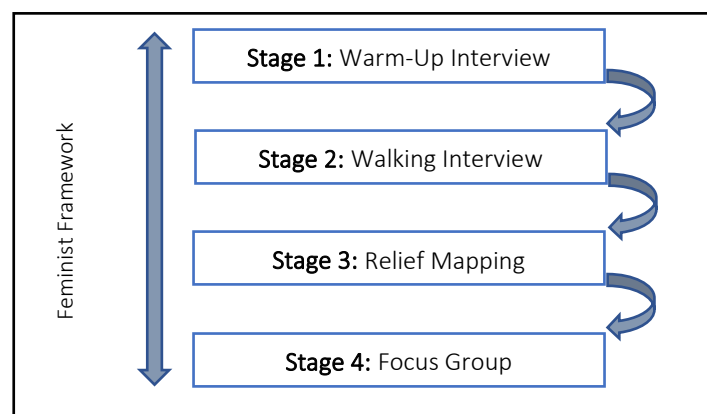
Figure 12: Research Approach

4.2. Feminist Methodologies

Whilst there are clear variations amongst feminist methodologies meaning that not one approach or method dominates, there remain common themes inherent to much feminist research, most notably their emphasis on situated knowledge and researcher reflexivity (Nicholls, 2017). Before exploring these concepts, an overarching definition of feminist methodologies shall be provided in order to situate the subsequent discussion. In short, feminist methodologies are founded on understandings of structural gender inequality which aims to expose and address these inequalities through exploring lived experience with participants (McDowell, 1997; Naples, 2007). In McDowell's (1997, 382) words, feminist research aims to achieve "a more socially just society in which inequalities based on gender differences no longer have the same significance". In light of this aim, considerations of power relations emerge as key within feminist research, framing our subsequent discussions of its key tenets, situated knowledge and researcher reflexivity. This section shall provide a general overview of these concepts, before returning to their specific usage in this study in sections 4.7, after key contextual details on the research process have been provided. Beginning with the former, the notion of 'situated knowledge' (Haraway, 1988) is used to reject the idea of an objective, stable 'truth' that can be studied by a neutral observer (Acker, Barry & Esseveld, 1983; Nicholls, 2017). In this regard, Haraway (1988) importantly argues that all knowledge is partial and situated, as opposed to one group of people holding an objective truth (Lewis, 2018). For its epistemological underpinnings, this research draws upon Haraway's (1988) insights through recognising that each participant understands their safety from a partial, situated perspective. The theory of situated knowledges is hence useful to avoid treating the voice of one woman or group as objective and instead, enabling different knowledges of perceived (un)safety to be simultaneously considered (Lewis, 2018).

When reflecting upon the situatedness of knowledge construction, it is equally important to consider the researcher's role in the study. In this vein, feminist scholars Stanley and Wise (1993) argue it is impossible to produce knowledge about the social world without recognising the ways in which the research process itself is part of the same social environment (Sjoqvist, 2017). To be aware of power dynamics during research encounters means understanding the researcher "not as an invisible anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete specific desires and interests" (Harding, 1987, 9). Questions of reflexivity inform

each stage of the research process from its inception to its dissemination (Lewis, 2018; Lumsden & Winter, 2014). As Rose (1997) argues however, being able to fully locate one's own positionality throughout the process, requires impossible self-knowledge, given power, knowledge and positionality are linked in uncertain ways (McDowell, 1997, 1999). Irrespective of this complexity, the best that one can do as feminist researchers is critically engage with our impact on the process, whilst simultaneously recognising this uncertainty as shall be done in section 4.7.

Whilst these contributions are important and have enhanced mainstream methodological norms, feminist methodologies have been criticised for their failure to reflect upon intersectional experiences (Hamilton, 2020). For instance, black feminists have long rejected the assumption of non-hierarchical relationships between women researchers and participants, underscoring the ways that race can inform the research process (Hamilton, 2020). The theoretical contributions of black feminists, in particular, intersectionality, have hence made significant contributions to feminist methodologies (Crenshaw, 1991; Hamilton, 2020). An intersectional feminist research methodology subsequently acknowledges power contradictions, challenging hierarchical explanations of power that do not reflect upon its complexities (Hamilton, 2020).

With this in mind, considerations of the key tenets of feminist methodologies helped frame the choice of methods used in this study. Despite their prevalence in studies on perceived (un)safety in Sweden, the recognition that quantitative methods provide limited insights into nuanced narratives of experiences pointed towards qualitative methods as the most suitable means for eliciting participants' perspectives (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2006) (See: Ceccato & Bamzar, 2016; Ceccato, 2016; Ceccato, 2021; Johansson & Haandrikman, 2021 for quantitative studies in Sweden). Faced with a range of qualitative approaches, feminist approaches to research are seen to have a "special affinity with qualitative interviews" which are increasingly used in studies of violence against women (Edwards & Hollands, 2013, 8; Campbell et al., 2009; Kelly, 1988). Whilst the use of qualitative interviews within a feminist framework enables for more nuanced insights than their quantitative counterparts, this study offers a less conventional approach through its use of three unique qualitative methods that better address the overarching research questions. Guided by the aforementioned feminist principles, the next section shall turn to analyse the key features of its overarching research design within which these methods were deployed.

4.3. Introducing the Research Design: Mixed, Intersectional, Spatial and Remote

The first aspect of this study's research design was its multi-method approach, that began with warm-up interviews where consent form and a general information sheet were provided (See: Appendix A, B). Demographic details were also collected, and any questions were answered regarding the research process. If happy to proceed, each participant then undertook a walking interview before producing a relief map, subsequently followed by focus groups. Using a range of methods was intended to help explore distinct yet inter-related aspects of women's perceived (un)safety. Walking interviews were used to gauge its spatial facets, exploring the ways in which women's perceived (un)safety varied within and beyond their neighbourhood. Relief maps homed in on the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety, stemming from their function as a methodological tool used to study social inequalities from an intersectional perspective. Focus groups provided valuable insights into processes of collective sense-making in contrast to the individual representations of women's narratives elicited through the previous two methods (Hennink, 2014; Morgan, 1997; Wilkinson, 1998). These methods hence supplemented one another in ways that challenged singular representations that have defined previous research on women's perceived (un)safety. Instead, this combination of qualitative methods was able to successfully gauge the intersectional and by proxy, spatial nature of women's perceived (un)safety (See: 4.5 for in-depth discussions of each method). What often remains overlooked however, is the intersectional and spatial nature of the methods themselves, to which I shall now turn.

The intersectional nature of each method emerged as the second feature of my methodological approach, influenced by the work of Saskia Warren. Initially discussed through the lens of walking tours, Warren (2017) uses observations of Muslim women's spatial practices to critique the normative masculine, Euro-centric body, through which walking interviews have been previously practiced (Warren, 2017). Contributing to broader debates on power and mobility, she underscores the importance of recognising intersectional markers of difference in the design and deployment of mobile methods. Informed by an intersectional framework, Warren (2017) responds through nuancing the walking tour as a method, providing flexibility in how it is designed and conducted. In her study for example, female researchers were deemed more suitable than an unrelated male (of any faith) due to issues of gender and faith. Beyond the realm of the walking tour, her contributions broadly highlight the importance of adapting qualitative methods in line with the needs of differently-situated

participants. In this study, warm-up interviews were hence designed to include opportunities for participants to adapt any stage of the research process. Guided by Warren's (2017) arguments, each method was accordingly revisited with significant emphasis placed on social differences, some of which shall be discussed during this chapter, underscoring its intersectional, grounded nature.

Before proceeding to the third feature of this study's design, it is important to briefly note that interviews were conducted in English. With the aforementioned grounded, intersectional approach in mind, it may come at a surprise that English was the language of choice, given researchers are encouraged to use the native language used by participants. This however, presented a challenge in this study, where a range of languages, from French to Spanish to Persian to Somalian, were spoken across neighbourhoods. Faced with this diversity, the most commonly spoken language amongst all participants was English rather than Swedish, justifying my decision to use English. This decision however, led to the exclusion of non-English speaking residents, predominantly, older first-generation immigrants living within Husby, whose perspectives would enhance our understandings of women's perceived (un)safety in "immigrant" spaces and should be accordingly incorporated in future studies with the help of translators.

The role of space was the third feature of the research design in line with this study's broader geographical focus. Whilst later chapters shall delve into the spatial nature of women's perceived (un)safety, the focus of this section is confined to the 'where' of methodology, an aspect which Anderson and Jones (2009) note is surprisingly absent from most geographical study, including those of feminist nature. Although feminist researchers have acknowledged the significance of power dynamics, few have considered the interview site itself (Elwood & Martin, 2000; Yarker, 2014). Recognising the importance of space, Elwood and Martin (2000) draw upon the concept of the 'micro-geographies' of the interview site as a way of gauging differing positionalities in different spaces. Due to the unfolding Covid-19 pandemic from March 2020, I was unable to conduct face-to-face research, leading to the fourth and final feature of this study's research design, its remote nature.

The importance of remote methods grew exponentially at the start of the pandemic when all face-to-face research was forced to move online (Konken & Howlett, 2022; Marzi, 2020, 2021; Paupini, Teigen & Habib, 2022). Marzi (2021,2) reflects on how this 'new fieldwork landscape' led many scholars to devise alternative ways to continue their research, subsequently

disrupting my established plans to conduct in-person research across Stockholm's neighbourhoods. Faced with this challenge, I drew on Facebook Groups for recruitment purposes and Zoom for the conducting of interviews, the likes of which shall be explored in sections 4.4 and 4.5 respectively. Most recent discussions of remote research have focused on its short-term practical and technical aspects alongside ethical protocols (Keen, Lomeli-Rodriquez & Joffe, 2022). These include the practical strengths and weaknesses of each online platform, requirements for ensuring informed consent and privacy in virtual settings, discussions of recording functions for transcription purposes or technical suggestions for maximising video-call quality (Keen, et al., 2022). Whilst these insights are of great importance, my discussions of remote methods and in particular, my ensuring experiences during recruitment and data collection processes, contribute to emerging albeit limited feminist discussions surrounding researcher positionality in remote research (See: Bonner-Thompson, 2018; Morrow, Hawkins & Kern, 2015). Against this background, my white, female middle-class identity was subject to judgement on online platforms akin to processes of stereotyping described in the overarching conceptual framework, the exact impact of these processes shall be explored in section 4.7. This section has outlined the key aspects of this study's overarching research design, concentrating upon its multi-methods approach alongside its focus on the intersectional, spatial, and remote nature of the research design. Before exploring the specific methods used, the attention of this chapter will turn to the recruitment process.

4.4. Recruitment

4.4.1. Introduction

Discussions of the recruitment process will be supplemented with extracts from my research diary to better illustrate the difficulties that emerged throughout recruitment whilst simultaneously reflecting on the dynamism of the research process. I initially aimed to recruit five differently-situated women from each neighbourhood. Rather than explicitly seeking participants who identified with a diverse range of identities, I instead sought to recruit participants who first, identified as women and second, lived in one of three neighbourhoods (See Appendix C: Call for Participants). Through posting this call across different Facebook groups, I eventually secured a cohort of sixteen women* with relatively diverse identities due to the extent of demographic differences between each neighbourhood. Before introducing and critiquing the demographics characteristics of these participants, I will first analyse the

different avenues used to recruit these participants. Particular attention is spent considering Facebook as a recruitment method, given it is relatively under-researched as a recruitment strategy, coupled with its subsequent significance for participants' perceived (un)safety (See: 5.7).

I will later clarify why an additional participant was included in the intended original sample of fifteen.

4.4.2. Recruitment routes

Recruitment took place between May and August 2020 through three routes: emailing, snowballing and social media. Despite this multi-faceted approach, most participants were recruited using social media, given emailing and snowballing proved largely fruitless ventures. Seventy emails were sent to neighbourhood organisations based in Hammarby Sjöstad, Husby and Kista, with the 'Call for Participants' added as an attachment. Only four organisations responded, all of whom explained that they either had no interest in participation or preferred to meet in-person before introducing any potential participants. I also placed my advert on a Swedish research website (www.studentkaninen.se) where I received some initial interest. The use of the forum, however, was sporadic and in many cases, users would become inactive after some initial correspondence. The limited success of these recruitment methods meant a new recruitment strategy was devised.

After contacting participants from my previous research, two women agreed to participate again and upon hearing about my issues with recruitment, recommended posting on social media. Usage of social media continues to be influenced by age and nationality and hence, had to be considered when choosing the most appropriate social media to use. Facebook proved to be one of the most popular social media sites amongst all ages and nationalities in Sweden, and therefore, was the ideal platform to gain access to diverse communities (Dixon, 2020). Throughout this process, I used my personal profile to post the 'Call for Participants' given the lack of friends and activity associated with a new profile would affect its perceived legitimacy (Fileborn, 2016; Thompson, 2018). The advert was posted in twenty Facebook Groups, ranging from neighbourhood community groups to more specific groups including 'Indians in Kista' and 'Pakistani Mela (Events) Husby'. The wording of the call was carefully considered given the sensitive nature of the topic in hand. Whilst I initially mused using the term 'fear', I later settled on a more neutral term, perceived '(un)safety'. Participants'

reluctance to use the term 'fear' in subsequent interviews due to its emotional provocations, confirmed my earlier thought-process whilst underscoring the importance of using appropriate terminology in research advertisements.

Reflecting on early entries in my research diary, the initial response rate was lower than my previous research. I largely understood this as a reflection of the pandemic given residents were preoccupied with ongoing changes, coupled with increased research fatigue due to the number of online surveys. Amongst early responses, Hammarby Sjöstad residents were by far the most common. Following multiple messages expressing interest, several expressed concerns that their responses would be '*too boring*' as they '*felt very safe*' throughout Hammarby Sjöstad. Whilst I explained that I was interested in perceptions of safety and unsafety, several messages of this nature led me to change 'unsafety' to '(un)safety' on the call for participants. Following this change, I no longer received any messages where women expressed concerns regarding their suitability for the study. As recruitment unfolded, interest continued to flow from Hammarby Sjöstad and later, Kista, with five participants easily secured from each neighbourhood. In contrast, the process was more stagnated in Husby where I only managed to recruit two potential participants over a month.

In response, I attempted to snowball through my existing network of participants in Kista and Hammarby Sjöstad. However, no participants had any connections to the neighbourhood despite its proximity to Kista and their shared services, proving the extent of Stockholm's segregation. The attention of earlier extracts in my research diary fixated on explaining this unevenness, reflecting on conversations with other participants from my previous research. Residents from Hammarby Sjöstad were quick to remind me that low participation rates were to be expected, due to residents' average low education level and high immigrant density. One participant mused, '*I think it is easy to get participants from Hammarby because we are more educated'.* Whilst it was valid that certain groups would be more receptive to this research due to their occupation, it remained problematic that these comments were reiterated in a manner that perpetuated social segregation. These types of stereotypes directed towards the 'other' from the suburbs, were quick to emerge in our initial conversations on the methodological procedures and later re-emerged in relation to their perceived (un)safety.

Other more nuanced explanations were offered by Husby residents and stakeholders from my previous research, focusing on residents' 'research fatigue'. They highlighted residents'

wariness regarding external research owing to their previous experiences where academics visited the neighbourhood with preconceptions, subsequently enforcing their views on local residents. With reference to a previous project, one researcher reflected, '*I think the project's final view was less of a view expressed by women in Husby and more of a view forced into focus by the representatives'.* She explained that their concerns regarding my project were likely amplified due to my white, middle-class identity. My embodied positionality as a white researcher – made visible through my Facebook Profile Picture – hence, acted as a deterrent to potential participants (See: 4.7 for further discussion). The same researcher recommended conducting my study in-person over several years in order to build trust. She explained, '*It takes years to prove you're even worthy of talking to them. They have been used so many times, white middle-class academics coming from the outside pretending to be interested'.* With the risk of sounding repetitive, the ongoing pandemic coupled with my restricted funding, curtailed the option to build such pivotal relationships and is hence acknowledged as a limitation of this research. In response, I devised a more feasible alternative and produced a separate 'Call for Participants' for Husby residents. Within this, I emphasised the openness of my research framework and my intention to adjust the research process in line with their needs as outlined in section 4.3. I also outlined my goal to produce a report for my collaborative partner, Safer Sweden, which would ultimately give voice to their perspectives and identify the areas for improvement in their neighbourhoods. Through this process, I recruited an additional four participants, reaching a total of six participants from Husby. Three residents emphasised that their participation would be dependent on alterations to the research process (See: 4.5), reiterating the importance of recognising the intersectional nature of the methodological process (Warren, 2017).

4.4.3. Final sample

Through this process, I recruited 16 women, all of whom lived in one of the three neighbourhoods. Whilst the original sample size was capped at five participants per neighbourhood, I later decided to include an additional participant from Husby. Viewed through this study's feminist framework, this asymmetry was deemed necessary in order to increase the voices of Husby residents, given three partook a modified process and a focus group was not possible for practical reasons (See: 4.5.3 for further explanations). For ease of reference, table one outlines the basic demographic information and pseudonyms of each of the sixteen participants, whose narratives I go on to discuss in chapters five, six and seven.

This information was collected in the warm-up interview where participants were asked to identify their demographic traits based on their perceptions rather than using pre-selected categories, in line with this study's interactionist framework and subsequent interest in self and external perceptions (Nicholls, 2017).

Hammarby Sjöstad							
Participant	Age	Children	Class	Ethnicity	Nationality	Religious Identity	Sexual Orientation
1. Cristina	39	None	Middle	White (Romanian)	Swedish	Atheist	Heterosexual
2. Emma	38	Child	Middle	White	French	Atheist	Heterosexual
3. Irene	34	Child	Middle	White (Chilean)	Swedish	Atheist	Heterosexual
4. Jenni	40	None	Middle	White	Fino-Swede	Atheist	Heterosexual
5. Susan	38	Child	Middle	White	Swedish	Atheist	Heterosexual

Husby:							
Participant:	Age:	Children:	Class:	Ethnicity:	Nationality:	Religious Identity:	Sexual Orientation:
1. Ada	42	Child	Working	White	Swedish	Christian	Bisexual
2. Bibiana	24	None	Middle	Persian	Swedish	Muslim	Bisexual
3. Mia*	32	Child	Working	Somalian	Husby	Atheist	Heterosexual
4. Naaz	36	Child	Working	Persian	Husby	Atheist	Heterosexual
5. Nora*	29	None	Working	White	Swedish	Christian	Heterosexual
6. Sara*	24	None	Working	White	Swedish	Christian	Bisexual

These participants undertook a modified version of the research process, to be explored in 4.5.3.

Kista:							
Participant:	Age:	Children:	Class:	Ethnicity:	Nationality:	Religious Identity:	Sexual Orientation:
1. Abigail	63	None	Middle	White	Swedish	Christian	Heterosexual
2. Barbara	54	None	Middle	White	Swedish	Christian	Heterosexual

3. Lara	29	None	Middle	White	Swedish	None	Bisexual
4. Margit	31	None	Middle	White	Swedish	None	Heterosexual
5. Mahati	28	None	Middle	Indian	Indian	Hinduism	Heterosexual

Table 1: Self-reported demographic characteristics of participants organised by neighbourhood

Significant variation in participant demographics can be seen across the three neighbourhoods, providing an ideal starting point to uncover the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety. One key aspect of the sample, however, was the absence of first-generation immigrants in Husby, despite their high proportion in the local population (See: 2.4.3). Their absence can be explained by my dependence on online recruitment tools, given this demographic were understood to be less active on social media platforms including Facebook, and were deterred by my use of English as acknowledged in 4.3. Despite this limitation, I use this opportunity to argue that intersectional research does not necessitate the overt inclusion of a diverse sample (Huadraz & Uttal, 1999). Take the work of Frankenberg (1993) for example, who in spite of her small sample of white women, was able to successfully infer about how processes of racialisation structured all women's lives. Applying this to this study, insights into the perspectives of first-generation immigrants were often discussed through the voice of their children. Mia and Bibiana for example, spent a significant proportion of their interviews comparing their opinions with their parents. Thinking more broadly, this word of caution is not written with the intention to dismiss the importance of diverse samples but rather to emphasise that gaps in samples should not been seen as an obstacle to successful analyses. Whilst future research should correct this limitation and elicit the perspectives of first-generation immigrants, more importance should simultaneously be placed on the quality of analysis and the extent to which one is able to uncover meaning (Huadraz & Uttal, 1999).

By the end of the research process, five hours were spent with each participant from Hammarby Sjöstad and Kista respectively, and three participants from Husby. Three hours were also spent with the other three participants in Husby, resulting in a total of 75 hours. All of these interviews were audio and video recorded using computer software with their consent. I will now turn to describing and evaluating the specific methods of data collection which were undertaken from June to October 2020.

4.5. Methods of Data Collection

4.5.1. Walking interview

The first stage of my research process involved conducting online walking tours using Zoom on participants' smartphones. Faced with an array of approaches ranging from the 'go-along' (Kusenbach, 2003) to 'bimbling' (Anderson, 2004), this study's application of the walking interview drew from Chang's (2017) 'docent method'. In her study, Chang (2017) recommends that each participant should act as a 'docent', defined as a person with expertise in a topic or place, who serves as a guide or educator (Grenier, 2009). The 'docent' subsequently guides researchers on a walking interview around 'specific sites of interest' which are deemed significant in relation to the phenomena of interest (Chang, 2017). Chang's (2017) 'docent method' accordingly contrasts with one of the most popular walking interviews - the 'go-along' (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003) - which involves the researcher accompanying the participant through their daily routines (Chang, 2017; Emmel & Clark, 2009). Kusenbach (2003) cynically juxtaposes 'go-alongs' with what she refers to as 'contrived' walking interviews, including Chang's (2017) docent method, where researchers take participants into unknown spaces or more significantly for this research, engages them with activities that are not part of their routines. Concomitantly aware that 'contrived' formats may generate more 'interesting' data, Kusenbach (2003) argues that they fail to enhance our understanding of the subjects' 'authentic' practices. The aim of this study, however, is not to explore participants' daily routines but rather to explore their perceived (un)safety, a subject unlikely to explicitly surface in many residents' everyday conversations. Adding further impetus behind this decision, I would also caution against Kusenbach's (2003) emphasis on 'authenticity' as the researcher's presence shall always alter the dimensions of lived experience and hence, no research technique can be seen as a natural social situation. For these reasons, the structured nature of Chang's (2017) docent method was best suited to this study.

During warm-up interviews, participants were given an information sheet providing an overview of the walking interview (See: Appendix D). Each participant was asked to take the researcher to different places within their neighbourhood that were important for their perceived (un)safety. Using their smartphone, they were invited to show their surroundings via Zoom and accordingly explain their sense of (un)safety within and across these different places. During these explanations, I avoided making any references to their neighbourhood's geographical boundaries, encouraging each participant to interpret the term 'neighbourhood' in their own way (Sriskandarajah, 2019). This accordingly explained several participants'

inclusion of spaces beyond the 'official' perimeters of neighbourhood boundaries as delineated by Google Map images in subsequent chapters. In a similar vein, participants often compared their experiences in their neighbourhood to encounters in spaces beyond their place of residence, leading to the analysis of places beyond their own neighbourhood. Despite this, I emphasised that the focus of the study was predominantly confined to public space at the neighbourhood scale, given place as a concept is inherently broad (Chang, 2017). In this vein, these instructions were deemed broad enough to enable participants to present their neighbourhood as they saw it, yet enough guidance was given to ensure an overarching focus on women's perceived (un)safety in public space remained.

Following these explanations, two participants from Husby expressed concerns about encountering other residents during the walking tour, and the ensuing judgement if it became known that they were participating in research with white, middle-class academics. These participants hence chose to conduct the interview in their home, after having walked around their neighbourhood immediately prior to the interview. These deviations were not treated as 'missing' data and were rather seen to inform the theorising process, confirming the aforementioned wariness around external researchers (See: 4.4.2) (Chang, 2017). Amongst remaining participants, each responded to the instructions in different ways and were provided the opportunity to make any adjustments in line with the intersectional framework. Responding to Warren's (2017) call to pluralise the walking tour, women were offered the choice on the format of the interview, whether it would be conducted independently or with a friend, or if the route was unknown or a familiar everyday routine, to name a few examples (Warren, 2017). Reflecting on this process, nuancing the walking interview as a method by flexibility in who accompanies, who leads the route, and how it is conducted, enables it to be seen as a multi-layered, complex activity (Warren, 2017). It was not that any of these approaches were better or worse but instead, it was pivotal to embrace the intersectional nature of the method itself and enable participants to interpret the method in their preferred manner.

During the walking interview, I adopted an open-ended format where I provided limited direction regarding where to walk and what to discuss, leaving the participant free to comment on or film whatever they deemed relevant to the overarching topic (See Figure 13 for example of recording). I did, however, write a list of questions that could be used for initiating discussion during 'lull periods' (Carpiano, 2009). These, however, were rarely used,

given the rhythm of walking enabled natural gaps in the conversation. The lack of eye contact owing to the online screen, coupled with the pace of walking, also enabled participants to feel at ease when explaining their opinions on potentially sensitive topics including previous experiences of harassment (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen & Liamputtong, 2009). Interviews lasted on average for 1.5 hours and within these, a wide range of spaces were identified, the likes of which shall subsequently structure the following chapters. During interviews, visual aspects of participants' surrounding environment prompted detailed explanations, acting as what De Leon and Cohen (2005) refer to as 'probes' (Evan & Jones, 2011). Various ideas emerged whilst walking that would have not been discussed within a sedentary interview context (Chang, 2017). Comparing the type of places discussed in the walking and sedentary interviews corroborates this argument (Evans & Jones, 2011). Sedentary interviews with the Husby participants were dominated by discussions of general areas whilst walking interviews led to the identification of specific features, prompting more detailed explanations (Evans & Jones, 2011). The ability to experience in-situ, specific observations and spontaneous moments during the walking tour provided richer insights than if sedentary interviews were the dominant method. Walking tours hence served as a more productive mode of research than sedentary interviews, especially in light of this study's interest in spatial narratives (Emmel & Clark, 2009; Kinney, 2017).
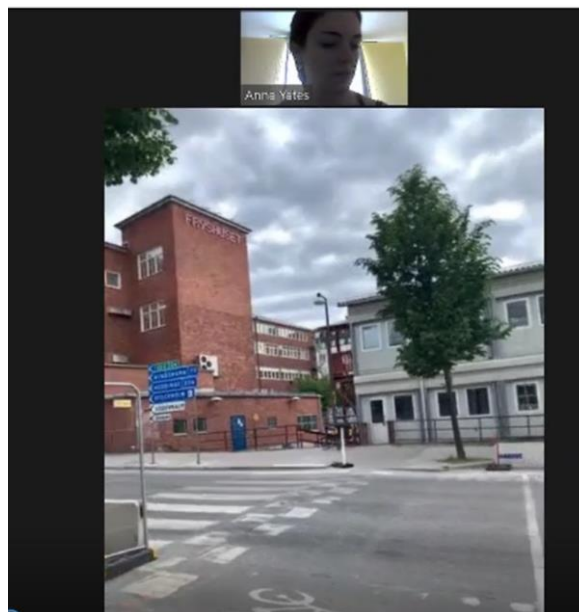
Figure 13: Example of recording

Alongside these visual probes, participants often emphasised the sensory features of the surrounding environment. Ada for example, drew attention to the soundscape, comparing the

use of Swedish and English in the 'city' with the range of languages heard in the 'suburbs', as discussed in 4.3. Further afield, Hall, Lashua and Coffey (2008) discusses the practice of 'sound-walking', underscoring the importance of acknowledging sounds in participants' experiences of everyday spaces. Some participants, however, drew attention to multi-sensory aspects of their environment, rather than artificially isolating one sense. Jenni, for example, prompted by the sight and noise of an upcoming train, recalled a recent incident involving an altercation with an intoxicated man. Whilst most observations were primarily elicited by visual cues in the environment, participants continued to make references to multi-sensory features of their environment, subsequently feeding into this study's conceptual engagement with multi-sensory encounters and (in)visibilities whilst highlighting the methodological importance of acknowledging often-neglected multi-sensory aspect of walking tours.

Due to the remote nature of this research, I was not in contact with the environment myself and thus, could neither experience nor embody the full extent of said multi-sensory dynamics. Instead, I was restricted to witnessing the visual cues shown on the smartphone screen and the limited aural dynamics fed through the phone audio. Whilst this is conventionally seen as a drawback of online methods (Adams-Hutcheson & Longhurst, 2017), it instead emerged as an unanticipated benefit given, I acted as a captive audience, only able to experience what participants deemed appropriate for their explanations. If the interview had been in-person, it is likely that I would have been unconsciously distracted by the multi-sensory environment, diverting attention away from their narratives. Despite this, it is important to avoid making overly idealistic claims for the liberatory power of remote walking tours, given the power dynamic between the researcher and the participant remains entrenched, where the ultimate interpretation rests with myself, as discussed in 4.6.

Whilst walking tours are known to generate place-specific observations, they can also be used to gain a broader understanding of how participants understand socio-spatial networks and more specifically, their sense of community (Emmel & Clark, 2009; Kinney, 2017; Kusenbach, 2004). Similar to discussions on 'probes', walking around neighbourhoods provided the opportunity to witness participants' interactions with other residents, for instance, participants in Husby occasionally stopped to greet others during walking interviews. In contrast, participants in other neighbourhoods did not encounter any known residents during the walking tour, providing a glimpse into Husby's closer social ties. Drawing this together, Chang's (2017) docent method was used to explore women's perceived (un)safety within their

neighbourhood in a participant-driven yet structured manner. Through using mobile methods, this approach offers an innovative way to better understand the importance of place in women's perceived (un)safety, well-suited to this research's geographical focus. The strengths of mobile and sedentary methods accumulate however, when they are pursued in combination, enabling one to more comprehensively understand the intersectional nature of their perceived (un)safety (Kusenbach, 2003). For this reason, this chapter will turn to the second stage which more closely homes in on the intersectional nature of these processes.

4.5.2. Relief maps

The next part of the research process involved the use of relief mapping, initially developed by Rodo-De-Zarate (2014) with the purpose to analyse and display intersectional data. In this study, women were asked to produce online relief maps during a Zoom call where they were provided technical support and simultaneously asked to justify their decisions during the process. Informed by a feminist geography framework, relief maps explore the geographies of intersectionality through gauging the relationship between multiple dimensions: places (geographical), power structures (social) and lived experience (psychological) (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2014). Treating the spatial dimension as the essential part of the analysis, relief maps investigate the ways in which relationships between power structures change depending on the place in question (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2015). In this thesis, relief maps were used to investigate how differently-situated women understand their perceived (un)safety within and across different neighbourhoods spaces.

Rodo-De-Zarate (2014) originally used relief maps as a means to analyse intersectional data once interviews were conducted. In her later studies however, relief maps were produced by participants, emerging as a method in itself (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2014, 2015). The second approach was used in this study where participants were asked to produce relief maps after having led walking interviews. Informed by feminist methodologies, this approach was seen to better recognise the participants as collaborators, through giving them more control in highlighting places which were significant for their perceived (un)safety (Chang, 2017). Similar to walking tours, participants were given an information sheet which provided a summary of the method coupled with instructions discussing the steps involved (See: Appendix E). Following this summary, women were given the opportunity to adapt the process, for example, they were offered the choice of whether categories and power structures were pre-selected or freely chosen, or whether the process would be conducted individually or in a

group, to name a few examples. Despite this attempt to nuance the method in line with their needs, each participant chose to proceed with the original format outlined on the information sheet. This lack of alterations rested in contrast to the multiple changes made to the walking interview. The absence of adaptations at this stage was hence not interpreted as evidence of participants' lack of confidence to propose their own format.

Relief maps were initially drawn by-hand in Rodo-De-Zarate's earlier work, yet the website version was used in this study to enable the construction of online relief maps. This was deemed a more practical alternative given I was unable to offer in-person support due to the covid-19 pandemic. At this stage, I created 'projects' on the relief mapping website, which involved generating a title and abstract that would be sent to all participants via email, along with a unique code to be entered on the website to access relief maps (See Figure 14). I proceeded to choose the spaces, identities and emotions that would be shown to each participant as they underwent the process. Whilst the spaces included were informed by their specific walking tours, I included all of the 'emotions' and 'identities' options available on the website to enhance scope for participants' insights. The identities included were gender, sexual orientation, age, religious identity, ethnicity, social class, disability, nationality, and children. Figure 16 below shows the range of emotions available to tick.
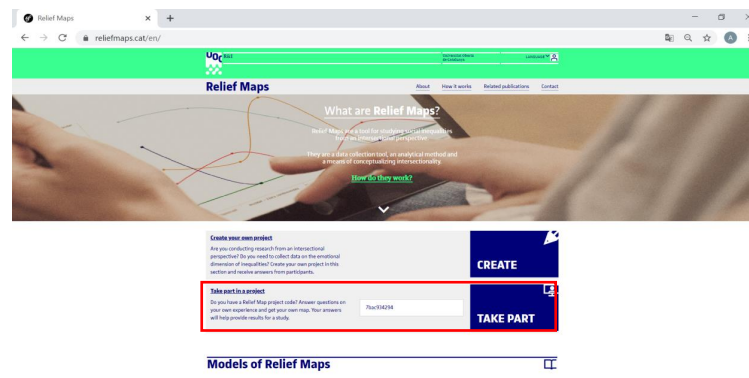
Figure 14: Participants are provided a unique code to enter on this page

Towards the start of the process, participants were shown a screen that listed all the spaces visited during the walking tour. At this point, they were given the opportunity to remove or add any spaces (Figure 15). In the first relief map interview, the participant added an additional two spaces to the original list of six, however, this led to more superficial engagements due to the number of questions. Following this, I asked participants to only highlight the most significant spaces - with a cap of six – rather than including every space visited during walking tours. This adjustment enabled for more detailed analysis, replacing the

90

cursory explanations that dominated the first interview, subsequently highlighting the importance of making adaptations throughout the research process. In terms of the spaces included, my initial focus on neighbourhood public spaces was extended to incorporate semi-public, private, and online spaces within their neighbourhood, as well as spaces beyond their neighbourhood including other residential areas and the city-centre, as discussed in 4.5.1. Whilst I was initially hesitant at moving beyond my original remit, these spaces were pivotal for women's perception of (un)safety for different reasons. Semi-public, private, and online spaces in their neighbourhood proved to be significant for their everyday perceived (un)safety yet spaces beyond their neighbourhood however, played a different role. Women explained that they struggled to discuss spaces within their neighbourhood without making comparisons to spaces beyond their neighbourhood, highlighting the relational nature of women's perceived (un)safety. Informed by the feminist framework, the open-ended, participant-driven nature of this process of selection, enabled the inclusion of a range of spaces that would have been left undiscussed if a more traditional, rigid approach had been used.

Figure 15: Screen shown to participants when asked to identify places

Participants were then taken to a series of screens that systematically asked them about their feelings of safety in each place according to different parts of their intersectional identity (See Figure 16). Power structures such as 'gender', 'age' and 'ethnicity' were identified rather than using categories including 'woman', 'elderly' or 'white' (Rodo-De-Zarate & Baylina, 2018; Rodo-De-Zarate, 2015). Through this approach, categories were considered in a fluid way whilst simultaneously considering the positions of oppression and privilege which are occupied in different power structures (ibid). The use of relief maps enabled the study of both oppression and privilege, aligning with calls outlined in 1.2.4.
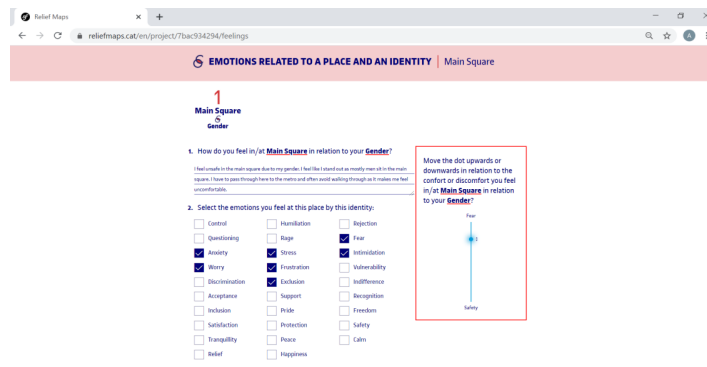
Figure 16: Screen shown to participants when asked to explain how safe they felt in different spaces

It is also worth noting that the absence of rigid classifications for the identities included enabled more alternative interpretations. For example, the category 'children' was originally of interest due to findings from my previous research that pointed to the importance of altruistic fear. This was corroborated in the study's earlier stages where Emma expressed concerns about her child's perceived (un)safety in certain areas within Hammarby Sjöstad. Later on, however, Ada explained that her perceived safety improved in Husby when she was accompanied by her child, owing to the respect associated with being a mother. The conceptual implications of this finding shall be later explored in 6.6.2, yet methodologically, the absence of rigid classifications not only enabled more fluid interpretations but also provided the opportunity for participants to interpret each question in their own way, providing diverse perspectives on initially seemingly similar notions.

As demonstrated in figure 5, each screen included a text box, a toggle and a tick-box exercise which listed different emotions. Women were asked to place the toggle on a scale from perceived safety to 'fear'. Unfortunately, there was no option to edit this scale and change 'fear' to 'safety' in light of my reservations towards the term 'fear' which were discussed in 4.4.2. There were also no quantitative markings on the scale and instead, the placing was completely up to their interpretation. Only one participant noted the absence of numbers and expressed concern at her inability to conduct 'robust comparisons' in subsequent focus groups. In this study however, the placing of dots on each participants' relief maps was dependent on the map's 'internal logic' rather than their ability to make them directly comparable (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2014, 2015). For example, if feeling unsafe in the courtyard was experienced in a more intense way than feeling of unsafety in the main street, then the difference became obvious through placing one dot higher than the other (ibid). For another

participant however, feelings of unsafety in the courtyard may be similar yet are felt in a more intense manner in comparison to other spaces, hence, it may be placed higher up (ibid). Guided by the principles of the feminist framework, the relief map was not understood as a 'quantification' of lived experience but instead, a symbolic representation of narratives within a spatially-organised diagram (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2014).

Following the completion of these questions, they were asked to classify each space in relation to the typology outlined below:

1. Places of oppression - where one has an important experience of discomfort, or in this case, fear, even if only caused by one identity.
2. Places of controversial intersections - where one feels discomfort due to one specific identity but a source of comfort or relief to another identity.
3. Neutral places - where no identity is important.
4. Places of relief - places that are sought or created because they provide release from some identity that is oppressed elsewhere or because they generate significant comfort.

These spaces were not understood as discrete, closed classifications but rather a continuous line ranging from places where oppression is experienced, to places of 'relief' (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2014). Following this, the website connected each identity's dots, answered at a separate point, with a line of the same colour (See Figure 17). The relief map hence successfully related three dimensions: social (power structures), geographical (places along the X-axis) and psychological (the lived experience along the Y-axis). Responding to calls in intersectionality literatures, relief maps emerge as a useful tool to understand multiple dimensions of power and their variations across different places.
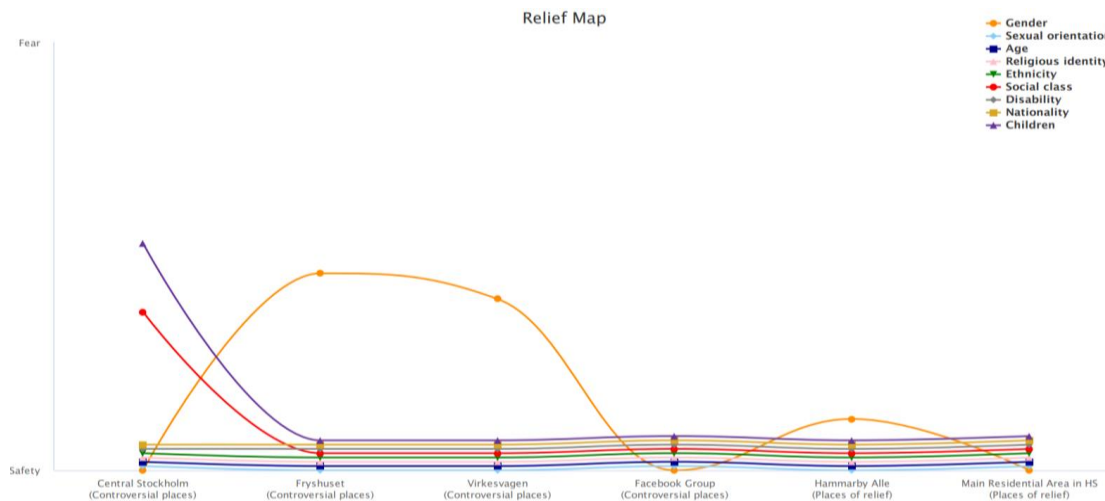
Figure 17: Example of relief map

Alongside final relief maps, I will also draw attention to the conversations that accompanied their production. Throughout the process, women were asked to use the 'screenshare' function on Zoom whilst answering the various questions outlined on the website. Rather than completing the relief map on their own, they were able to simultaneously explain their answers and justify their decisions which proved useful on two counts. First, participants often struggled to consider the interactions between different aspects of their identity and tended to conceptualise them as distinct, predominantly owing to the way in which questions were phrased, including "How do you feel in the main square according to your gender?". Whilst this approach is a necessary preliminary step in intersectional analysis (Carastathis, 2014; Huadraz & Uttal, 2014), relying on the questions presented on the screen would have hindered the depth of analysis. The 'both/and' approach rather requires the comparison of individual identities to one another as well as the consideration of their intersections (Shields, 2008). During the Zoom call, I hence asked participants to reflect on potential tensions between power structures in order to identify how categories relate to one another (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2014). It was these narratives, honing in on the intersectional nature of their perceived (un)safety, which emerges as the focal point of subsequent chapter discussions, rather than the maps themselves.

The second benefit stems from the opportunity to compare visual research data with my own analysis of participants' explanations. Whilst this research is informed by feminist values, I have been otherwise cautious to label this study as fully collaborative, as the flow of power between the researcher and researched is not necessarily neutralised, given the final interpretation rests with myself. The importance of this final interpretation and combining

both forms of data, is proven by the following example. During Nora's relief map interview, she underscored the importance of ethnicity in Husby Torg and later complained about her difficulties confronting immigrants in public space as she felt confronted with racial difference, seeing this as a disadvantage when wanting to remain invisible. In this example, combining the data enables one to distinguish between suffering from forms of oppressions due to power structures and suffering discomfort due to power dynamics in certain places (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2015). This example hence underscores the importance of analysing the relief maps in tandem with the accompanying interview, in order to better understand the intersectional nature of their perceived (un)safety. Before my final reflections, it is of importance to note that several participants did not want to share their relief maps in the final study for reasons of confidentiality. With a few exceptions, the subsequent discussion shall hence predominantly focus on the interviews surrounding their production rather than the relief maps themselves.

Reflecting on the entire process, there were vast differences in the time taken to construct relief maps. The process took around two hours with participants from Kista and Husby, owing to the depth of discussion prompted by questions on their identity. This rested in contrast to residents in Hammarby Sjöstad where the average length was 45 minutes, and they glided through the process, ticking 'indifference' and copying and pasting their answers from previous questions. The stark contrast to the nuance of argument provided by other participants, further highlighted their privileged identities as white, middle-class women. For Susan however, the ease of the process led her to reflect, '*This is depressing, I feel so normal and privileged'.* The process of constructing her relief map seemingly encouraged her to reflect on her privilege, showing some grounds for empowerment. Later on, however, herself and another participant referred to their perspectives as '*boring'*, dampening my initial optimism. Similar to their initial reservations in recruitment processes, there was a mistaken assumption that variations in perceived (un)safety made for more 'exciting' results. Whilst partially sympathetic to her academic mindset, the implications of her statement are concerning, reiterating her privilege that will be explored in chapter 5.

4.5.3. Focus groups

The final stage of the research process involved undertaking focus groups with residents from each neighbourhood in order to gauge the collective aspects of their perceived (un)safety (See: Appendix F for information sheet). Two focus groups were arranged, each containing five residents from Hammarby Sjöstad and Kista, respectively. Unfortunately, it was not

possible to find a time suitable for all participants in Husby due to their work schedules and caretaking responsibilities which were complicated by the pandemic. Recognising that restarting the recruitment process would be time-consuming, coupled with the quality of data already obtained from previous interviews, I decided to focus on analysing existing data, instead of attempting to recruit more participants from Husby. Guided by my feminist framework, these modifications catered to the intersectional needs of the participants, where the demands placed on their everyday life prevented their participation in longer research processes.

In focus groups, women were asked to compare their relief maps and discuss how they understood their perceived (un)safety in their neighbourhood. This collective discussion, following the relief map exercise, was a pivotal part of the process and provided participants an opportunity to collectively reflect on their maps. At this point, I will avoid regurgitating what is already a well-versed set of methodological findings which focus on the ability of focus groups to generate large volumes of data (See: Hennink, 2014) and to highlight similarities and differences in opinion (See: Morgan, 1997; Morgan & Krueger, 1998). What has been lesser-discussed and is of greater interest for this study, is the manner in which focus groups provide insights into group consensus and social norms (Kitzinger, 1994). This was illustrated in this study through how participants adjusted their responses, first, from individual interviews to focus groups, and second, within the focus group itself. The former scenario was best demonstrated by Cristina's change in self-representation from the relief mapping exercise to the focus group. During the former, she mulled over the significance of her Romanian identity for her perceived (un)safety, recalling multiple overt conversations with friends celebrating her ethnic identity. In the focus group however, Cristina chose to hide her Romanian identity, drawing attention to her Swedish citizenship. This type of behaviour in focus group settings has been termed 'problematic silences' (Hollander, 2004) where participants are understood to not share their relevant thoughts. In this study, her change in narrative points to the collective stigmatisation of Romanian identities in Swedish society due to their association with crime, begging and the Roma (Dahltstedt et al., 2017; Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy, 2012; Moroşanu & Fox, 2013, 442). In the online encounter of the focus group, she responds to this stigma through temporary concealing her ethnic identity (Moroşanu & Fox, 2013) (See: 5.8 for more detail).

Regarding second scenario, participants showed signs of changing their opinions within the focus group itself, notably aligning their views with the perceived majority. A prime example of this emerged during residents' discussion of Hammarby Sjöstad's Facebook Group. Although Cristina and Jenni initially framed the group as a positive intervention in the neighbourhood, they gradually changed their opinion in line with Susan's more critical stance. Towards the end of the discussion, they were notably more negative regarding its function, with Cristina mocking the group for '*not knowing real-life problems'.* Hollander (2004) further coins the term 'problematic speech' to refer to these instances, where participants provide opinions that may not represent their underlying beliefs. Susan, however, remains consistent, articulating the same opinion throughout the focus group, providing an insight into emerging power dynamics and hierarchies. Upon reflection, this study was susceptible to both 'problematic silences' and 'problematic speech' and hence, suffers from what Smithson (2000) refers to as the invisibility and distortion of data, respectively. These concerns, however, are only troublesome for those who deploy focus groups as a means to investigate individual attributes in an essentialist framework, subsequently, implying there is an objective truth to be told (Hollander, 2004; Wilkinson, 1998). Viewed through this study's feminist framework and its emphasis on situated knowledge, these so-called biases rather provide unique opportunities to observe processes of self-representations of stigmatised identities and the emergence of group hierarchies and concomitant social norms, respectively. Focus groups are hence used in this research to explore group interactions, providing insights into processes of collective sense-making through the online encounter of the focus group (Hennink, 2014; Morgan, 1997; Wilkinson, 1998).

Finally, through focus groups, women were brought together and through discussion, became aware that their feelings were not only individual but collective. Following conversations regarding Stockholm's central station for instance, Mahati explained that hearing others accounts of feeling unsafe, '*lets me know that I am not imagining things'*. This example illustrates the power of focus groups' collective context in providing opportunities for empowerment, as group conversations made explicit otherwise hidden understandings, subsequently encouraging new understandings of their social positions (Goss, 1996; Hesse-Biber, 2014). Pushing this example forward, the focus group finished with one participant offering her phone number to Mahati, explaining that she can contact her whenever necessary due to her concern regarding Mahati's experiences of racial harassment. Linked to ideas of

feminist praxis, the bringing together of differently-situated women led participants to become conscious of the discrimination faced by other women, whilst simultaneously highlighting the under-explored power of female friendship for women's perceived safety (Kern, 2021). Nonetheless, the same incidents were later discussed amongst residents in Hammarby Sjöstad, where I anonymously disclosed Mahati's experiences of racial harassment in the central station. To my surprise, most women fell silent and were content to end the session with little reflection. One participant, however, was curious of Mahati's origins, asking about her ethnicity, marital and employment status, referring to her as a *'privileged trail-wife… probably having previously lived in an Indian gated community'.* Whilst I refrained from responding to her comments for confidentiality reasons, this response provides an insight into how Mahati's experiences may have been either ignored or trivialised if voiced in different settings, either in the Hammarby Sjöstad focus group or outside the research context, respectively. Reflecting upon this, one must hence caution against romanticising the emancipatory power of focus groups. For this reason, empowerment in this research is defined in more realistic terms where it is hoped that participants at least begin to question their sense of safety and standing in society (Linhorst, 2002; Skop, 2006).

Before turning to data analysis processes, it is pivotal to reiterate that each stage, discussed above, was informed by the overarching feminist framework, yet simultaneously provided distinct insights into women's perception of (un)safety. This section has demonstrated how this study's unique combination of qualitative methods allowed for more nuanced understandings than their quantitative counterparts yet uncovered geographical and intersectional aspects of women's perceived (un)safety that may have gone unrecognised if I had solely relied on traditional qualitative interviews.

4.6. Data Analysis

Following each interview, the recording was manually transcribed as soon as possible. I decided against the use of transcription programmes as I became more immersed in the material collected through the process of manual transcription and was able to identify initial key codes and themes. Similarly, the decision to transcribe during the data collection process rather than at a later stage, enabled me to adjust subsequent interviews based on emerging themes. These decisions, made early in the research process, laid the foundations for improved familiarity with participants' narratives (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Crang & Cook, 2007). Besides these preliminary decisions, the overarching transcription strategy involved

transcribing the entire audio and visual data, noting what was said, but also paying attention to non-verbal information including pauses, emotions, and body languages (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999). This process was greatly aided by the remote nature of the study, where it was possible to rewatch the visual and audio recording. My overarching approach to transcription was adjusted for each method due to their diverse nature. When transcribing the walking interview for example, I observed the route chosen and their specific negotiations of public space, coupled with more technical aspects including the visuals and camera angles chosen. Transcribing the relief maps however, involved paying attention to the processes of producing the relief maps – as discussed in section 4.5.2 – including their use of the toggle and the ticking of emotions. The focus group conversely led me to reflect on the collective dynamics of their group and the interactions.

Following the initial transcription process, transcripts from each participant's walking interview and relief mapping exercise were combined into one word document in order to make the data more manageable for subsequent analysis (See: Figure 18). Within each document, quotes from walking tours and relief mapping interviews were placed into different sections depending on the space discussed. These extracts were then organised into sub-sections that focused on the identity discussed in relation to the space in question. Any discussion of intersectional dynamics was placed into the identity sub-category within which intersectional reflections were prompted. Figure 18 provides a visualisation of this process, illustrating how extracts from Cristina's walking interviews and relief maps were organised into a space named 'Hammarby Street', within which the first sub-category focuses on her discussions of this space in relation to gender (e.g., How do you feel in Hammarby Alle according to your gender?). The interview extracts were highlighted in either normal or italic font depending on whether it was expressed in the relief map or *walking interview* respectively (See example in Appendix G). The overall structure of participant handbooks was similar to that seen in previous relief map interviews, as it provided a useful way to arrange the vast amounts of data into a clear format which paid explicit attention to the intersectional - and spatial - nature of women's perceived (un)safety. The focus group data, however, was kept in two separate word documents for Hammarby Sjöstad and Kista's focus group respectively, given it was co-created by different participants and could not be separated into different participant handbooks.
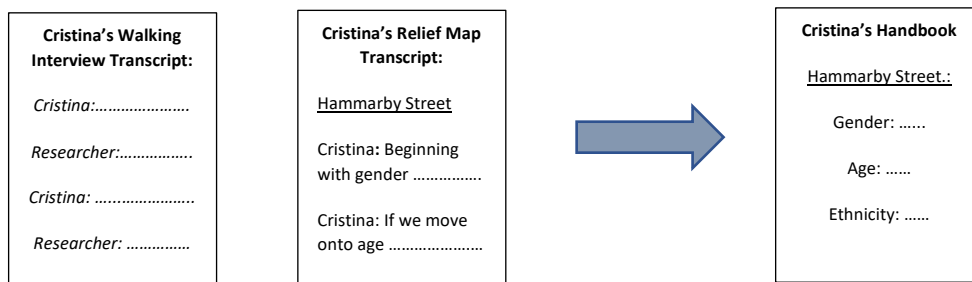
Figure 18: Diagram showing how data was combined

After having organised the transcribed data, I begun the 'formal' analytical process and used a freehand method to identify the main ideas, codes and eventually themes within each participant handbook and focus group data. Determining the exact start of the analytical process, however, is somewhat difficult, given I had already begun to consider initial particular themes during the preliminary transcription process (Basit, 2003; Rzedzian, 2019). Hence, this particular process marked the beginning of what is referred to as the 'formal analytical process'. Whilst my feminist approach led me to platform women's voices and hear their experiences, it also enabled me to take a critical approach throughout this process, reflecting on what was said and not said, as shall be proven in subsequent chapters.

Following this, I conducted a second round of 'formal' data analysis, annotating each transcript and comparing themes across participants in the same neighbourhood. The structure of each participant handbook meant that information on the same spaces could be easily compared with one another in order to ascertain if any patterns or irregularities existed. For instance, I was able to compare Susan, Jenni, and Cristina's discussion of 'Hammarby Street' that helped understand how differently-situated women understood the same space in relation to their perceived (un)safety. The final stage of the data analysis process involved zooming out to the entire dataset where I identified common codes and themes across the three neighbourhoods.

This organised approach to analysis was informed by grounded theory principles, meaning that themes emerged from the data itself rather than from previous conceptual thinking (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Nonetheless, this study adopted a modified approach to grounded theory through balancing an inductive form of reasoning with insights gained from my previous research. It would be myopic to claim that analysis, like other aspects of the research process, is not entangled with the researcher's positionality, embodiment, and previous

experiences (Rose, 1997; Thomas, 2006). In light of this, it is infeasible to claim my own judgements and existing knowledges have not affected the analysis process and rather, it is of upmost importance to acknowledge my 'position' within the research context, as shall be outlined in the following section.

4.7. Researcher Positionality

The principles behind feminist research, discussed in section 4.2, call for a reflexive awareness of the researcher's role within their study (Letherby, 2002; Nicholls, 2017). Such questions of reflexivity are often addressed through the lens of the insider/outsider binary, based on the general premise that 'insiders' can overlook what is taken for granted due to over rapport whilst 'outsiders' may fail to understand participants' experiences (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019; Richardson, 2015). Despite their widespread usage, feminist methodological scholars have cautioned against generalised claims of insider/outside positionalities (Chacko, 2004; Sultana, 2007; Mukherjee, 2017; Nicholls, 2017). Williams (2014) particularly criticises the precariousness of this binary, framing it as simplistic and ignorant of identity nuances (Dreblow, 2019). Considering the researcher as either inside or outside to different forms of identity is contradictory with this study's conceptualisation of identity as spatially complex and emerging in interactions (Dreblow, 2019; Williams, 2014; Valentine, 2007). Given identity is understood as fluid and multiple, it is pivotal to avoid generalising the experiences and encounters of the research and instead, consider the ways in which the researcher's and the participants' identities and positionalities shift throughout the study (Dreblow, 2019). The attention of the next section shall draw upon insights from my research diary to reflect on two stages of my research process in relation to questions of positionality, recruitment, and data collection, through remote, online space. In doing so, I first wish to emphasise that this section's focus on two stages should not nullify my previous claim that questions of positionality inform all stages of the research. Due to the word limit, it was felt that time was best spent considering only two stages where questions of reflexivity were at their most visible. I also seek to emphasise that the insights below only provide generalised snapshots into my experiences and should not serve to fix my otherwise dynamic identity.

4.7.1. Recruitment

As this study predominantly recruited through Facebook, neighbourhood-based Facebook Groups emerged as the main site for my first encounter with many potential participants.

During these 'first impressions' (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018), it was my gender and whiteness that had the greatest impact given their heightened visibility on my Facebook Profile. Other aspects of my intersectional identity including my British nationality and middle-class identity, were initially rendered invisible given these details were either purposefully hidden or indecipherable from my Facebook Profile. Drawing on Del Busso's (2007) concept of 'embodied reflexivity', this section will predominantly focus on how physical bodies within research represent and reproduce certain power dynamics (Del Busso, 2007; Nicholls, 2017). Nonetheless, it will move beyond more conventional discussions through focusing on my remote body, in this case, through the lens of Facebook groups.

Earlier extracts in my research diary focused on the impact of my gendered identity on the recruitment process. Women felt encouraged to come forward and offer their participation in my research given the mutual sense of trust garnered by our shared identity as women. One participant later commented that she would not have participated if the study had been led by a male researcher and was subsequently reassured upon checking my profile. The downside of my gendered visibility, however, were the ensuing comments from several male Facebook users. In the comments section, several openly dismissed the focus of the research, adopting an aggressive tone that participants later described as '*intrinsic to online groups'*, with specific reference to Hammarby Sjöstad's Facebook Group (See: 5.7.2). My research diary also reflected upon the tendency of the same male users to express romantic or sexual interest through private messaging, revealing the extent to which my gender and young age worked to sexualise my remote body. Although details of my age and sexual orientation were made private, it proved impossible to avoid potential readings of my body in my profile picture. Despite this, I maintained that a photograph was needed to appear 'legitimate' to potential participants (Bonner-Thompson, 2018; Fileborn, 2016).

Whilst I shared the same gendered identity as my participants, this should not imply that our gendered identities were understood or experienced in similar ways. Most notably, my intersectional identity as a white woman proved of great importance, with its impact dictated by the nature of the online space in question. My white skin, made visible through my profile picture, emerged as a source of tension amongst potential participants in Husby, given their previous experiences with white female researchers whose projects were fraught with stigma. Baldwin (2017) importantly argues however, that there is need to confront rather than downplay one's privilege if one wishes to conduct responsible research. As discussed in

section 4.4.2, significant time was spent considering how to amend the recruitment process in order to initiate more productive first encounters in light of the impressions conveyed by my remote embodied identity. In contrast, the same visible markers of my identity aided my recruitment process in Facebook Groups in Hammarby Sjöstad and Kista. Several residents from Hammarby Sjöstad problematically commented that '*I was like them*' due to our shared identities as white women, supposedly promising a certain degree of affinity. Whilst these findings initially emerged through the methodological process, their theoretical and conceptual implications, centred on first impressions, (in)visibility and stereotyping, will be explored through the lens of perceived (un)safety in later chapters. I will now discuss questions of positionality, encounters, and visibility in relation to the data collection process.

4.7.2. Data collection

Whilst my first encounters occurred on Facebook, all subsequent interactions took place through interviews conducted on Zoom. Of particular significance was the impact of my British identity or more significantly, my non-Swedish identity, given all participants were either Swedish or had lived in Stockholm for multiple years. During our 'first impressions' in the recruitment phase, my nationality had remained of limited importance in comparison to more visible traits, including my gendered and racialised identity. One participant did later remark in hindsight that they were more interested in my study and its focus on Sweden due to my non-Swedish nationality which was made partially visible through my Facebook name that did not bear the traditional Swedish hallmarks (Bursell, 2012). Critically however, my non-Swedish body was not visibly differentiated from other bodies around me but was rendered hyper-visible through sound of my voice during Zoom interviews, prompting comments such as '*I didn't know you were British*' or '*I love the British accent*'. Our national differences were further amplified by the time difference in the online interview schedules that hence acted as a further reminder of our different geographical locations.

My aural presence as a British person acted as a 'breach' (Fox, 2017), working to highlight their Swedish identity that was otherwise normalised in their everyday encounters (Dreblow, 2019). Despite explaining that I had previously lived in Sweden, women proceeded to give detailed insights into everyday life in Stockholm. My presence as a non-Swede incited valuable reflections into what differently-situated participants considered 'authentic Swedishness', subsequently articulating what would have gone unspoken if the same national identity was shared. Nonetheless, this dynamic gradually changed over the course of the research process

as participants became more familiar with me and subsequently spoke less about national norms, signalling an increased normalisation of difference. Beyond questions of nationality, the research process was also affected by my age. During interviews, several participants commented on my young age which was made visible through my appearance and what they described as a 'young' voice. Notes from my research diary express my frustration with older participants providing advice on how I should behave in different neighbourhoods, at the expense of discussing how they understood their own (un)safety. In response, I separated these opinions in my data analysis through 'reflexive analytical scrutiny' to demonstrate how some responses were directly situated in the relationship between myself and participants (Valentine, 2005). However, to assume that power relations always favour older individuals would be to ignore the fact that power balances are dependent on the context (Mullings, 1999; Sjoqvist, 2017). In most cases, a more even power balance was maintained, as demonstrated through participants' receptiveness to the research process.

Although it was not possible to avoid being read in particular ways based on visible markers of gender, age and ethnicity, my social class was less visible in the research process as few participants made any overt comments about my class background. This could be partially explained by the fact that most participants were not familiar with the British class system (Nicholls, 2017). Several university-educated participants from Hammarby Sjöstad however, later emphasised a connection between university education and middle-classness, hence, implying that our shared university backgrounds meant they saw me as middle-class and 'like them', leading them to more readily share their personal experiences than working-class residents (Gibson, 2018; Reay, Crozier & James, 2011, 171). Although the notion of 'class matching' (Mellor, Ingram, Abrahams & Beedell, 2014) and its implications of shared positionality amongst interviewees should be treated with caution (Gibson, 2018), it remains that middle-class participants felt the most comfortable within the interview setting in comparison to other working-class residents due to the former's previous experiences in the education system.

Upon reflection, the aspects of my identity explored in this section inevitably contributed towards shaping the research and analysis in particular ways. Whilst it is impossible to know the full impact of one's positionality, the attention of this section has been confined to the most visible aspects of my identity, commented upon by participants themselves. Other

aspects of my identity, however, will remain unknowable due to their lesser visibility, yet remain of great significance.

4.8. Additional Ethical Concerns

Whilst ethical issues have been considered throughout this chapter, the attention of this section will turn to examine any additional ethical issues in this study, paying particular attention to the pre-interview stage and data collection process. Before the research begun, full ethical approval was granted by Newcastle University Ethical Committee in May 2020. Participants were later given a consent form (See: Appendix A) and information sheet (See: Appendix B) which was submitted as part of this ethical approval process. Upon reading both and before signing the consent form, participants were provided with the opportunity to raise any questions related to the research and suggest any necessary adjustments. Emma expressed concerns at videoing others in her surrounding, given both aural and visual footage were recorded for the purposes of transcription. She explained that these worries stemmed from her identity as a parent, given her attendance of events at her son's day-care centre had made her acutely conscious of privacy issues associated with photography. Whilst the importance of parent identities shall be explored in subsequent chapters, her confidentiality concerns were addressed through asking all participants to avoid videoing other people during the tour, given they were unable to give their permission.

In line with other feminist work (Halse & Honey, 2005; Nicholls, 2017), obtaining informed consent was not viewed as a tick-box exercise but was treated as an iterative process (Cloke et al., 2000). I was therefore continually reflexive during the course of the research to ensure that participants were comfortable at all times. Information sheets for each stage of the research process were shared immediately prior to the interview, as well as during the warm-up interview, hence allowing the participants to ask any more questions. Before each interview, it was reiterated that participants could decline any questions during the interview and could freely withdraw from the study at any point (Nicholls, 2017). Whilst I undertook these interviews knowing it was a sensitive topic, all interviews proved to be unproblematic, and most women spoke directly about their perceived (un)safety and any associated incidents. Any information divulged by participants during these interviews has been kept confidential and names in this thesis have been changed in order to protect the women involved in this study (Ali, 2013) (See Table 1).

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the methodological approach used to investigate the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety. Whilst previous research on women's safety has traditionally drawn upon quantitative surveys or qualitative interviews, this study draws upon a unique combination of walking interviews, relief maps and focus groups, forming a novel, creative approach. The narratives elicited through this approach will form the basis of the empirical chapters that follow. The novelty of this approach was further amplified by its remote nature, given the ongoing pandemic shifted all aspects of the research process onto online platforms. Discussions of the online recruitment process through Facebook coupled with the online nature of the methods themselves has simultaneously contributed to emerging albeit limited studies on feminist research in online spaces (Bonner-Thompson, 2018; Morrow et al., 2015). Related to this, one of the most significant contributions of this chapter, has been its focus on online encounters, whereby the remote body of both researcher and participant has been subject to processes of judgement and stereotyping through the lens of (in)visibility. Whilst typically treated as separate terrains, these methodological discussions have begun to lay the foundations for upcoming theoretical analysis where significant attention is placed on the nexus of encounters and (in)visibility through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety.

Chapter 5. Hammarby Sjöstad: White, Middle-Class Femininities: 'Everyone here is the same'

5.1. Overview

5.1.1. Introduction

"You hear it everywhere, 'immigrant men are dangerous', especially for us". (Abigail)

The quote above draws on a dominant stereotype, circulated by family, friends, state and media, that centres on the same message. "Immigrant" men are represented as a danger to "Swedish" women or more simply, 'they' represent a danger to 'us'. Chapter two begun to explore the importance of national boundaries of belonging for women's perceived (un)safety, centred on how 'their' patriarchal values stand in contrast to 'our' gender equality (See: 2.2.2) (Bredstrom, 2003; Christensen, 2009). Few scholars, however, have moved beyond these acknowledgements. This thesis will build on these preliminary findings, exploring how their fears materialise during their everyday encounters and how this varies amongst differently-situated women across different spaces. This chapter will address these questions through the perspective of "Swedish" women.

Informed by this study's conceptual framework, this thesis will explore Jenkins' (2008) 'dialectic of identification' through the lens of the Swedish 'majority'. This viewpoint will be addressed through the narratives of female residents living in Hammarby Sjöstad. As premised in chapter two, this neighbourhood is referred to as a "Swedish" space in everyday discourse and hence, provides an ideal opportunity to explore the 'majority' perspective (See: 2.4.2). This focus on "Swedish" women specifically responds to broader gaps in women's safety studies and in Sweden where the perspectives of the unmarked privileged female 'majority' have been predominantly left unaddressed, leaving problematic statements – as seen above – unchallenged. In keeping with this study's interactionist approach, this chapter will explore how women living in Hammarby Sjöstad represent the 'referent population' and are therefore in a position to impose categorisations on others (Koskela 2014, 21; Lewellen, 2002, 106). This focus sets itself apart from previous interactionist research on two counts. This focus on Swedish *residents* contrasts to previous interactionist scholarship that have addressed the 'external' moment of identification through macro-level institutions including the state or media (See: 3.2.3) (Roggeband & van der Haar, 2018; Slooter, 2019). This chapter's focus on Swedish *women* residents provides a useful contrast to previous interactionist research on the

'majority' perspective that have hitherto adopted a gender-neutral viewpoint (See: 3.2.6). Interactionist scholars' use of a gender-neutral lens has obliterated any gendered considerations, given as Grosz (1994) aptly puts it, the abstract universal body is de facto a male body. Pushing the parameters of interactionist scholarship, the next section shall describe how this study's conceptual framework will be used to explore women's perceived (un)safety in the context of Hammarby Sjöstad.

5.1.2. Chapter aims

Drawing on the data from the study, this chapter aims to explore Hammarby Sjöstad residents' perceived (un)safety in relation to national structures - boundaries and hierarchies - of belonging. The first part of this chapter will explore the importance of national boundaries of belonging through participants' self-identification as "Swedish" and their simultaneous external categorisation of "Immigrants" (Duemmler et al., 2010). Informed by this study's conceptual framework, these interactionist processes will be explored through the lens of women's everyday encounters. In this neighbourhood, women's navigations of public space are shown to revolve around rapid, wordless interactions, what Erdal and Strømsø (2018) refer to as 'first impressions'. This chapter shall hence explore how "Swedish" women negotiate public space during 'first impressions', pointing to the ways in which women judge passers-by belonging through embodied and behavioural markers. This subsequently underscores the racialised and classed nature of national boundaries of belonging between "Swedes" and "immigrant" that emerge as pivotal when considering the question of women's perceived (un)safety.

Informed by this study's intersectional framework, the second part of this chapter aims to explore hierarchies of belonging within the social identity of "Swedish" women in Hammarby. Previous research ignores nuanced relations within the "Swedish" majority in favour of diverting attention to boundaries of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes" (Slooter, 2019; Verkuyten, 2005). Informed by critical whiteness studies, this section will challenge homogenous representations of "Swedish" women through exploring how differently-situated "Swedish" women hold different social positions within the overarching "Swedish" category, subsequently affecting their perceived (un)safety within Hammarby Sjöstad. This section will simultaneously consider how the same women negotiate their position through "social identification strategies" during 'first impressions' and prolonged encounters, pointing to the potential for agency within overarching structural constraints (Slooter, 2019; Wimmer,

2008a). Through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety, this chapter seeks to demonstrate the importance of national boundaries of belonging between "Swedes" and "immigrants" before turning to address hierarchies of belonging within 'Swedishness', both of which emerge as significant during their encounters within and beyond their neighbourhood.

5.1.3. Importance of space and overview

This chapter will be organised into a series of spaces that were identified as important for women's perceived (un)safety during walking interviews and relief maps yet also emerged as a means to voice their fears around "immigrant" men (See Figure 19). In contrast to the quote beginning this chapter, participants avoided direct discussions of boundaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes" and instead, preferred to focus on particular spaces within their neighbourhood. Here, they would recount previous encounters or at least, rumours surrounding other residents' encounters with "immigrants". Their discussions of particular spaces helped construct an overarching picture of their perceived (un)safety and its entwinement with national structures of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes". This study hence frames spaces within Hammarby as 'spatial pretexts', the likes of which emerges as an alternative to otherwise de-spatialised, more generalised 'pretexts' discussed by Lemanski (2006) (See also: Judd, 1994). Based on her work in Cape Town, Lemanski (2006, 789) explores how the discourse of fear of crime "serves as a pretext or code for a racist fear of the other". This study's use of '*spatial* pretexts' refers to how women used discussions around neighbourhood spaces as a more acceptable way to voice their racialised and classed fears of the 'other' rather than making any direct accusations (Judd, 1994; Lemanski, 2006). Their use of spatial pretexts emerges as a prime example of what Bonilla-Silva (2003) called 'racism without racists' where women are able to avoid appearing racist (or classist) whilst simultaneously engaging in discriminatory behaviours (Leitner, 2012; Rusche & Brewster, 2008; Rzepnikowska, 2019; Schuermans, 2016; Wilson, 2014). Bibiana later reflects on this evasion, '*There are two types of ethnic-Swedes, you get those who are actively racist and classist and then, the others who are but just hide it'.* Against the backdrop of Nordic exceptionalism, this chapter will explore the range of spaces identified by participants as important for their perceived (un)safety.

Whilst the order of these spaces aligns with ascending scale from transitional spaces to meso-places to virtual space, they are also organised in a way that gradually *introduces* the reader to different aspects of their perceived (un)safety and its entwinement with national structures

of belonging. My use of the term, 'introduce' is particularly significant as whilst chapter two has pre-empted the importance of the "Swedish-Immigrant" binary, its importance for women's perceived (un)safety was only slowly revealed during the research process. Discussions of each space build upon, and feed into one another, revealing their relationality (Kern, 2005; Massey, 2005; Schuermans, 2017) and reflecting the gradual, indirect ways in which women framed their fears. Combined, each space will demonstrate the significance of national structures of belonging for women's perceived (un)safety, along with its racialised and classed nature. Before providing an overview of each space and their contribution, it is important to highlight that these spaces have been included as they provided the most useful insights, rather than being the most frequently-discussed, as positivist frameworks would encourage.
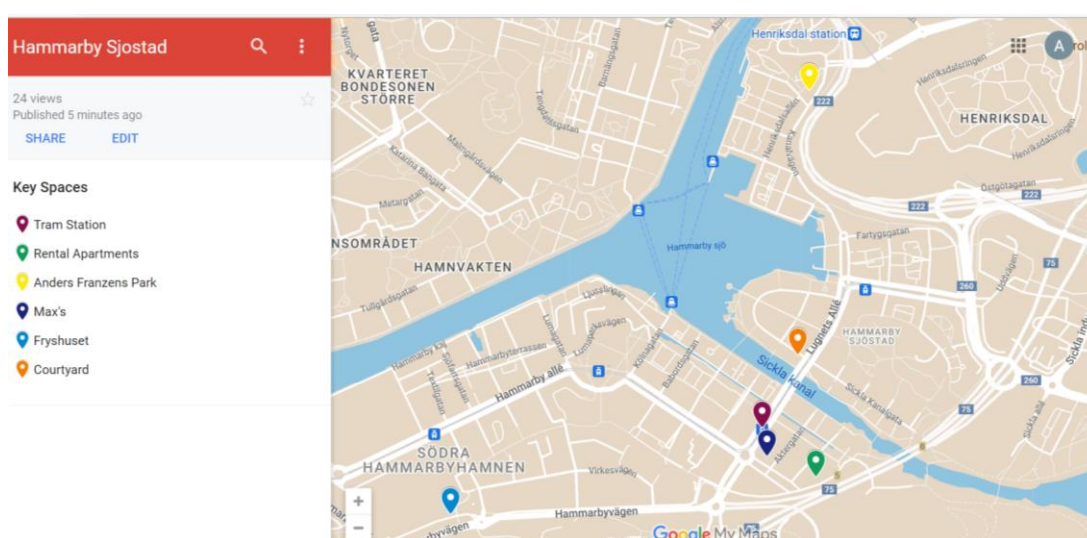
Figure 19: Location of spaces identified during participants' walking interviews

Section 5.2 will explore the significance of women's self-identification as "Swedish" and the external categorisation of the "other" for their perceived (un)safety through the lens of their "first impressions" in the *tram station.* Section 5.3 then turns to consider women's encounters near *rental apartments* which complicate binaries between "Swedes" and the "other" through its consideration of a third group, "foreigners". Boundaries of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes" are discussed for the first time in section 5.4 during Emma's encounters in *Anders Franzen Park* where the 'other' is overtly labelled as "immigrant" men. Section 5.5 addresses the classed nature of these boundaries during women's first impressions in *Max's and Fryshuset*, whilst section 5.6 addresses its racialised nature which becomes apparent through a recent 'incident' in the *courtyard*. This discussion simultaneously

provides an insight into their broader systems of neighbourhood social control where participants monitor passers-by within public space. Through the lens of the *Facebook Group*, section 5.7 explores inter-connections between women's individual encounters and broader neighbourhood networks through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety. Using a participant's experience in the courtyard, section 5.8 turns to consider hierarchies of belonging, focused on how differently-situated women experience and negotiate hierarchies of "Swedishness". Although most spaces discussed are found within Hammarby's perimeters, several spaces analysed – *dog park, laundry room, residential area* - are located in Kista. As discussed in chapter two, Kista emerges as this study's third, supplementary case-study, home to diverse spaces that bear the marks of local and national structures of belonging. It hence provides an interesting case study to discuss processes of social (identification) in relation to women's perceived (un)safety where women simultaneously navigate local and national frames of belonging.

This discussion provides an insight into how notions of (un)safety are discussed amongst privileged women, as this chapter is largely based on the perspectives of five white, middle-class women, all of whom initially declared feeling very safe (See: Table 1 in 4.4.3) (Clarke 2021; De Welde 2003; Kern, 2005; Koskela 2014, 2020). Whilst white, middle-class masculinity tends to "represent hegemonic constructs more prominently", white, middle-class femininity also emerges as an "unmarked category" (De Welde, 2003, 3; Yates 2021). Ware (1992, 253) writes, that "white, middle-class women are frequently seen in dominant culture as representing a normal type of femininity", meaning that their perspectives are often left unaddressed in studies on perceived (un)safety and belonging (For Exception, See: Kern, 2005; Halej, 2015). Responding to these gaps, this case-study provides the opportunity to understand how concepts of (un)safety are produced from the perspective of women typically described as the norm (Clarke, 2020; Lundström, 2010; Yates 2021). Although Clarke (2021) has previously identified how indirectness is prevalent amongst privileged perspectives, this research points to the importance of space as an important aspect of their perceived (un)safety yet also as a means to indirectly discuss their fears (For exception, See: Kern, 2005 on directness of white, middle-class). This research hence cumulatively seeks to recognise the significance of the role of space in women's navigations of public space, both in terms of the spatial nature of their perceived (un)safety and as a means to frame their fears. The attention of the following sections shall accordingly explore different spaces within Hammarby Sjöstad,

beginning with a transitional space, the tram-station, highlighted by several participants as an important space for their perceived (un)safety.

5.2. Tram Station

Public transport nodes are often labelled as spaces of (un)safety in women's mental maps due to their physical characteristics, notably their poor illumination and visibility (Ceccato 2012; Lupton, 1999; Uittenbogaard & Ceccato, 2012; Valentine, 1989). In light of this scholarly interest, it came as no surprise when participants drew attention to Hammarby's tram station in their walking interviews (See: Figure 20). Despite their initial emphasis on the 'tram station', several participants later differentiated between two spaces within the overarching label – platform and carriages – during the relief mapping process where they expressed different perceptions of (un)safety. Methodologically, their differentiation in later stages of the research process highlights the importance of the relief map's accompanying interview where they were able to expand on earlier thought-processes (Rodo-De-Zarate, 2014, 2015). Substantively however, the contrast in their perceived (un)safety in said spaces drew attention to key mechanisms underlying their everyday navigations of public space that would go otherwise unnoticed in less contrasting spaces.
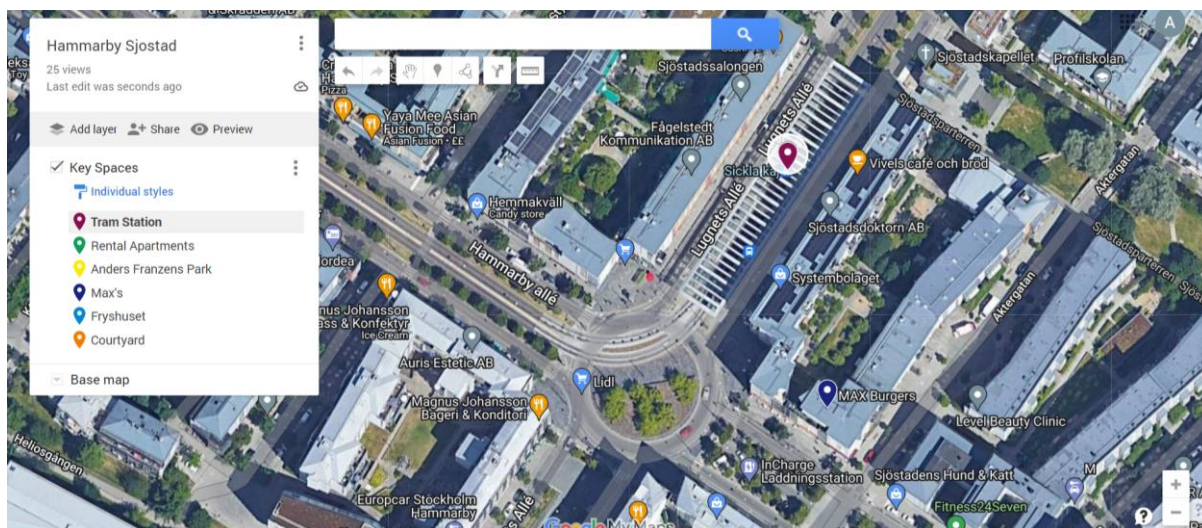
Figure 20: Photograph and Satellite Map of Tram Station

This section introduces the importance of participants' self-identification as "Swedes" - and concomitant values of gender equality - for their perceived safety within the tram station, Hammarby and Sweden, more generally. It also highlights the significance of 'first impressions' as an act of categorisation through which women differentiate between gender-equal "Swedes" and the patriarchal 'other' (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). This section hence complicates conventional understandings of public transport in relation to their urban design that currently dominate women's safety literatures, underscoring the importance of this study's conceptual framework and its unique stance on women's perceived (un)safety. More broadly however, this space provides the ideal starting point by laying the foundations for the remainder of this chapter.

5.2.1. Tram platform: women's individual and collective self-identification as "Swedes"

Ambling through the tram platform, Cristina reflected on a recent incident involving a gathering of teenage boys, "*They [teenagers] made a lot of noise and it disrupted the usual quietness'*. During the focus group, it became apparent that other residents were also conscious of this incident due to the intensity of discussion on Hammarby's Facebook Group (See: 5.7 for discussions of Facebook Group). Their heightened awareness underscored the exceptionalism of this event, as later confirmed in the focus group, '*The platform is usually very calm*' and '*We [locals] normally stand quietly waiting for the tram, doing our own thing'*… '*Listening to music or reading the news'*. The remainder of this section will explore the framing and responses to this encounter given these moments of exception provide the most valuable

insights into otherwise invisible norms surrounding women's perceived (un)safety (Bennett, 2012; Fathi, 2017; Halse, 2018; Mulari, 2020).

Reflecting on the incident, women honed in on its gendered dimensions as Susan discussed, '*You don't usually see groups of boys on their own here [Hammarby]*'. Participants understood the absence of separate groups of boys as indicative of their broader emphasis on gender equality in the neighbourhood and Sweden generally, as later explained by Susan, '*Mixed gatherings are more common here in Hammarby and in Sweden than elsewhere, it makes me feel safe as it is more equal'.* Through this reflection, she conflates her local belonging as a Hammarby Sjöstad resident and national belonging as a Swede, due to their united emphasis on gender equality which is accordingly positioned as pivotal for her perceived safety. For all participants, their local belonging as 'Hammarby' residents was understood as synonymous with their national belonging as "Swedes", leading the two to be used interchangeably. At this point, Cristina jokingly responded to Susan's emphasis on gender equality, '*Maybe, even too so in this neighbourhood'.* Whilst Susan's comments revealed how local and national belonging fold into one another, Cristina positioned local forms of belonging as more extreme, albeit based on the same premise as national belonging (Chavez & Hill, 2021; Clarke, 2020). Explaining this, Cristina points out the prevalence of '*latte papas'* observed during our walking interview, easily identified by their '*hipster outfits'*, '*big strollers'* and *'takeaway coffee in hand'*. 'Latte papas' are more broadly understood as the outcome of Sweden's parental leave policy where fathers take at least three months of leave and are framed as the epitome of Sweden's emphasis on gender equality (Somerset, 2018; Tingting, 2016). Various scholars have established gender equality as a central concept in Nordic constructions of nationhood as indicated by Susan (Bredstrom, 2003; Christensen, 2009; Hubinette & Lundström, 2011; Keskinen et al., 2009, 2018). Absent in this work, however, is Cristina's insights, where Swedish notions of gender equality are seemingly exaggerated at the local scale, broadly indicative of the lack of interest in the local in Swedish scholarship despite its entwinement with national belonging (See: 3.2.5).

Returning to this study's interactionist framework, participants' use of '*elsewhere'* and '*more equal'* alludes to the way in which gender equality emerges as a boundary-making mechanism between "Swedes" and their perceived 'other' in ways that have hitherto remained lesser explored in Swedish scholarship (For exception, See: Bredstrom, 2003). In Swiss classrooms, Duemmler et al., (2010) explore the way in which the idea of gender equality between men

and women becomes the moral imperative upon which an ethnic boundary between Swiss and Albanian students is justified (Duemmler et al., 210, 22; Dahinden et al., 2014). Whilst 'gendered borderwork' has been previously studied – albeit seldom - in relation to boys and girls in schools (Thorne, 1993), this study's interest lies with ethnic boundary work coupled with gendered representations (Duemmler et al., 2010). In this study, gender equality emerges as the 'cultural stuff' (Barth, 1969, 15) that is mobilised to maintain and contest ethnic boundaries. In contrast to Duemmler et al.,'s (2010) study however, there is limited discussion of the 'other' against which "Swedes" are compared and instead, only fleeting comparative references to 'elsewhere' are emphasised by participants. The exact nature of this boundary remains unclear, providing an insight into the indirect approach used in boundary-making approaches amongst privileged groups (Clarke, 2021).

Returning to the incident, participants explain that the gathering was '*in any case, very minor*' as it was not only '*very uncommon*' but also '*the boys seemed normal*, *probably locals*'. Upon further clarification, it became apparent that '*being normal*' served as a pretext for '*being Swedish*' that compensated for any gendered threat posed by their (exceptional) segregated gatherings. In this context, Hammarby and Kista participants referred to themselves as 'normal', setting the norm as "Swedish" and implying that anyone who (visibly) diverged from this was 'strange' (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Blaagard, 2005; Guðjónsdóttir, 2014; Lapina, 2018). Absent in these conversations, however, were any references to the 'other'. Despite the ambiguity of their strangeness, the 'other' was crucial for women's individual and collective self-identification as Swedish. Ahmed's (2000) insights into the 'stranger' are of particular relevance as she critically explores how the 'stranger' is unfamiliar yet simultaneously familiar as they point to where the boundaries of 'us' lie, as our others against whom we define ourselves. Later on in focus groups, participants explored their individual and (presumed) collective self-identification as Swedes. Those standing on the platform and moving through Hammarby generally, were accordingly declared '*similarly homogenous*' to the extent that Irene joked, '*We look the same, act the same and even dress the same'.* This focus on extreme (visible) homogeneity corresponds with what Fechter (2007) coins a 'hothouse', defined as a bounded space with an intensified social climate that dictates a certain degree of conformity from inhabitants (Fileborn, 2016). Whilst premised on observations in a gated space in Jakarta, Fechter (2007) describes how newcomers expressed shock at similarities in dress codes or forms of socialising, somewhat akin to Irene's reflections.

The degree of homogeneity in "Swedish" neighbourhoods has largely passed unnoticed in previous research on segregation and public discourse (Pred 2000; Wacquant 2010). Instead, Swedish scholars, the media, and state focus on the hyper-visible homogenous "immigrant" suburbs that supposedly better encapsulate Stockholm's segregation problem (Pred 2000; Schuermans, 2011; Wacquant 2010).

Upon reflection, this encounter revealed the extent of homogeneity within Hammarby, given an otherwise minor deviation from the 'Swedish norm' attracted a significant amount of attention. Through their discussion, it became clear that this homogeneity referred to their individual and (presumed) collective self-identification and belonging as "Swedes". This emphasis led them to frame the aforementioned male gathering as 'exceptional' due to their collective emphasis on gender-equality which accordingly explained women's perceived safety whilst waiting on the tram platform (Haldrup et al., 2006). Our attention shall now turn to adjacent 'tram carriages'; the next section explores these (social) identification processes through the lens of Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) 'first impressions'.

5.2.2. Tram carriage: 'first impressions'

"I feel more on edge…There is a greater mix of people who seem like they are not Swedes, they are a different social class".

Here, Jenni experiences a change in her feelings of safety, felt as an embodied experience, upon entering the tram carriage. Similar to Lennox's (2021) study on women's fears, few participants used the term 'fear' to describe their emotions and instead, described 'feeling on edge', pointing at how (un)safety is felt as a sensory embodied state (Ahmed, 2004; Edwards & Maxwell, 2021; Gordon & Riger, 1989; Jaffe, 2020; Sandberg, 2011). The diversity experienced in the carriage, was felt more starkly than in other spaces due to the extreme homogeneity of residents on the platform, witnessed minutes before. In response, women resorted to what Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) term 'safety work' where they '*move to sit in a corner seat and avoid eye contact'* similar to the negotiations described by Koefoed, Christensen and Simonsen's (2017) and Mulari's (2020) participants on their bus and metro journeys in Copenhagen and Helsinki, respectively. Participants' detailed accounts of their 'safety work' contrast to their evident ease on the platform. Cautious of implications of causality, their difference in behaviour seemingly stemmed from changes in their environment, in this case, from being surrounded by "Swedes" to '*not Swedes'*. Of added note,

was Jenni's subsequent focus on their social class. This addition implies that being "Swedish" refers to a middle-class Swedish subject, facilitating the exclusion of working-class Swedes from Swedishness, as has been previously documented in Norway in relation to 'Norwegianness' (Aarset, 2018; Guðjónsdóttir, 2014) (to be further discussed in 6.6). From this point, the use of the term "Swedish" refers to a certain nationality and class position.

At this point, I will draw the reader's attention to the repeated use of the term '*seem*' in previous extracts along with its various iterations - including '*probably* locals' – and my own emphasis on '*presumed*' collective self-identification as "Swedes". These terms imply a lack of certainty regarding women's ability to 'know' the identity of passers-by. In this context, their encounters are reduced to wordless interactions or brief glances – akin to the processes described in Erdal and Strømsø's (2018) 'first impressions' - as participants previously reported waiting in silence whilst engaged in their own activities (See: 5.2.1). In focus groups, women frame 'first impressions' as '*very Swedish*' due to their individualistic, reserved national culture. Stereotypes of 'Swedish coldness' are well-established across popular and academic discourse, alluding to Swedes' seemingly reserved nature, which as Daun (2002) explains, means they have little interest in talking with someone they do not know (Listerborn, 2013; Runfors, 2021). The prevalence and significance of 'first impressions' are seemingly amplified in the Swedish context, underscoring the importance of analysing encounters within their geographical context (Ahmed, 2000; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). Women's lack of certainty – signalled by the use of '*seem*' and '*probably*' – is hence understandable as participants' ability to make judgements on the social identity of passers-by is restricted to embodied cues carried on their bodies. This study's subsequent use of quotation marks for "Swedes" aims to signal this uncertainty.

Lacking from these judgements is what Jenkins (2012, 164) refers to as the "most important source of information used to identify people", language and conversation inquiry, including how one introduces one another and asks questions. This study's conceptual framework has prior established that identification is an emergent property of interaction between self-identification and categorisation by others (Jenkins, 1994, 2000, 2008, 2012). In this scenario however, 'first impressions' deny one significant aspect of that interaction - self-identification - given there is no dialogue between the observer and observed (Jenkins, 2012). Although Jenkins (2012) addresses these questions through the lens of modern surveillance, I instead argue that categorisation emerges as the dominant mode of identification in "Swedish"

women's everyday navigations of public space. In the absence of verbal information, women make judgements on others' belonging through their appearance and behaviour. In this scenario, these processes led participants to identify passers-by on the platform as "Swedish" and people in the carriage as 'not Swedish', subsequently affecting their perceived (un)safety. Women's external categorisation of '*non-Swedes'* and presumed collective self-identification as "Swedes" are imbued with value judgements, making them inherently hierarchical in relation to women's perceived (un)safety (Koskela 2014, 20). Nonetheless, participants were reluctant to provide any reasons behind their perceived (un)safety around 'non-Swedes', claiming that it was either '*natural'* or '*irrelevant'.* Participants continued to emphasise the importance of their individual and collective self-identification as Swedes and their concomitant values of gender-equality, with limited reflection on the other side of the boundary.

Emma later reflected, '*Women can never be safe'* as illustrated by participants' decision to continually move the gender toggle in relief maps. Whilst men's navigations of public space were understood to lack threats of gendered violence, the aforementioned gendered processes of judgement always '*operated under the radar'* for most women, more or less visible depending on their surroundings (Lewis, 2018, 93). As I shall explore throughout this study, women were constantly alert, reading their environment and its passers-by during 'first impressions' that defined their movements within "Swedish" space (Mulari, 2020; Valentine, 1989). This hyper-vigilance has been commonly acknowledged amongst minority groups, in particular LGTBQI groups (Arayasirikul & Wilson, 2019; Riggle, Folberg & Richardson, 2021; Rostosky, Richardson, McCurry, & Riggle, 2022), disabled people (Edwards & Maxwell, 2021; Hall & Bates, 2019) and migrants (Willen, 2007) yet lesser recognised amongst all women, in particular, white, middle-class women. In contrast to Vera-Gray and Kelly's (2020) reflections on the habitual nature of their safety work, I would argue that their ongoing state of hyper-vigilance would suggest otherwise. Despite their relative privilege, their gendered unbelongings and concomitant vulnerability, coupled with their individual responsibilisation of their safety, encouraged an active process of social sorting through 'first impressions', given as Cristina emphasises, '*We will be blamed if something goes wrong'* (Stanko, 1990)*.* These findings highlight the importance of considerations of gender within interactionist approaches despite its elision in previous approaches (See: 5.1.1). The importance of staying vigilant changes the way in which women understand and engage with (social) identification

processes in comparison to "Swedish" men. Their need to rapidly pre-empt threat denies the act of self-identification for passers-by encountered, especially in a context where prolonged interactions are not the norm due to its reserved culture (Daun, 2002; Koskela, 2014, Listerborn, 2013).

5.2.3: Tram station: summary:

Through this section, I have demonstrated the importance of boundary-making processes where Hammarby participants emphasised the significance of their self-identification and (presumed) collective self-identifications as "Swedish" for their perceived (un)safety. In keeping with this study's interactionist framework, this study avoids reifying conceptions surrounding the 'reality' of groups and categories and instead, argues that this collectivity – Swedes - is always in process, alluding to ongoing processes of group identification and external categorisation (Jenkins 2000, 9). Pushing beyond current interactionist scholarship, boundary-making processes are approached through 'first impressions' owing to its significance in women's everyday encounters in "Swedish" neighbourhoods (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). Here, 'first impressions' emerge as the main site of boundary-making where women make rapid judgements on others' belonging through their physical appearance and behaviour (Barth, 1998; Duemmler et al., 2010; Jenkins, 2000, 2008; Williams, 2018).

Taking a step back however, women's preference for discussions of their safety at the expense of considerations of unsafety provides further insights into how safety and belonging are discussed amongst the privileged within the Swedish context (Clarke, 2021). This finding contrasts to broader research on belonging and policing within the Swedish context where participants have appeared more at ease in describing the dangerous 'other' against which they are defined (Löfstrand & Uhnoo, 2014; Pettersson, 2013; Philipson, 2016). The rest of this chapter shall further explore the subtle, indirect ways in which "Swedish" women understand and frame the 'dangerous other' against which they position themselves, leading us to question, which bodies - or more specifically, bodily markers of visible difference – trigger perceptions of unsafety?

5.3. Rental Apartments

Alongside discussions of tram carriages, a block of rental apartments was also highlighted as a less safe space in comparison to the rest of Hammarby (See: Figure 21). This section will explore how this space functioned as a 'spatial pretext' for the presence of Indian male

immigrants (Judd, 1994; Lemanski, 2006). Contributing to ongoing discussions on privilege, safety and belonging (Clarke, 2021), participants' initial explanations were marred by the same indirectness that defined discussions of the tram station. Whilst they initially spoke of its *'less nice'* urban design and the stigma associated with renting, it became apparent that women's marginal perceived unsafety emerged from its inhabitants rather than the apartments itself (Flusty 2001; Low 2009; Philipson, 2016). In the focus group, Jenni admitted that she lived in a rental apartment, near the centre of Hammarby. Other participants were quick to respond, arguing that they were unaware that her block of flats was rentable yet were quick to reassure her that her block was not the 'problem' despite their shared rental set-up. Upon reflection, it became clear that participants found it easier to blame the urban environment than address the cause of their perceived unsafety in this particular space, its Indian inhabitants. Despite accounting for an increasing proportion of Sweden's immigrant population since the IT revolution, Indian immigrants have received limited attention in immigration research in Sweden and Europe more broadly, in favour of researching more visible, stigmatised immigrants with African or Middle-Eastern heritage (See: Eliassi, 2013). If seldom considered, they have been mostly myopically conflated with other immigrants of colour despite their distinct perceptions and experiences (See: Koskela 2014, 30; Merimaa & Oilinki, 2010; Osanami-Torngren, 2020). In response, this section seeks to explore how Indian migrants are differentiated from other immigrant groups, understood as neither "Swedish" nor the stigmatised 'other', occupying an in-between position as harmless 'foreigners' (Aarset, 2018; Mozetič, 2018).
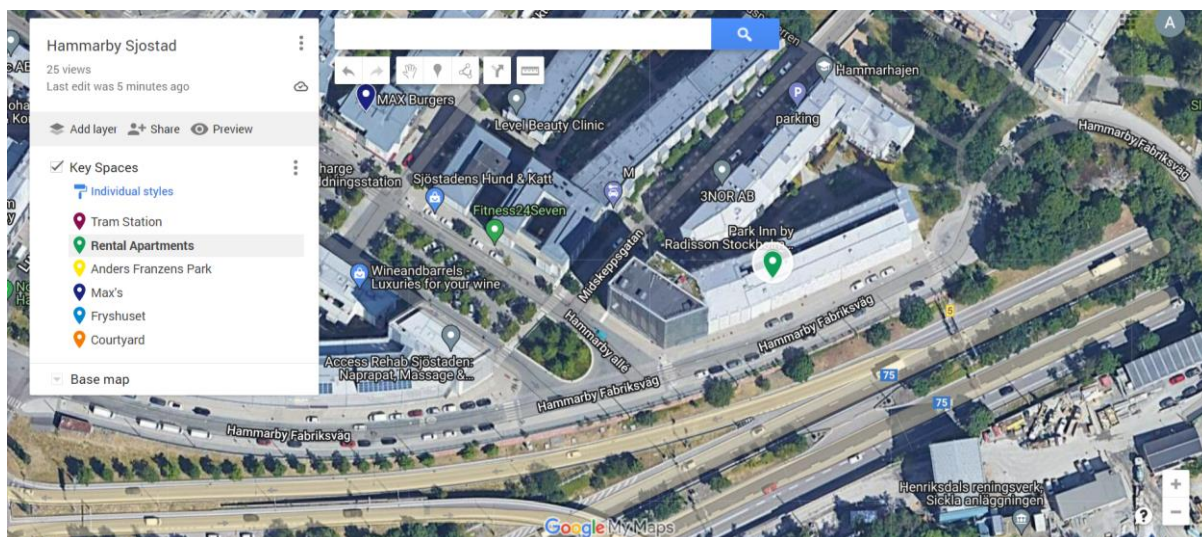
Figure 21: Photograph and Satellite Map of Rental Apartments

5.3.1. Rental apartments: boundaries between 'foreigners' and the 'other'

'*Most of the residents are male Indian immigrants or foreigners, who have moved to Sweden because they have a job in the IT industry. They seem middle-class, as they dress well, speak nicely, and seem intelligent, they must have good jobs'.* (Cristina)

Upon first reflection, the above quote would imply some degree of interaction between Cristina and residents of the rental apartments, given assumptions on language use and intelligence are mostly derived from conversation (Jenkins 2012). She quickly clarifies however, that she has only '*seen and heard them'* near their block. Upon further observation, her emphasis on '*seem'* and '*must have'* redraws our attention to the role of 'first impressions' where "Swedish" women make judgements on others social identity through bodily cues, alluding to how their social class is read through embodied and behavioural markers (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). Their middle-class status is not only read through their appearance – their clothing, for example – but also through their voice, pushing us to consider multi-sensory cues beyond the well-documented realm of the visual within extant encounters and 'first impressions' scholarship (For Exception, See: Shaker et al., 2021). Navigating public spaces requires various multisensorial practices that judge its passers-by through looking, listening, touching, and smelling (Shaker et al., 2021).

Through this emphasis of 'middle-classness', Indian immigrants are positioned as 'different' from the working-class 'other' seen in the tram carriages (See: 5.2.2). Previous research has explored differentiations between working-class and middle-class migrants through the lens

of 'skilled migrants', exploring how their social class increases their acceptance (Koskela, 2014, 22; Eskelä, 2013; Fathi, 2017; Lulle & Balode, 2014). Koobak and Thapark-Bjorkert (2012) reflect on how their occupation as Swedish academics, disrupts the presumed correlation often made between differently-marked bodies and a lack of privilege, in a similar way to the greater tolerance expressed towards Indian migrants working with the technology industry, cumulatively protecting them from discrimination (Haikkola, 2011). In this context, their positioning as middle-class migrants or more specifically, 'foreigners', leads them to be seen as less threatening in comparison to working-class migrants, as has been broadly recognised by Madriz (1997) and Skeggs (1997) in their earlier works on relationships between social class and women's fears.

Irene later pushes beyond this initial emphasis on the role of social class, arguing, '*They [Indian immigrants] seem almost Swedish in their values'*. Upon clarification in her relief map interview, Irene explains that '*being Swedish'* refers to not only one's middle-class status but also gender-equal values that were made visible through Indian migrants' courteous demeanour (Clarke, 2021; Fathi, 2017). Aarset (2018) reaches a similar conclusion in their study on ethnic minority migrants in Norway, noting that views on gender equality emerges as an indicator of successful integration. Through the combination of their "Swedish" values and 'middle-classness', Indian immigrants are cumulatively positioned as harmless 'foreigners' and are seen as having a more positive identity than the 'other' who conversely lacks Swedish traits (Suurpaa, 2002). It is through their adoption of these values that Indian immigrants are seen as a lesser threat to women's safety, hence, explaining participants' ambivalence towards the rental apartments regarding their perceived (un)safety. This focus on 'more positive' group identities challenges interactionist scholars' interpretations of categorisation as always negative, instead, revealing the way in which categorisations can be relatively positive (Jenkins 2000, 20; Haikkola, 2011). Whilst Indian immigrants are seen to positively hold 'Swedish values' in terms of their politeness and respect, they are simultaneously placed at a distance from the Swedish majority as signalled by the Cristina's use of '*almost Swedish'* and their subsequent external categorisation as 'foreigners'. The boundaries between 'foreigners' and "Swedes" will be explored in the following section.

Further exploring the boundaries between the 'other' and 'foreigners', Jenni recollects a conversation with her Indian partner who lives in Kista. She talks of their plans to move in with one another yet notes that the exact location is undecided. In response to her suggestion of

residing in Hammarby, she recalls her surprise at his response, *'He said that Indian immigrants are only accepted in spaces like Hammarby when they try to be Swedish, he wants to live in a more mixed space with more immigrants like Kista where there is less pressure'.* She downplays his concerns, mocking his descriptions of Hammarby as *'too clean and sterile'*. Despite Jenni's partner's preference for Kista, Mahati (Kista) reports similar albeit less extreme tensions in the neighbourhood. She reflects at her initial delight upon realising that her neighbours were also Indian immigrants. Despite her hope for friendship, she was soon disappointed as they seemed *'very Swedish'* and were more reserved in their mannerisms than what she terms, *'usual Indians'*. For Mahati, her neighbours had unlearnt their Indian values and adopted Swedish values, further reinstating how Swedishness is seen to refer to a set of behaviours or 'identity content', in this case, politeness and quietness which are positioned as key for "Swedish" women's perceived safety.

Mahati later adds however, *'I have now accepted this [referring to her Indian neighbours' behaviour] as its part of integration'*. Her initial reservations towards her neighbours' integration, were later replaced with feelings of acceptance, more broadly reflective of her limited agency within the overarching structures of Swedish society (Duemmler et al., 2010; Hallgren, 2005). The processes described above are closer to assimilation, than integration, the former of which is highlighted by Wimmer (2008a) as one of the main 'positional' movements in his typology of "social identification strategies". Hallgren (2005, 332) makes a similar distinction, noting one of her participants' reflections, "Integration is when you are proud of the other part of yourself". For Mahati and Hallgren's (2005) participants, their adjustment came at the expense of their self, motivated by their desire to feel included and safe (Alba, 2005; Leitner, 2012; Radford, 2017). Combined, Indian immigrants' adoption of 'Swedish values' - read through 'first impressions' - positioned them closer to the "Swedish" majority group, albeit they are not allowed to cross the boundary as will be now discussed (Antonsich, 2010; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Nonetheless, their positioning as *'not quite Swedish'* – or as *'foreigners'* - explains "Swedish" women's greater feelings of unsafety near the rental apartments compared to the rest of Hammarby (Koskela, 2021).

5.3.2. Rental apartments: boundaries between "Swedes" and 'foreigners'

Tantamount to 'meta-stereotypes' (Vorauer et al., 1998), Mahati and Jenni's partner have both become aware that they are not accepted as Swedes through their everyday encounters. Through his 'first impressions', Jenni explains that her partner feels *'like a foreigner whenever*

he comes here, he says that people look at him strangely'. Heru (2003, 113) explores the act of 'gazing', explaining "We can understand gazing as a particular activity that is privileged by the dominant group in society and to be uncomfortable and objectifying for those upon whom they gaze" (See also: Puwar, 2004, Shaker, 2021 for discussions of the gaze as a method of surveillance and control). Jenni's partner's understanding of his belonging and social position in Sweden is partly reproduced through the gaze of "Swedes" in Hammarby Sjöstad (Eliassi 2013, 217; Hopkins, 2007; McCrackin & Itier, 2019; Puwar, 2004; Shaker 2021). This underscores the importance of non-verbal experiences of animosity which have been otherwise ignored in interactionist scholarship due to their preoccupation with vague 'interactions' (Back et al., 2012).

Mahati's narratives conversely focus on her prolonged encounters, reflecting on her conversations – or lack of - during her attendance of Kista's Swedish groups, '*They [Swedes] are nice on surface level but do not want to get to know me on a deeper level because I am a foreigner'*. Similar exclusionary sentiments have been reported across Western countries where (skilled) immigrants - or in this case, 'foreigners' - are excluded from meaningful social relations (Fathi, 2017; Koskela, 2014; Leinonen, 2011). Drawing this together, the division between the 'other' and 'foreigners' is not the only boundary that exists for Indian immigrants, given Swedes as another group of others are equally present in their discussions of belonging and social identity. Whilst 'foreigners' experience pressure to integrate, they are simultaneously conscious that they will not be accepted as legitimate members of "Swedish" society (For similar reviews of Finnishness, see Leinonen, 2011; Danishness, See Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Norwegianness, See Aarset, 2018). Fathi (2017, 154) documents similar experiences amongst Iranian medics in the UK where their sense of belonging was affected by sentiments of foreignness, what she later refers to as a 'glass ceiling' which alludes to their ability to never be seen as 'English' despite their middle-class status and English values. For many minorities, the route to assimilation is policed by the majority group who "try to make assimilation and other strategies of boundary-crossing more difficult" (Wimmer, 2008a, 1002; Grobgeld & Bursell, 2021; Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019).

Whilst their narratives focus on their external categorisation as 'foreigners', the differences between their reception stem from their gender. Indian men are seen as a greater threat to the safety of Swedish women by virtue of their masculinity, hence, explaining their colder reception (Philipson, 2016, 46). Mahati's more subtle experiences of exclusion stem from her

gendered identity where she is described by other participants as a 'passive trailing wife' (Careless & Mizzi, 2015; Fechter, 2007; Jagganath, 2015). This helps explains Cristina's focus on Indian men along with the concomitant erasure of Indian women in her quote above, the latter rendered invisible in Cristina's discussion and Swedish society generally, due to their perceived passivity. Jenni's boyfriend exhibits some resistance to his external categorisation as a 'foreigner' and the need to 'assimilate' as illustrated by his refusal to relocate to Hammarby. Mahati, however, accepts her categorisation, continually referring to herself as a 'foreigner' throughout the research process. This is a prime example of what Jenkins (2000) terms 'internalisation', where the categorised group is exposed to the ways in which another group defines it and assimilates that categorisation into their own identity. It is difficult to judge however, whether Mahati's acceptance of this external categorisation stems from ease or alignment with her group identity, given she does not face the same exclusion as Indian men due to her perceived lesser threat (Jenkins, 2000). Nonetheless, the difference between their responses further indicates the importance of recognising intersectional differences within homogenising label of 'foreigners', diverting our attention to more visible, more threatening 'foreigner' men.

5.3.3. Rental apartments: summary

Prompted by observations of rental apartments during walking interviews, the initial 'bright boundary' between "Swedes" and 'others' has been complicated through the introduction of a third social identity – 'foreigners' - held by Indian immigrants (Alba, 2005; Mozetič, 2018). Up until now, this binary has been constructed as a 'bright' boundary between "Swedes" and the 'other', as in popular and media discourse, ignoring those who fall in-between and hence, obliterating their unique perceptions in relation to their perceived (un)safety. Participants' framing of Indian immigrant residents as 'foreigners' contrasts to other scholars' classifications of middle-class immigrants as 'skilled' (Razin & Sadka, 2000; Syed, 2008), 'deserving' (Dhaliwal & Forkert, 2015; Sales, 2002) or 'good migrants' (Andrews, 2018; Kuisma, 2013). In this context however, being categorised as a 'foreigner' does not only refer to one's immigrant background and middle-class status but also alludes to the adoption of Swedish values. Whilst this section has focused on 'Indian immigrants', it is possible that the term 'foreigners' refers to immigrants with other ethnicities who also identify as middle-class and adopt Swedish values. This, however, was not discussed by participants during our conversations on Hammarby's rental apartments and is hence, beyond the realm of this study,

emerging as an area for future research. Whilst this discussion has complicated the initial bright binary between Swedes and the other, it leads us back to the same question raised in 5.2.3, who is the unnamed other that emerges as a constant source of comparison with "Swedes" and now, "foreigners"?

5.4. Anders Franzen Park

It was only during my interview with Emma that discussions of the 'other' became more explicit. She had recently become a parent, changing how she understood her perceived (un)safety in public space. As a parent, she reflected on the increased amount of time spent in parks, in particular, Anders Franzen Park (See Figure 22). During the relief map interview, she requested to separate her thoughts into two sections, focused on day and night respectively, reiterating the previously established importance of flexible methodological approaches. Through this separation, she discussed the temporal nature of her perceived (un)safety which was summarised as a shift from "*our park in the day to their park at night*". Personal pronouns including '*ours*' and '*theirs*' were scattered throughout her discussions of the park, highlighting the importance of this study's interactionist approach and its interest in boundary-making (See also: Schuermans, 2011, 176). Whilst women's higher fears at night have been well-documented (Day, 1999; Lupton, 1999; Pain, 1991), this section will provide a different take on this longstanding question, reinstating the benefits of this study's unique conceptual and methodological stance. This section will first explore her perceived safety during the day, examining "Swedish" side of the boundary and the conflation of Swedishness with whiteness during 'first impressions'. The second half will revert our attention back to the 'others' who are labelled as "immigrants", leading us to revisit how gender equality and social class emerge as boundary-markers between "Swedes" and "immigrants".

Figure 22: Photograph and Satellite Map of Anders Franzen Park

Figure 23: Screenshot of Emma's Request

5.4.1. Anders Franzen park: Swedishness and whiteness

'I feel really safe here, everyone seems to be from the similar background'. Standing in the playground during our walking interview, Emma reflects on the similarities between park-users, focusing on their '*similar background'*. This term frequently emerged in interviews, later revealing itself as a pretext or as Bibiana later describes, *'a more polite way of saying middle-class'.* Anthias (2013) makes similar observations with reference to the classed phrase, 'people like us', whereby one reproduces inequality but refuses to name it in class terms, much akin to the Swedish context. Considering their shared middle-class status, Emma notes how most parents, standing nearby, are with their children, all of whom are dressed in expensive clothes, and often accompanied by a dog. Taken together, Emma assumes that other parents see her as middle-class by the same markers. This provides an insight into what Jenkins previously referred to as the 'common language of strategies' which in this context are defined by (middle-class) Swedes (Jenkins, 2008; Lamont 2014). Her and her son are felt to be read as belonging to this (middle-class) Swedish space, leading her to feel invisible and alleviating any personal or altruistic fears for her son (Heber, 2009; Snedker, 2006; Warr & Ellison, 2000).

Dog-ownership was also discussed by Kista participants, Lara and Margit, in relation to their perceived safety in Kista's dog park. In their explanations however, dog-ownership function as more than a middle-class marker and symbol of inclusion. Instead, having a dog present was understood to warn off "immigrant" men given dogs are seen as '*dangerous and dirty in their ["immigrant" men] home countries. They aren't pets'* (Seimenis, 2008; Seimenis & Tabbaa, 2014). Conversely, dog ownership is only momentarily discussed in current work on women's safety where it is understood to deter to *any* unwanted advances. Coble, Selin and Erickson (2003, 19) for example, briefly mention how women felt safer when walking with dogs and hence, positioned dog-ownership as a 'defensive behaviour' against *all* men. Whilst this reflection has important repercussions, the above analysis pushes for women's safety work to be considered through an intersectional lens. Not only is dog-ownership seen as a middle-class marker but is also seen as a deterrent for '*immigrant men'* rather than '*all men'* during 'first impressions'.

Returning to Emma's reflections, the park was also conducive to '*chats between parents'* or in the language of the encounters literature, 'prolonged encounters' (Hill et al., 2014; Gibbs

2021; Perrem, 2018; Wilson, 2013). Emma recalls how parents have previously approached her in '*fast Swedish*' due to her '*fair skin and blonde hair*' or what she later terms, '*Swedish-looking appearance*'. Association between whiteness and Swedishness has been established in Swedish scholarship as discussed in 2.2.3, revealing how differences between the bodily concept of race and cultural concept of ethnicity have collapsed within the Swedish national imaginary (Hubinette & Lundström, 2011, 44; Gokieli, 2017; Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Koobak & Thapark-Bjorkert, 2012; Lundström, 2007; Mattson, 2005; Runfors, 2016, 2021). Emma's experiences however, help explore how judgements on national belonging emerge during 'first impressions'. Despite her self-identification as French, she is read by others as "Swedish" leading her and her son to be deemed '*invisible and in-place*' (Runfors, 2021, 70). This 'passing' helps further justify this study's previous emphasis on *presumed* self-identification (5.2) and the use of quotation marks around "Swedes" and "Swedish". Passing has been mostly used to explore how individuals of colour cross the black-white line in order to escape prejudice, yet this section addresses passing in relation to internal differentiation within whiteness as explored in Krivonos' (2020) and Lapina's (2018) study of Russian and Latvian immigrants in Finland and Denmark, respectively. Whilst Emma self-identifies as French, she is read by others in 'first impressions' as a Hammarby Sjöstad resident and by proxy, "Swedish", leading other passers-by to *presume* that she belongs to the same national identity.

What happens in the moments that follow, reveal the precarity of her feelings of (national) belonging and in-placeness, positioned as key for her personal and altruistic perceived (un)safety. She recalls feeling flushed, '*I say to them I don't speak to Swedish. I don't know what they are saying to me, so they move away and talk to other parents in Swedish. They seem surprised*'. In this brief moment, she feels temporarily less in-place through her 'audible visibility' (Guðjónsdóttir, 2014), revealing how her invisibility and belonging can be undone at any point, underscoring Koskela's (2020) prior emphasis on the brief temporality of acceptance (See: 3.2.4). Despite this temporary visibility, the incident does not motivate her to learn Swedish in order to avoid embarrassing encounters in the future as she admits '*I can get by in most everyday situations*,' indicative of how European identities, in particular, Western Europeans, are largely accepted in comparison to other nationalities due to their assumed proximity to 'Swedishness' (Lundström, 2017; Pettersson, 2013). Guðjónsdóttir (2014) notes similar processes amongst Icelanders in Norway where they become visible in

everyday situations through their language use, yet this visibility is deemed a positive quality when combined with a desired nationality such as Icelandic or French as in this study (Clarke, 2014; Leinonen, 2011; Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014). Here, it becomes possible to understand how visibility emerges as a positive differentiation, despite its representation as largely negative in extant scholarship as noted in 1.3.2 (ibid).

Whilst this incident may have not had a dramatic impact on her perceived safety, it more significantly reveals how Swedishness is conflated with 'whiteness' during 'first impressions' leading Emma to pass as "Swedish". Emma generates a "crisis of reading" (Ahmed, 2000, 128) on the part of Swedish parents owing to her simultaneous embodiment of somatic sameness and linguistic difference (Alba, 2005; Antonsich, 2018; Clarke, 2021; Greenberg-Raanan & Avni, 2020). The unexpectedness of white Europeans' linguistic difference corroborates how accents are embodied, with racialised notions of nationhood informing assumptions about who is (and is not) part of Swedishness (Clarke, 2021, 7; Antonsich, 2018). More broadly, their surprise reveals yet at the same disrupts Ahmed's (2000, 13) 'visual economy of recognition' where one's skin or faces, are seen to hold the truth of one's (local and) national belonging (Amoore, 2007; Hall, 2010; Simon, 2012). Through this study's interactionist framework however, their surprise re-establishes how the appeal of categorisation does not stem from its ability to make sense of complexity but more maintain the illusion one may be able to categorise individuals and know what to expect, in this case, based on racialised assumptions (Jenkins, 2000, 10). This revelation provides better clarity on 'first impressions' earlier discussed, and broadly reiterates the importance of studying other encounters besides 'first impressions' to understand the latter's inner workings (Ahmed, 2000; Back et al., 2012). Given the absence of conversation on the tram platform, it now makes sense that passers-by were read as "Swedish" due to their appearance or specifically, their whiteness, given the absence of any other markers such as language or cultural traits. It also helps understand Jenni's partner's criticisms of the neighbourhood as *'too clean and sterile'* - that stem from the overwhelming whiteness of the neighbourhood as previously encapsulated by Irene, '*We look the same…'* (See: 5.2.2).

5.4.2. Anders Franzen park: encounters with "immigrants"

It was only during Emma's discussions of the park during the evening that the image of the 'other' begun to take shape. Emma noted a dramatic change in her perceived (un)safety at night, leading her to avoid the playground owing to her personal and altruistic fear of

"immigrant" men. Place-avoidance is commonly discussed as part of women's 'safety work', used to avoid any contact with potentially threatening passers-by, in this case, "immigrant" men (Stanko, 1990; Valentine, 1992). This finding is in itself nothing new given women's fears of immigrant men have been well-documented across Sweden (See: 2.2.2) (Bredstrom, 2003; Sandberg & Tollesfen, 2010). What struck me, however, was her use of the conditional tense that I subsequently questioned. Before proceeding, I would like to caution that the discussion below should not imply that any experience of crime would better justify her fears, as to emphasise this, would be to verge into intellectually-faulty (ir)rationality debates (See: Tulloch, 1999 for critique of debate). Rather, I wish to emphasise that her use of the conditional tense was worthy of exploration.

In response, Emma admits that she has not directly witnessed "immigrant" men in the playground as her caretaking responsibilities force her to stay at home during the evening. Instead, she learnt of their presence through the neighbourhood Facebook Group. Within its posts, "immigrant" men were constructed as a threat to 'Swedish women' due to their patriarchal values (Bredstrom, 2003; Gokieli, 2017; Haldrup et al., 2006). The Facebook group emerged an as important mode of socialisation that informed her fears of "immigrant" men alongside better-known sources including the media (Bredstrom, 2003; Castell, 2010; Christensen, 2009; Lupton, 1999) and police (Palidda, 2007). Emma later explains however, that national articles were often shared on the neighbourhood group, reinstating how local and national sources reinforce one another, similarly underscoring how local and national belongings align (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2012). These sources of information cumulatively constructed boundaries between "Swedes" and "immigrants", assigning these categories different values in which "immigrants" are subordinated. Alongside this study's focus on embodied (in)visibility, (in)visibility in terms of media representation are equally important elements of representation practices that generate distinct subject positions (Eliassi, 2013; Khosravi, 2012). Building on our initial insights, gender-equality emerges as a key boundary-maker differentiating between "Swedish" and "immigrant" men.

The above encounters lead me to reconsider this chapter's focus on "Swedish" women as categorisers or as representatives of the 'dominant referent culture' who impose categorisations on others (Lewellen, 2002, 106; Koskela 2020, 27). Here, Emma holds what Back et al., (2012) refer to as a 'double perspective' given her position as a categoriser at night in 'first impressions' and categorised during the day in 'prolonged encounters'. Her

perspectives begin to complicate binary conceptualisations of categorisers and categorised, which are further nuanced by her gendered identity as premised by Mehta and Bondi (1999, 69) who argue that women hold "multiple, shifting, and potentially contradictory subject positions". Dreyer (2012, 36) however, more sceptically concludes, that women will always be objects of the male gaze and never enjoy the same freedom as the male flaneur who is able to gaze without being watched in return, leading them to always occupy the position of the 'categorised' (See also: Young, 1990, cited in Haldrup et al., 2006). Whilst I do not adhere to these more drastic perspectives, these reflections complicate what has often been taken-for-granted in interactionist thought, underscoring the importance of considering power relations in certain situations (Duemmler et al., 2010; Jenkins, 2008, 126).

5.4.3. Anders Franzen park: summary

Emma's narratives have simultaneously revealed the racialisation of Swedishness during 'first impressions' whilst providing detailed insights into the 'other' against which "Swedes" and 'foreigners' are compared. Through her discussions of the park in the day, I explored how Emma unintentionally passes as "Swedish" during 'first impressions' leading her to be rendered invisible and seen as belonging to the Hammarby and by proxy, "Swedish" majority. This passing was quickly disrupted during subsequent 'prolonged encounters' with "Swedish" parents where she was temporarily rendered more visible due to her lack of Swedish. In this moment however, Emma accepts her categorisation as *'less Swedish'* due to her positive self-identification as French. This scenario hence emerges as what Haikkola (2011) refers to as a 'harmonious identification' where one accepts one's external categorisation, in this case, due to the positive valorisation of Western European identities in the Swedish context (Lundström, 2017). More broadly, her narratives revealed the importance of racialisation for Swedishness, explaining how Indian immigrants of colour are understood to not 'pass' as Swedish in their everyday 'first impressions' despite their middle-classness and Swedish values (Koskela, 2021). Her initial experience of invisibility and passing as Swedish reveals the norms of Swedish whiteness where embodied traits including skin colour – what Runfors (2021, 73) refers to as materialised Swedish whiteness – are deemed necessary for successful passing. Whilst similar findings, pointing to the conflation of Swedishness and whiteness, have been established (Hubinette & Lundström, 2011; Hubinette & Lundström, 2014; Lundström, 2017; Runfors, 2016), this discussion provides unique insights into how these processes emerge during encounters through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety.

The second section explored how gender-equality emerges as a boundary-marker between "Swedes" and "immigrant" – the latter of which was hitherto only addressed through vague descriptors such as the 'other' (Duemmler et al., 2010). The time taken to label "immigrants" as the 'other' is indicative of the indirect ways in which (middle-class) 'Hammarby' and "Swedish" women approach their safety and belonging, the nature of which emerges as a key contribution of this chapter. This section provided crucial insights into how said "immigrant" men are constructed as a homogenous category tarred with negative collective attributes in relation to "Swedish" women's perceived (un)safety. In this context, their (negative) visibility was explored in the form of their representations in the neighbourhood Facebook Group and national media. Up until this point, participants' fears of immigrant men have been addressed through 'indirect encounters', leading us to question how they are visibly (and through other senses) differentiated from "Swedes" during 'first impressions', leading us to our next section.

5.5. Max's and Fryshuset

Although Emma's narratives focused on her 'indirect' encounters with "immigrant" men, this section will focus on participants' 'direct' encounters in order to ascertain how "immigrant" men are categorised during 'first impressions'. Max's and Fryshuset were identified as 'unsafe' spaces in women's relief maps given they were known to attract 'immigrant youths' from nearby suburbs (Yates, 2021) (See Figure 24 and 25). Max Burgers - or Max's as described by participants - is a Swedish fast-food chain visited by youths at night after partying given the absence of such chains in their own neighbourhoods (Svensson & Wagner, 2011). Conversely, Fryshuset is a community centre that offers social activities for the same group (Westlund & Gawell, 2012). The first section will focus on how women drew upon aural cues – noisiness and dialects – to construct "immigrant" men as visibly different and subsequently, out-of-place, what Puwar (2004, 8) refers to as 'space invaders' (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014; Shaker, 2021; Shaker et al., 2021). The second section will reflect on women's responses to their external categorisation of "immigrant" men, examining how participants attempt to emphasise their identities as 'parents' in the hope that it will alleviate their gendered vulnerabilities.
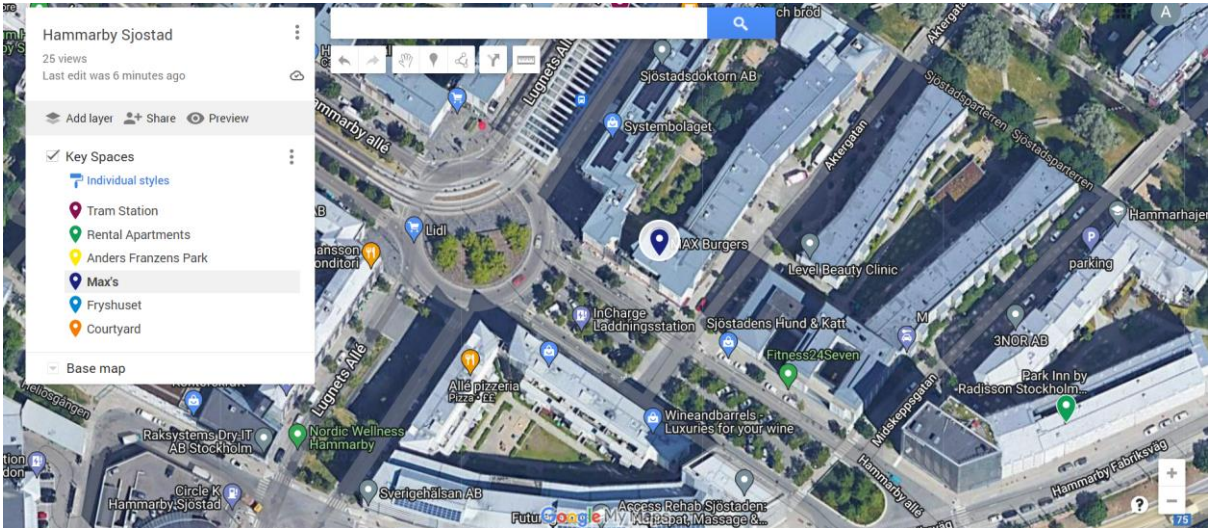
Figure 24: Photograph and Satellite Map of Max's
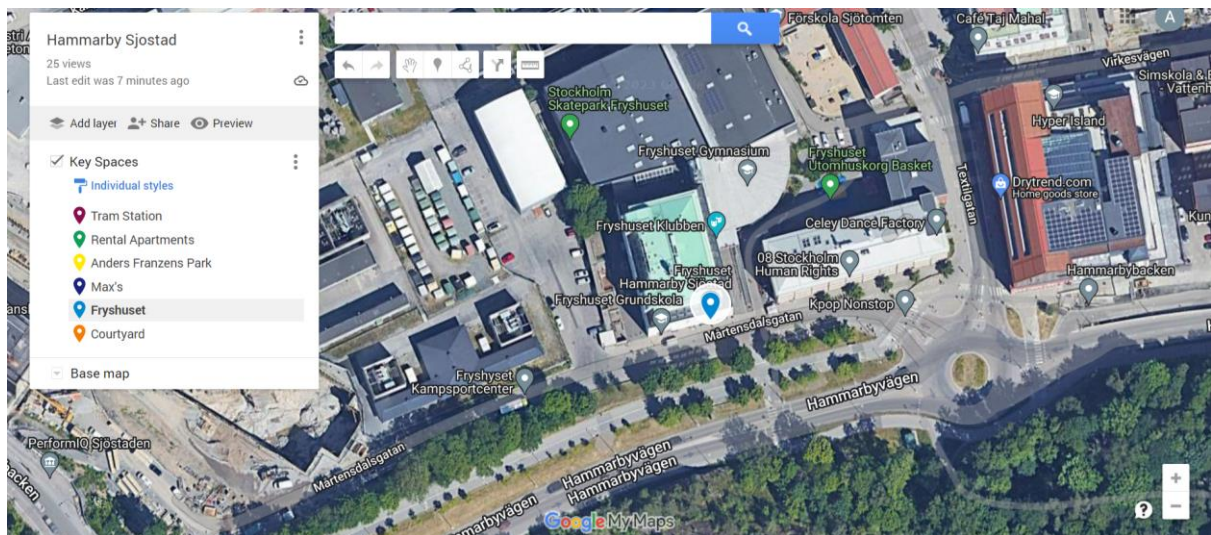
Figure 25: Photograph and Satellite Map of Fryshuset

5.5.1. Max's and Fryshuset: encounters with working-class "immigrants"

Following a late-night visit, Irene recounts seeing groups of "immigrant" boys in Max's, '*They were just so noisy…I think they are always aggressive towards one another'.* Bredstrom (2003) and Eliassi (2013) explore how "immigrant" men are often stereotyped as aggressive due to their patriarchal values. What made Irene's comments of particular interest was the way in which this stereotype was invoked by their perceived noisiness. For Irene, this loudness was very '*un-Swedish'* given Swedes are comparatively reserved during their navigations of public space as demonstrated by their quietness on the platform (See: 5.2.1). Swedishness is hence not only linked to a particular appearance - or more specifically, whiteness, as discussed by Emma (5.4.2) - but a set of behaviours, centred around their quiet nature as opposed to immigrants' noisy misdemeanour (Chavez & Hill, 2021; Haldrup et al., 2006; Leitner, 2012; Matejskova, 2015; Radford, 2017). Combined, her observations further reinstate the importance of 'gender-equality' as a marker between "immigrants" and "Swedes".

Upon moving past Fryshuset however, Susan describes how "immigrant" men talk aggressively in what she refers to as '*Rinkeby-Svenska'.* This dialect first emerged in the 1980s and is associated with "immigrant" suburbs across Stockholm (Milani & Jonsson, 2012; Stroud, 2004). For Susan, their dialect emerges as a marker of their unbelonging to Hammarby and Sweden generally, given "Swedes" speak in what is labelled '*proper Swedish'* (Hallgren, 2005). Irene interjects, '*You know, it reflects better schooling and middle-classness'.* Their interpretation of Rinkeby-Svenska as a marker of national unbelonging contrasts to what has been reported elsewhere in Europe where local or regional dialects are generally understood

to position people as national and used to authenticate their national belonging (Antonsich, 2018 for Italy; Clarke, 2021 for UK).

Here, the importance of 'soundscapes' during 'first impressions' has come to the fore, given "immigrant" men's volume and dialect are used to construct them as 'out-of-place' and as a threat to "Swedish" women. Within Max's and Fryshuset, "immigrant" men are rendered hyper-visible in audible terms, encouraging us to move beyond others fixation with visual (in)visibilities and more broadly conceptualise 'first impressions' as multi-sensory experiences (Shaker et al., 2012; Leinonen 2011; Matejskova, 2013). Audible cues are used to infer insights into "immigrant" men's gender values and social class, all of which are positioned as key boundary markers between "Swedes" and "immigrants". Their loud noise is understood as disruptive, rupturing the civilised ambience maintained by 'gentle' Swedes, whilst their discussions in Rinkeby-Svenska are conversely seen to reflect their lesser education in contrast to the 'proper' Swedish spoken by well-educated Swedes.

5.5.2. Max's and Fryshuset: their response: importance of parental identities

'They [immigrant men] might be like it with young girls, I've seen it. But they wouldn't do that to parents. I mean, they can see I am a parent from my pram, the ways I dress, I look like an old, worn-out, parent. Sometimes, I try to draw more attention to it when I walk past them". (Susan)

The categorisation of an individual or group by others is key to processes of identification and to knowing 'who is who' on a daily basis (Jenkins 2012, 160). Identification – and hence, categorisation – involves more than 'just' knowing, given knowing in itself is never neutral (Jenkins, 2012). Following the classed and gendered identification of 'immigrant men' through aural cues, Irene and Susan express a heightened awareness of their own bodily appearance and behaviour, reinstating how encounters are processes of mutual identification where women attempt to read others yet are equally conscious of how they themselves are perceived (Previsic, 2018, 45; Schuermans, 2011, 2016a). Erdal and Strømsø (2018, 7) note the broader applicability of 'first impressions', arguing that "two fathers each holding a toddler by hand" will be understood through the lens of parenthood than processes of racialisation. Whilst Erdal and Strømsø do not move beyond this cursory observation and harness its full potential, similar processes are at work in Irene and Susan's 'first impressions' where they are

conscious of how their *'older age... clothing...pram'* lead them to be seen as *'parents'* by said men.

Both women reflect on how "immigrant" men often approach them, commenting on their *'child's cute appearance',* subsequently corroborating their assumptions that they are seen as parents. In keeping with interactionist thought, their assumed external categorisation as parents by "immigrant" men aligns with their self-identification, emerging as 'harmonious identifications' (Haikkola, 2011, 158). More importantly, this (social) identification is not only harmonious but deemed a 'positive identity' (Koskela 2021, 24). Explaining its positive valorisation, Susan describes witnessing the same group of men harass "Swedish" girls outside Fryshuset. She presumes that the girls' gender and age – made visible through their appearance and 'younger' clothing – leads them to be sexualised. In contrast, her identification as a parent is seen to render her immune from similar incidents of harassment as she explains, *'They wouldn't do that to parents'.* Her previous encounters of harassment informs her current 'first impressions', mirroring Ahmed's (2000) reflections on the entanglement of present and future encounters, and more broadly, highlighting the ways that meanings are made in relation to the past and future (Vera-Gray & Fileborn, 2018). Susan subsequently understands her perceived external categorisation as a 'parent' as a form of protection against any gendered harassment from the same group of men, alleviating her gendered vulnerabilities as a "Swedish" woman.

For both women, their parenthood was neither performed nor adopted in the moment of the encounter given both self-identified as parents. Instead, they *actively* emphasised their self-identification as parents as Susan emphasises, *'I try to draw more attention to it when I walk past'.* Their prioritisation of their parental identity over their Swedishness emerges as a clear example of what Wimmer (2008a) refers to as 'boundary-blurring' defined as "blurring existing boundaries by emphasising non-ethnic forms of belonging". Their emphasis on their identification as parents can be positioned as an attempt to cut across the binary between "Swedes" and "immigrants", diverting attention away from their belonging as "Swedish" women to more positive role as parents. Susan and Irene's deployment of 'boundary-blurring' were simultaneously used alongside other "social identification strategies" that sought to achieve the exact opposite through their decision to reproduce binaries between "Swedes" and "immigrants". With reference to Romanians in the UK, Morosanu & Fox (2013) also caution against associating particular boundary-making strategies with certain individuals, and

instead, argue that individuals can embrace different strategies depending on the social situation. This line of thought enables a more subtle understanding of social identities, showing that it is not a feature of the individual but instead, the everyday context in which they are situated, demonstrating the continuous (un)making of social boundaries (Morosanu & Fox, 2013, 452). Despite their contribution, Morosanu and Fox (2013) remain vague on the nature of these 'situations', similar to Slooter's (2019) earlier commentary (See: 3.3.6) and will continue to be explored in subsequent discussions. Here however, participants' need to 'feel safe' upon encountering dangerous "immigrant" men, when alone and the men are in majority, led them to approach this boundary in a different way, deploying 'boundary-blurring'.

5.5.3. Max's and Fryshuset: summary

These discussions revealed how "Swedish" women categorise "immigrant" men during 'first impressions' through gendered and classed markers and respond through drawing attention to specific aspects of their social identity in order to feel safe. Their emphasis on their 'parental' identity complicates previous research on 'safety work' where women render themselves invisible through avoiding eye contact or using a phone, to name a few examples (See: 1.2.3) (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Instead, Susan and Irene's 'safety work' drew attention away from their intersectional belonging as "Swedish" women and instead, emphasised their identity as 'parents' in the hope that it would be positively interpreted by the respective audience, in this case, "immigrant" men (Jenkins, 2008; Koskela, 2020; Lamont, 2014). It is hence not that both sought to make themselves invisible but rather they aimed to make themselves visible in specific ways in order to feel safe. This strategy was framed as an example of Wimmer's (2008a) 'boundary-blurring' given it reduced the salience of the boundaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes" through emphasising their self-identification as 'parents'. Current approaches to women's perceived (un)safety underestimate women's ability to read and respond to scenarios of perceived danger in split-second embodied encounters. Using Wimmer's (2008a) typology helps understand the purpose of their 'safety work' whilst my focus on 'first impressions' underscores how this plays out in real interactions, both of which go amiss if addressed through more conventional frameworks deployed in current research on women's perceived safety.

5.6. Courtyard

The most common space highlighted by participants during walking interviews were the 'courtyards', nestled between low-rise apartment blocks within the residential area (See Figure 26) (Grönlund, 2011). Similar to the tram platform (5.2.1), women understood these spaces as 'very safe' as they were only used by "Swedish" residents. Despite this similarity, the courtyards were understood as safer than the tram platform, indicating that women's perceived safety was tied to something more than social homogeneity. In keeping with their indirect stance, participants described how they were able to overlook the courtyard from their balconies and windows, meaning it was possible to monitor their children playing in public space, subsequently easing their altruistic fears (Heber, 2009; Snedker, 2006; Warr & Ellison, 2000). These networks of social control were understood to explain their heightened safety in the courtyard. Whilst participants initially approached these networks through the lens of parental supervision, later discussions of a recent incident revealed a more sinister side of this social control which will be subsequently explored in this section. Here, social control is defined as "how society responds to behaviour and people it regards as deviant, problematic, threatening" (Cohen, 1985, 1 cited in Gronli Rosten & Smette, 2021, 2). It was only through this discussion that participants finally acknowledged the importance of whiteness as a boundary-marker between "Swedes" and "immigrants", adding to existing discussions on social class and gender values. Combined, this section hence recognises the racialised nature of (national) boundaries of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes" (Lundström, 2017).
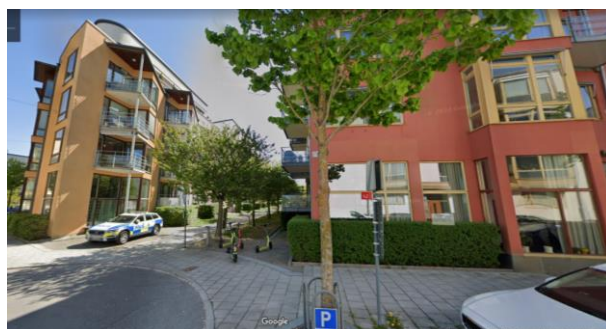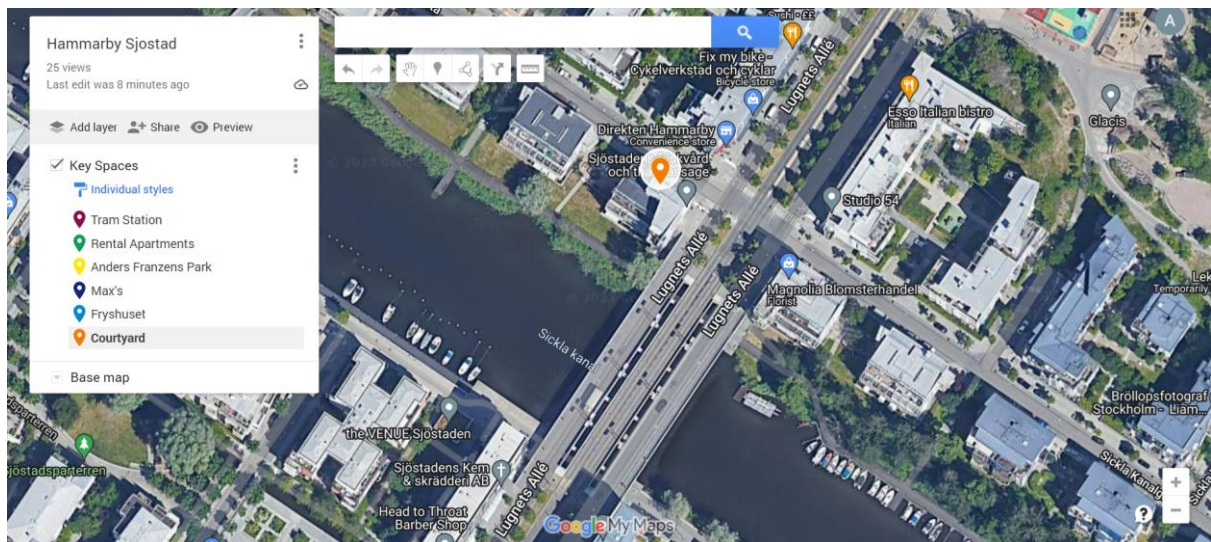
Figure 26: Photograph and Satellite Map of Courtyard

5.6.1: Courtyard: neighbourhood surveillance of "immigrants"

Jenni begins the focus group, *'You often see parents playing with their children in the courtyard, but its design means that they don't have to be there in the courtyard to supervise their children in case something happens".* Explaining this, she draws attention to the windows and balconies facing the inner courtyard along with the absence of blinds. According to Jenni, these features help parents to oversee the courtyard, enabling them to monitor their children's activities from their apartment. This particular usage aligns with its broader CPTED function where windows and balconies were incorporated to encourage residents to watch over shared public space and intervene in case of an incident (Grönlund, 2011). Susan, however, cautions against Jenni's emphasis on its urban design, arguing that social control should not be seen as a direct result of urban planning but rather, a culmination of design and what she refers to as the "Swedish" mentality. She explains, *'You need people who will use that design in that way, it doesn't happen on its own'.* Her caution against environmentally-deterministic claims is well placed, as echoed by Sakip and Abdullah (2012), who highlight the importance of both social dynamics and urban design when considering questions of social control. Susan further explains, *'We use the design in this way as we have a greater need for control than others'.* Although Susan labels this as "Swedish", Emma interjects, *'People tend to look outside a lot... I had not seen this type of behaviour before in other Swedish neighbourhoods'.* Despite Susan's attempt to frame this as "Swedish", Emma interprets this surveillance as specific to Hammarby owing to its extreme homogeneity and unique design, once again, framing local norms as more extreme than national modes (similar to Cristina in

140

5.2.1). From these discussions, it was hence assumed that participants felt exceptionally safe in the courtyards due to its social homogeneity coupled with its design that enabled residents to oversee public space and their children. This was seen to ease women's altruistic fears and more broadly, re-emphasised the importance of their identity as parent, as established throughout this chapter (Emma, 5.4.1; Susan and Irene, 5.5.1).

Only later did participants hint at more exclusionary aspects of its neighbourhood surveillance. When discussing the courtyard in the focus group, Susan mentioned a recent '*incident*' where a "Swedish" resident had been mistaken for an "immigrant" from the suburbs. Away from the focus group setting, Susan further elaborated on the event, explaining that a man of colour was photographed walking through the courtyard (Ivasiuc, 2018). The photograph, taken from an apartment balcony, was posted onto their Facebook Group with a caption that warned residents of his presumed threat (Ivasiuc, 2018; Simon, 2012). She appeared embarrassed and paused for a minute, then reflecting, '*One Facebook user later commented on the post, explaining that he [the man photographed] was his neighbour, and was a Swedish resident who had lived there for years. It was because he was a black man in a white neighbourhood*'. From their apartment balconies, "Swedish" residents solely relied on the man's visual appearance to make judgements about his (lack of) Swedishness, eliciting widespread fear (Bissel, 2009; Hall, 2010; Leitner, 2012; Schuermans, 2011; Simon, 2012). This contrasts to women's prior 'first impressions' where their closer proximity enabled more 'multi-sensory' experiences and hence, where they were able to use broader set of cues – noise level, dialect, for example – to make judgements on the others' 'Swedishness' (Dahlstedt et al., 2017; Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014; Shaker et al., 2021; Simon, 2012). Both acts of identification, however, deny themselves one important aspect of (social) identification, self-identification, given there was no interaction between the observer and observed (Jenkins, 2012, 163).

After recalling the 'incident' however, Susan tries to reassure me that Hammarby's neighbourhood surveillance did not intend to identify 'outsiders' per se but rather emerged as an unintended consequence of ongoing social control networks used to protect local children. Despite her emphasis, this incident was far from exceptional. Subsequent interviews contained similar examples where Swedes of colour - with African or Middle-Eastern descent - were read as "immigrants" despite their self-identification as "Swedish" (See: 6.2) (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019). Whilst these encounters varied in intensity, all involved racist readings of their bodies which forced them to the wrong side of the boundary, reading them as

"immigrants" (Hopkins et al., 2017, 945; Haikkola, 2011). These instances of conflict are referred to as encounters of 'misrecognition', the likes of which have received surprisingly limited attention within current scholarship on encounters (Hopkins et al., 2017). Current definitions of 'encounters of misrecognition' focus less on their nature and more on their negative impacts, with Taylor (1994, 25) noting, "A person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion…Misrecognition can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, reduced, mode of being". It is these negative impacts that lead us to differentiate between Emma's 'passing' as "Swedish" (See: 5.4.1) and the man of colour's 'misrecognition' as an "immigrant". Whilst debates about passing are closely interrelated with those about misrecognition, I focus here on misrecognition, as first, participants explicitly reflect on being misrecognised, and second, the consequences of which were almost always deemed negative in contrast to Emma's positive 'passing'. Whilst these negative impacts are of great significance, this study's interactionist framework makes advances in better understanding the nature of 'encounters of misrecognition'. The negative emotions, highlighted above, stem from the conflict between individuals' self-identification as "Swedish" and their (negative) external categorisation as "immigrants". Combining the encounters and interactionist scholarship aids better understandings of the nature of 'encounters of misrecognition'.

This (mis)identification of 'threatening outsiders' does not only emerge at the individual level, but also at the neighbourhood and national scale as made apparent through Eliassi's (2013) well-known differentiation between 'authentic Swedes' (inherited Swedishness) and 'Swedish on paper' (acquired Swedishness) (See also: Behtoui, 2021; Dahltstedt et al., 2017; Haghverdian, 2010). These individuals are accordingly denied their Swedishness, given they are understood to lack physical aspects of Swedish whiteness, what Runfors (2021, 70) refers to as 'materialised Swedish whiteness'. Whilst chapter six will explore these encounters of misrecognition, I highlight these racialised encounters with the purpose to reconsider Susan's original focus on 'incidents'. To refer to this event as an 'incident' is to deny residents' culpability in broader racialised oppressive structures (Fiske, 2004). The same design features and "Swedish" mentality, used to '*look out*' for their children, were deployed with racialised intentions to monitor and exclude "immigrants" due to their presumed threat. This 'incident' illustrates how 'Swedes of colour' were identified as "immigrants" in "Swedish" spaces, irrespective of their own self-identification as "Swedes".

Similar processes of racialisation were identified amongst participants living in Kista. Lara and Margit for example, explain that Kista's residential area was more ethnically-diverse than their hometowns given there were not only "Swedes" but 'people of colour'. Through this statement, it became clear that Kista participants equally revert to national (racialised) modes of belonging where the term "Swede" is used as shorthand for white residents whilst simultaneously acknowledging that people of colour do not pass as Swedes (Koskela, 2021). Despite this commonality, absent in their narratives were any references to neighbourhood surveillance. I highlight this absence in order to highlight that the aforementioned racialisation of "Swedes" and "immigrants" is well-established across Swedish society yet takes on a unique significance in this context. In Hammarby's courtyard, racial difference is not only rendered hyper-visible due to the extreme whiteness of space - as is the case in the 'tram platform' - but is actively policed due to its urban design. Whilst local and national belonging mostly fold into one another, this discussion has revealed how local belonging is more extreme, homogenous, and exclusionary in Hammarby than what is witnessed at a national scale (Chavez & Hill, 2021).

5.6.2: Courtyard: summary

Although the previous sections have focused on women's individual encounters in public space, this section has focused on collective networks of neighbourhood surveillance that are most active in the courtyard. Its urban design – large windows, balconies – enabled "Swedish" residents to monitor the behaviours of passers-by (Grönlund, 2011). In keeping with their indirect narratives, participants initially focused on how these features enabled them to oversee their children from afar. It soon became clear however, that participants not only monitored their children's behaviour but other passers-by. A local resident of colour was misrecognised as an "immigrant", revealing the racialisation of these processes of surveillance and their entwinement with national boundaries of belonging (Hallgren, 2005; Hubinette & Lundström, 2011; Runfors 2016). Whilst I have previously recognised the conflation of whiteness and Swedishness, participants were unwilling to address the racialisation of the other part of the binary, leaving the implied racialisation of "immigrants" undiscussed. Unwillingness to acknowledge the role of processes of racialisation spills beyond the public realm into academic discussion as best encapsulated by Christensen's (2009, 22) conclusion that, "There is no doubt that ethnicity is currently the most striking marker of belonging in the Nordic countries" (See also: Solhjell et al., 2019). Her emphasis on the significance of ethnicity

stands in contrast to how participants made judgements on others belonging through a racialised reading of others physical features, leading us to recognise how racialised (in)visibilities inform understandings of ethnicity (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Hopkins et al., 2017; Toivanen, 2014). This finding is in line with the tendency noted by Ålund (1999, 108), that notions of ethnicity function as a 'smokescreen' in academic and public discourse, in other words, as a means by which instances of racialisation are covered up, as argued in section 2.2.3 (Löfstrand & Uhnoo, 2014, 84). Following Leinonen and Toivanen (2014, 161), I have explored how racialisation emerges as significant in relation to 'bright' boundaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes".

At this point, the importance of discussions around 'neighbourhood surveillance' stems from their insights into the overarching 'immigrant-Swedish' boundary. The next section, however, will explore how discussions around neighbourhood surveillance networks are entangled with the question of women's safety. This will be discussed through the lens of Hammarby's Facebook Group that emerges as a crucial yet hitherto neglected component of Hammarby's surveillance network. This focus helps identify the key interconnections between women's individual encounters and broader neighbourhood surveillance networks which have hitherto gone amiss due to our focus on its physical surveillance components.

5.7. Facebook Group

Throughout this chapter, participants have made various references to the neighbourhood Facebook Group which up until now, has remained unexplored. The attention of this section will be confined to the Facebook Group as a pivotal space for women's perceived (un)safety in relation to its function in Hammarby's neighbourhood-surveillance network. Neighbourhood watch schemes have been long-established as important examples of community safety practices within and beyond the Swedish context (Ahmed, 2000; Ceccato & Dolmen, 2013, 93; Yarwood & Edwards, 1995). In Sweden, the implementation of neighbourhood community safety schemes, based on local partnerships went hand-in-hand with the overall decentralisation of the police in the mid-1990s (Ceccato & Dolmen, 2013, 93). More recently however, the growth of technology and social media in particular, has also emerged as a tool for community policing, enabling residents to share local information about safety on online forums (Amoore, 2007; Ceccato & Dolmen, 2013; Ivasuic, 2018). The rise of online neighbourhood watch groups has not been matched by an increase in scholarly attention, with limited work addressing the interconnections between the use of social media

and neighbourhood surveillance, particularly within the Swedish context (Ceccato & Dolmen, 2013). Particularly absent in this work is any consideration of women's perceptions and experience, despite well-established differences with men's perceptions of (un)safety (Ferraro, 1996; Valentine, 1992; Pain, 1991). Whilst this study positions itself within emerging literatures on online neighbourhood surveillance, it simultaneously extends its limited terrain by recognising its significance in relation to women's perceived (un)safety.

The first half of this section will explore the Facebook Group as a social context in itself through analysing how the group emerges as site of hostile encounters between "Swedish" men and women leading us to question the importance of 'gender equality' as a marker between "Swedish" men and "immigrant" men. The second half will examine the interconnections between women's 'first impressions' and broader collective systems of surveillance. It will explore how neighbourhood surveillance is justified in the name of women's safety whilst simultaneously encouraging women to 'stay on alert', subsequently inciting acts of categorisation to pre-empt threat. Discussions of the Facebook Group also help demonstrate the interconnections between women's encounters and collective surveillance that are united by their focus on women's perceived (un)safety. Whilst most of this discussion shall consider the impact of the collective surveillance networks on individual participants, I will also acknowledge how they inform one another in a reciprocal manner.

5.7.1. Facebook group: social context between "Swedish" men and women

"Everyone here is the same. I mean they are all Swedish, white, and middle-class. You just have to look at their profile pictures". (Irene)

Irene reflects on the homogeneity of the Facebook Group members. She explains that the group is only used by "Swedes" or more specifically, white, middle-class residents living in Hammarby Sjöstad. This provide the unique opportunity to understand how processes of (social) identification play out on online forums where judgements on others' social identities are restricted to visual cues displayed in profile pictures (Bonner-Thompson, 2018). Similar processes were also at work during my recruitment process where my own embodied (white, middle-class) remote identity came under scrutiny, leading to my inclusion within the neighbourhood (See: 4.7.1). Inevitably, some of these online 'first impressions' transcend into 'prolonged encounters' as conversations often emerged between different users within the comments section.

Against this backdrop, Irene drew my attention to a recent post where a "Swedish" woman complained about noise levels. Whilst comments from women offered solidarity, men's comments were '*unsupportive and rude'* with one man writing '*Move elsewhere if you have a problem*'. For Irene, the comments section was marked by a gendered divide which she concludes, *"…is far from uncommon".* These narratives contrast to participants' previous discussions on the importance of 'gender equality' in Hammarby and Sweden generally, where "Swedish" women were seen to be proudly visible and able to claim space as equals (See: 5.2.2). With the exception of Irene however, other participants were more hesitant when commenting on the group's gendered dynamic (See Figure 27 for Irene's Relief Map). Upon drawing attention to the post within the focus group, Jenni attempted to justify their response, '*Men are always more solution-oriented and louder in Facebook Groups… that explains their response to these posts. In any case, immigrant men are worse'*. Her response problematically draws on gendered stereotypes, re-affirming gendered binaries that their previous discussions on gender equality had sought to challenge. Her emphasis on 'men' simultaneously worked to relativise the scenario through diverting attention away from Irene's focus on "*Swedish men"* to "*all men", to 'immigrant men'.* In the event of criticism of "Swedish" men, "Swedish" women quickly diverted attention to "immigrant" men despite the focus on the hostile behaviours of "Swedish" men. Consequently, participants appeared more tolerant of "Swedish" men's harmful behaviours whilst similarly hostile behaviours from "immigrant" men reinforced their status as 'different from us' and patriarchal (Fileborn, 2016). Although gender equality was emphasised as pivotal to Swedishness and used to justify exclusion, it appeared that this only applied to bodies seen as the Other (Clarke, 2021). It was hence not that supporting gender equality made an individual Swedish but rather that not doing so in adjunction with other markers of difference can locate someone beyond Swedishness (Clarke, 2021, 10).
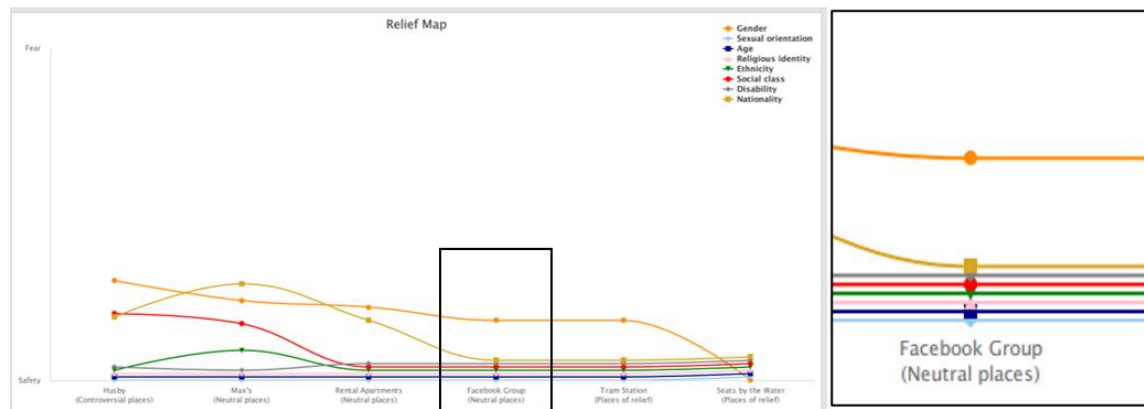
Figure 27: Irene's Relief Map: Perceived (un)safety in relation to gender, shown in orange, in the Facebook Group

Later in the focus group, several women admitted that they had felt more *"on edge"* upon witnessing hostile encounters play out in the Facebook Group. Hallgren (2005, 331) links the feelings of being 'on the edge' to 'not belonging', hinting at participants' gendered unbelonging in the Facebook Group despite their denial above. Adding to this, Irene explained that she had *'stopped writing on the group'* whilst Emma reported that she had since '*left the group and moved to other women-only Groups'.* Irene's strategy is prime example of 'invisibilisation' where women seek to render themselves invisible in (online) space to deter attention. Conversely, Emma's response can be interpreted as 'place-avoidance' where women avoid particular (online) spaces to avoid threatening encounters (Stanko, 1990; Valentine, 1992). These responses were tantamount to '*online* safety work', building on Vera-Gray and Kelly's (2020) notion of 'safety work' that has been explored in relation to public space. Nonetheless, an emerging body of research has addressed the strategies adopted by dating app users to feel safe in online dating (Gillett, 2021; Pruchniewska, 2020). These studies have explored how women assess profiles and identify 'red flags' when interacting with users (Albury et al., 2019; Albury and Byron, 2016; Miguel, 2018). Although this provides important insights into safety work in online spaces, lesser discussed are women's navigations of other non-dating online contexts including Facebook (Koch & Miles, 2020; Mulari, 2020; Paolo & Goodman, 2004; Perrem, 2018). Facebook Groups are subject to different dynamics due to their multifunctional nature and ubiquity, and hence, the findings above merit exploration in future research.

Although their racialised and classed identities enable them to feel safe in "Swedish" spaces, the above encounters serve as revealing reminders that "Swedish" women are placed on the margins of the white, middle-class due to their gender subordination (Kenny, 2000, cited in Kern, 2005). Whilst these encounters amongst privileged groups may be dismissed as 'minor' compared to overt acts of harassment, this study positions these acts of intimidation as part of Kelly's (1988) "continuum of sexual violence". "Swedish" men's hostility towards and silencing of "Swedish" women should be recognised as reproducing broader patriarchal structures at the centre of women's perceived (un)safety.

5.7.2. Facebook group: hybrid surveillance network

Whilst the previous section approached the Facebook Group as a virtual space, it was also understood as a hybrid space - at the interface between public space and the virtual realm - through its function as a surveillance tool (Mulari, 2020). Section 5.6 explored the neighbourhood's network of surveillance through its urban design, drawing attention to the courtyard's windows and balconies that enabled residents to monitor surrounding public space. The attention of this section, however, shall focus on the Facebook Group that emerges as a crucial yet under-studied component of ongoing neighbourhood surveillance. This focus will begin to illustrate the importance of neighbourhood surveillance for the question of women's perceived (un)safety and their 'first impressions'. In order to achieve this, I will first return to the aforementioned 'incident' to better reflect on how it played out across the Facebook Group.

Section 5.6 discussed how a man of colour was photographed from a balcony in the courtyard. Absent from our previous discussion was the online debate incited by this event, the nature of which helps underscore the importance of Hammarby's surveillance for the question of women's safety. The comments section on Facebook posts emerges as a unique yet unrecognised aspect of online platforms given they not only involve a range of people that would otherwise not be brought together in such quantity, but also incite opinions that would likely remain unvoiced in-person, given individuals may worry about the repercussions or being criticised for hate speech, for example (Kelly & Finlayson, 2015; Ivasiuc, 2018). The latter feature was seen as particularly relevant to Swedish Facebook Groups, owing to Swedes' stereotypically reserved nature during public interactions compared to their seemingly louder persona on online forums (Daun, 2002). Returning to the comments section on the photo, Susan recalls that whilst some residents recognised the event as an act of racism, others were

more reluctant, to the extent that one user purportedly described the photographer as '*overly cautious*'. When asked to explain this, the original commenter privately responded that acts of surveillance were necessary to protect women in the neighbourhood. This act of racism was hence justified in the name of women's safety or specifically, "Swedish" women.

To make sense of this, our attention must span back a few days prior where stereotypes of 'dangerous' "immigrant" men were reportedly discussed on the Group. Whilst not explicitly related to the act of surveillance, section 5.4.2 underscored how "Swedish" women's fears of "immigrant" men were partially informed by Facebook Group posts where users reposted national articles that perpetuated stereotypes around their threat to "Swedish" women. Emma elaborates on this, '*One woman said that immigrant men see Swedish women as more promiscuous than their own, so that's why they always target Swedish women*'. Whilst the role of the media has been largely acknowledged (Bredstrom, 2003; Eliassi, 2013), few studies have recognised how Facebook Groups reinforce stereotyped images of "immigrant" men, rendering them objects of suspicion (Eliassi, 2013, 108). Amongst these exceptions, Merril and Akerlund (2018) explore the emergence of racist discourses in anti-immigration Swedish Facebook Groups that rely on 'us versus them' categorisations, premised on the perceived threat posed to Swedish culture. Considering these binaries, they note how 'criminals', 'refugees', 'Swedish' were amongst the most prominently shared within ten immigration-related topics (Merril & Akerlund, 2018, 341). Absent however, in Merril and Akerlund's work, is any gendered considerations of the threat to "Swedish" women in contrast to my participants' experiences of Hammarby's Facebook Group. In this study, it is possible to understand how the aforementioned incident reproduces binaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes" where "immigrant" men are seen to present a threat to "Swedish" women due to their patriarchal values (Gokieli, 2017; Haldrup et al., 2006). Through this logic, the aforementioned misrecognition is treated as a necessary consequence to protect 'our women', providing a clear message that the safety of some is more important than the freedom of others (Anderson, 2008; Chavez & Hill, 2021; Kern, 2021; Radford, 2017). 'Our women' or should we say, "Swedish" women are positioned as more deserving than 'other women', reproducing white supremist discourses that position white women as the embodiment of purity and vulnerability, hence, more deserving of protection (Gilchrist, 2010, cited in Lennox, 2021, 644). This redraws attention to the long-standing history of white women's perceived vulnerability being deployed against men of colour, based on racialised

stereotypes as aggressive sexual others (Chavez & Hill, 2021; Lennox, 2021; Onwuachi-Willig, 2018)

Whilst the responsibility to monitor public space fell on all residents, Susan admits that it fell most heavily on women, especially as neighbourhood surveillance was only possible in certain spaces such as the courtyard due to its urban design. In the comments section, she recalls a post encouraging woman to be vigilant when moving through non-surveyed public space. Categorisation was actively encouraged as the dominant mode of identification, inciting women to quickly read others (social) identities through a limited set of body cues (Jenkins, 2012). Through women's recollections of the comments section, it is possible to understand how neighbourhood surveillance networks were not only justified in the name of women's safety but also encouraged women to survey their environment in a similar way during their encounters, becoming what Vaughan-Williams (2008, cited in Philipson, 2016, 16) refers to as "citizen-detectives". Through this reflection, I do not seek to suggest that these posts were the initial trigger for women's 'first impressions' and their concomitant rapid reading of danger. Rather, I aim to emphasise that aforementioned Facebook posts actively encouraged the types of identification characterised in 'first impressions'. The courtyard is hence deemed the safest space for "Swedish" women due to its collective surveillance networks, coupled with women's individual vigilance, which cumulatively reproduce stereotypes of dangerous "immigrant" men.

5.7.3. Facebook Group: summary

This section has highlighted the importance of the Facebook Group in relation to women's perceived (un)safety. It first explored the group as an online space where Irene recounted hostile encounters between "Swedish" men and women. Focusing on online encounters provided a different perspective on "Swedish" women's perceptions of "Swedish" men, undercutting the role of gender-equality as a boundary-marker between "Swedish" and "immigrant" men (Duemmler et al., 2010; Keskinen et al., 2009, 2018). This simultaneously reveals how those whom we perceive to be 'like' us can equally be a source of threat. In other words, being similar to others– with regards to their local and national belonging - does not automatically equate to being safe albeit it evidently makes participants feel safer (Fileborn, 2016, 95). The second section drew attention to the group's role in networks of neighbourhood surveillance, previously approached through its 'in-person' features, paying particular attention to the role of urban planning (See: 5.6). Hammarby's neighbourhood

surveillance network emerged at the interface between the public and virtual realm given photographs were taken from apartments and were subsequently disseminated on their Facebook Group. It was here that (mis)identifications were made, emphasising the importance of its framing as a 'hybrid' space. Analysing the role of the Facebook Group drew parallels between women's everyday encounters and neighbourhood networks, both of which centred around the immediate identification and exclusion of "immigrant" men due to their perceived danger. These shared parallels were far from coincidental and stemmed from how they fed into one another.

This section has explored the neighbourhood backdrop against which women's individual encounters play out, and simultaneously drawn attention to the significance of neighbourhood-level surveillance networks that have previously gone amiss in women's safety studies. Jenkins (2012) more broadly reflects on a shift from close-knit community surveillance - characterised by what he refers to as 'curtain twitching' and 'local gossip' – to modern-day, large surveillance networks used by professionals behind CTTV cameras (See also: Amoore, 2007). Absent from his discussions is any reference to hybrid, local modes of surveillance - such as that witnessed in Hammarby - which fall in-between these extremes and are hence ignored within current discussions. Whilst the rise of virtual relationships is often treated as replacing connections in local communities, this section has demonstrated how they exist in parallel and as overlapping notions (Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005, 6-7; Amoore, 2007; Bennett, 2012). Future research should further examine *hybrid* neighbourhood surveillance networks in relation to the question of women's perceived (un)safety. As Ceccato and Dolmen (2013, 110) and Ivasiuc (2018) argue, the use of social media as a new expression of surveillance is here to stay, demanding further exploration.

5.8. Hierarchies of Swedishness

Against the backdrop of overarching boundaries between "Swedes" and "immigrants", the remainder of this chapter will complicate the racialised category of "Swedish" women through the lens of Cristina's narratives. Emma's encounters have begun to make headway with this focus, complicating our conflation of 'Swedishness', 'whiteness' and 'invisibility'. In section 5.4, Emma simultaneously occupied the position of the 'categoriser' and 'categorised' where she assigned the category of "immigrant" to others yet was simultaneously categorised by other "Swedish" parents as 'less Swedish' due to her lesser, albeit still positive, self-identification as 'French'. With the exception of Emma's narratives however, "Swedish"

women have been framed as a homogenous racial category where its members are comparably invisible due to their whiteness and social class (Eliassi, 2013, 106). This mirrors broader findings within Swedish studies on whiteness where whiteness has been positioned as an invisible, homogenous position, and the norm against which difference is determined (Garner, 2014, Guðjónsdóttir, 2014). Despite this, Sweden emerges as an interesting context to examine in relation to whiteness and privilege, given Swedes are not only assumed to be white but are seen as the "epitome of whiteness" in Western Europe, underscoring the importance of this study's discussions on 'hierarchies of belonging' within Swedishness (Blaagaard, 2005, 1; Guðjónsdóttir, 2014, 177).

This study situates itself within an emerging body of critical whiteness studies that recognises the ways in which understandings of whiteness move beyond discussions of phenotypical whiteness and extend to coherence with 'norms of whiteness' (Bailey, 1998; Clarke, 2021; Fox et al., 2012; Garner, 2012; Halej, 2015; Krivonos, 2020). Key for the following section, a growing scholarship has addressed the racialisation of corporeally white migrants from Eastern Europe, further reinstating how whiteness is not inherent to white bodies (See: Clarke, 2021; Fox et al., 2012; Keskinen et al., 2019; Krivonos, 2020; Loftsdottír, 2017; Morosanu & Fox, 2013). Fox et al., (2012)'s study emerges as one of the first to focus on Eastern European migrants within the framework of 'whiteness', investigating their racialisation in British immigration policy and media. Halej (2015) pushes beyond these findings using an interactionist framework to further understand the experiences of Eastern European migrants in the UK (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Molnar, 2002). Through this approach, she minimises the risk of equating experiences of visible and invisible minorities by placing phenotypically-white minorities in boundaries of whiteness whilst underscoring how they are simultaneously found at the bottom of hierarchies of whiteness due to their behavioural norms. Within the Swedish context, Runfors' (2021) study on the racialisation of second-generation Polish migrants in Stockholm emerges as one of few critical whiteness studies, exploring how norms of Swedish whiteness emerge in their narratives. Whilst I shall draw on Halej's (2015) conceptual framework and Runfors' (2021) empirical findings, I seek to extend their work through focusing on white, female (first-generation) migrants. This rests in contrast to current Swedish critical whiteness studies that lack any gendered considerations which are otherwise pivotal for this study's focus on *women's* perceived (un)safety.

Whilst this section has provided an overview of relevant critical whiteness studies, I shall also justify my semantic decision to focus on '*hierarchies* of Swedishness' before outlining the structure of the following sections. Beyond the Swedish context, Fechter (2007, 45) notes, "Whilst such groups maintain strong boundaries towards the outside, they are also intersected by multiple internal boundaries". Although I appreciate Fechter's (2007) emphasis on internal fractures, I seek to revisit her focus on 'internal *boundaries'*. Participants' narratives reveal what would be more fittingly described as 'hierarchies', responding to Clarke's (2020, 96) reflection that geographers have wrongly privileged analysis of boundaries over hierarchies (Mulari, 2020; Stephenson, 2021). Important for this study however, this emphasis on hierarchies should not be seen to dismiss the importance of boundaries, as Clarke (2020) and others appear to imply (Back et al., 2012; Weymss, 2006). Instead, I take inspiration from Anthias' (2008, 9) earlier reflections, 'Belonging is about hierarchies which exist both within and across boundaries'. I hence therefore position this section's interest in *hierarchies* of Swedishness against a broader background of overarching *boundaries* between "Swedes" and "immigrants" which subsequently form overarching *structures of belonging*. Thinking about hierarchies within and across boundaries helps us better understand how women are predominantly labelled as either "Swedes" or "immigrants" yet are differently positioned within these homogenising categorisations.

Against this backdrop, the first section will explore how address how Cristina experiences 'hierarchies of Swedishness' in her everyday encounters, given she was the most vocal on her experiences of not always passing as "Swedish" despite her whiteness and recent Swedish nationality. Using Wimmer's typology of "social identification strategies", the second section will illustrate how Cristina negotiates these hierarchies to render herself in-place and benefit from the protection of neighbourhood surveillance networks. Wimmer's (2008a) insights help to provide a structured approach to understand what was done and for what reasons, subsequently acknowledging how her agency is asserted within the confines of overarching structures. Although it is often neglected in Runfors' work and broader critical whiteness scholarship, the role of space shall be considered throughout the next sections given its impact on aforementioned (social) identification processes. Bell (2017, 7) has previously critiqued how critical whiteness scholars fail to recognise the importance of space as a theoretically meaningful concept. Responding to this critique, this study aims to reclaim space as a pivotal

concept in critical whiteness studies (Bell, 2017; Hartigan, 2020; Leitner, 2012; Schuermans, 2011).

5.8.1. Experiencing hierarchies of Swedishness

Cristina begins our interview informing me that she recently gained Swedish citizenship, something that she has been anticipating for years. She provides her backstory, explaining that she immigrated around ten years ago from Romania and studied for her master's at a Swedish university. Now she lives with her Italian husband in Hammarby and couldn't be happier. For the most part, she explains that she feels very "Swedish" and is treated as such, to which she attributes to her whiteness and middle-classness (Koobak and Thapark-Bjorkert, 2012). It is in these 'moments' that she feels at her safest given she feels that she belongs and is read as belonging as a 'Hammarby resident' and "Swedish" during her everyday encounters, hence, corresponding to our previous distinction between internal and external aspects of (social) identification (Jenkins, 1994, 2000). Aside from her individual encounters, she adds that she feels protected by the neighbourhood community, alluding to previously discussed networks of Hammarby's surveillance. Her narratives align with previous discussions where one's whiteness (and middle-classness) is seen to render one invisible and in-place, leading her to feel safe in her everyday encounters and in broader neighbourhood networks. In critical whiteness studies, invisibility is predominantly positioned as a virtue of being read as white (Dyer, 2013; Frankenberg, 1993; Runfors, 2021). Here, it is understood as a result of being Swedish where her passing as white and passing as Swedish points to an intersection of whiteness and Swedishness that is usual for the Swedish version of whiteness (Runfors 2021, 73; Hubinette and Lundström, 2011).

It was only later in our interview that fractures begun to show, revealing the fragility of her belonging. '*You know, everyone has blue eyes and blonde hair, whereas I am just darker and have a different accent more importantly*'. Cristina draws attention to the limits of her phenotypical whiteness, drawing attention to her dark hair and eyes, along with her Eastern European accent, that occasionally emerges as a marker of difference despite years of Swedish lessons. Unlike in Eliassi (2013), Lofstrand and Uhnoo's (2014) and Toivanen's (2014) research in which immigrants understood their eye and hair colour to be of greater importance than their accents, Cristina's darker complexion only emerges as an issue in combination with her accent, reinstating the importance of what Guðjónsdóttir (2014) and Toivanen (2014) describe as audible (in)visibility (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014; Runfors, 2021, Shaker et al., 2021). Lönn

(2018, 23) accordingly argues that a body with white skin is not enough to be perceived as fully white in Sweden, and instead, the embodiment of various norms is required, in this case, the capacity to speak non-accented Swedish (Runfors 2021, 70; Krivonos, 2020). This leads us to revisit Runfors' (2021) previous emphasis on 'materialised Swedish whiteness' and extend our attention to 'performative Swedish whiteness'. Cristina's narratives hence illuminate how Swedish norms prescribe not only materialised Swedish whiteness but also performative Swedish whiteness, challenging the notion of whiteness as full invisibility (Halej, 2015; Krivonos, 2020).

To better demonstrate the importance of her accent, she recounts a recent event with a Swedish neighbour, '*I've seen him friendly to all the other neighbours. He used to acknowledge me but once we got into more in-depth conversation, he was no longer friendly and stopped talking. I think it was because of my accent. I didn't even have a chance to say anything back'*. She reflects on her initial passing as "Swedish" in 'first impressions' due to her whiteness yet subsequently detects a change in her reception following a 'prolonged encounter' with a Swedish man in the courtyard, to which she explains with reference to her accent. She hints at its gendered aspects, reflecting on how her Italian husband had not been subject to similar receptions despite his accent, '*My husband has had none of this. Maybe it's because I am a woman, and he feels entitled to be like that with me and not let me speak back'*. Similar to discussions of the Facebook Group (See: 5.7), the importance of gender-equality as a boundary marker between "Immigrants" and "Swedes" is further disrupted, given the perceived differential treatment of her and her husband (Duemmler et al., 2010; Keskinen et al., 2009, 2018). In this encounter, she feels that she is not given a chance to assert her self-identification as "Swedish" due to her identity as a woman. Earlier on in this chapter, Cristina assumed the role of the categoriser, where she sorted through passers-by, and visually categorised "immigrants". In this space, she is victim to the same processes where her accent leads to her categorisation as 'not quite Swedish' yet 'not an immigrant or foreigner' as she falls within the scope of European belonging, within 'Swedishness' (Philipson, 2016). Whilst interactionist theorists speak of binaries between 'categorisers' and 'categorised', approaching these questions through encounters reveals this binary to be less clear-cut, where one's position is dependent on the exact moment and its underlying power dynamics, underscoring the importance of Duemmler et al.'s (2010) call to consider broader power relations.

She recalls feeling excluded and more visible in public space which can be labelled as the 'consequences' of her (perceived) imposed categorisation in interactionism terms (Jenkins, 2012). For Cristina however, the incident did not make her feel unsafe but rather led her to feel 'excluded' and 'visible' as a first-generation Romanian immigrant despite her proud self-identification as "Swedish". She is conscious that she is seen as 'not-quite white' or not white like "Swedes" (Fox et al., 2012). Further explaining her feelings of exclusion, she re-draws my attention during the relief map to our previous discussions of the tram platform (5.2.1), *'I didn't mention something when we walked through there, I don't really like to talk about it'*. She points out the presence of 'Roma' sat outside the supermarket (ICA) who were quickly panned over in her walking tour. Alongside discussions of "immigrant" men, Roma women were heavily criticised in the Facebook Group where photographs were posted of them sitting outside ICA, along with derogatory captions (See Figure 28) (See Ivasiuc, 2018, for discussions of Roma images on social media).
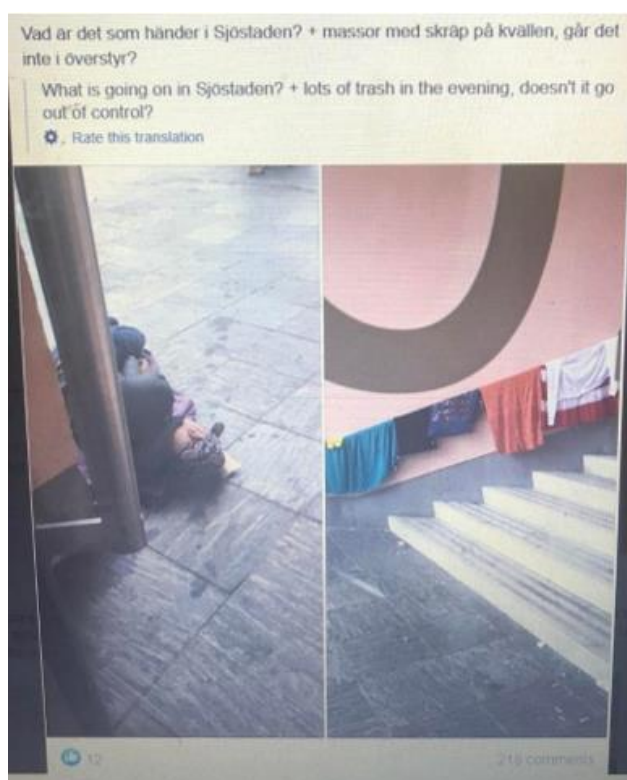
Figure 28: Image of Roma posted in Facebook Group, sent by participant

Whilst she is not seen as an "immigrant" due to her whiteness, she is concerned at being misidentified as a Roma woman, '*Swedes treat Romanians and Roma women as the same, they think Romanian women are prostitutes and beggars'.* Alongside discussions of the stigmatisation of Eastern European 'others', Cristina's narratives echo studies by Fox et al.,

(2012), Halej (2015) and Morosanu and Fox (2013), that explore Romanian's experiences of being negatively misrecognised as 'Roma' and 'Gypsies' (Hopkins et al., 2017). Absent in these discussions, however, are any reflections of its gendered dimensions, highlighted in Cristina's quote above. In this context, Cristina is concerned at her conflicting, negative positioning as a Romanian woman, and her subsequent exclusion from neighbourhood networks of social control which protect ethnic "Swedish" women against "immigrant" men. In contrast to Emma, the consequence of this categorisation is greater as first, it conflicts with her (new) self-identification as "Swedish" in contrast to Emma's more 'harmonious' identification processes (Haikkola, 2011). Second, the categorisation of 'Romanian' or 'Eastern European women' is deemed a more negative categorisation in comparison to 'Western European' social identifications (Koskela 2020; Lundström, 2017).

After this reflection, she argues, '*This doesn't happen a lot, in most spaces it is fine, and in any case, he [Cristina's Swedish neighbour] could have just been having a bad day'.* Regarding the first part of this statement, she draws attention to the uneven spatial nature of processes of othering, an aspect often ignored in critical whiteness studies (Bell, 2017). To explain this, she draws attention to the varied designs of different spaces across Hammarby. She first points to the courtyard's monofunctional design, arguing '*The lack of different functions and activities, means there is less to do so there is more focus on who you are'.* She then emphasises other spaces including the 'salmon steps' where residents are able to eat and play games, engaged in multiple activities. Peterson (2021) and Wilson (2013) also emphasise the benefits of mixed space where people become familiar with one another through activities rather than merely sharing the same space (Hall & Bates, 2019, 108). Expanding on this, Peterson (2021, 159) notes how members become conscious of common attributes, including personal histories and experiences, enabling them to develop relations beyond ethnicity, gender, or race. In this case however, the perceived value of diverse activities within one space does not stem from members' subsequent increased familiarity with one another but instead, the exact opposite as discussed by Cristina, '*Swedes are distracted by different activities, so there is more focus on what you are doing. They know less about me'.* Whilst both Cristina and Peterson (2021) underscore the benefits of mixed space, Cristina uses the activities inherent to these spaces to *avoid* making any connections with others in contrast to the relationship-building encounters discussed above (Amin, 2002; Askins & Pain, 2011; Koefoed & Simonsen, 2012; Peterson, 2021; Wilson, 2013). Moving away from the optimistic tones of 'geographies of

encounters' scholarship (Swanton, 2016), her explanations can be better understood through our interactionist framework.

Drawing upon Alba's (2005) discussion of 'bright' and 'blurry' boundaries, it is possible to understand how boundaries (and hierarchies) between "Swedes" and "immigrants" play out across different spaces. McKay (2021) develops the spatialised aspects of Alba's (2005) approach through considering divisions between 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces. McKay's (2021) conceptualisation is of less value however, when studying racialized and classed *boundaries* between "immigrants" and "Swedes". Following this logic, it would lead us to label Hammarby as a 'bright' neighbourhood in its entirety, given racialised boundaries are seemingly well-defined and hard to transcend, where people of colour are hyper-visible in everyday encounters throughout the neighbourhood (Alba, 2005; McKay, 2021). Instead, this notion is more relevant in relation to hierarchies of Swedishness, leading us to label 'monofunctional spaces' including the courtyard as 'bright' spaces and 'multifunctional spaces' such as the salmon steps as 'blurry' spaces. Regarding the former, these are spaces where hierarchies amongst residents are accentuated given the monofunctional nature of the courtyard along with Hammarby's overarching social homogeneity enables an extreme visibility and policing of difference as illustrated by Cristina's experiences. 'Blurry' spaces, however, are where hierarchies are downplayed and become less important. Whilst McKay (2021, 12-13) refers to 'blurry spaces' as potential 'cosmopolitan spaces' whereby 'solidarity' can emerge, Cristina's narratives generate a less optimistic conclusion, where Cristina's ease in the salmon steps stems less from her increased acceptance by the "Swedish" majority and more from their increased distraction with other tasks. With these preliminary findings in mind, the importance of 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces for hierarchies of belonging shall be further explored in chapter 6.

Our attention shall turn to the second part of her statement. Throughout our discussion, the way in which Cristina recalls the incident above, is plagued with self-doubt, unsure of whether her negative reception was '*in my head*' as she describes, or purposefully perpetuated by the "Swedish" man in question. Whilst the answer is unknowable given the neighbour was never interviewed, her posing of the question is more significantly indicative of her self-doubt. Although Hopkins et al., (2017) and Koskela (2021) discuss similar 'belittling strategies' amongst first or second-generation migrants of colour, this study reveals how first-generation white migrants similarly downplay prejudice encountered. On this note, I later anonymously

disclosed Cristina's experiences to Irene, asking her if she had faced similar experiences. Despite her Chilean ethnicity, Irene explains that her Swedish is "*pitch-perfect*" as her Swedish boyfriend helped her learn Swedish, removing any marks of an accent (Runfors, 2021). In contrast to Lundström's (2017, 6) disregard of 'Chilean whiteness', Irene is quick to emphasise that "Swedish" residents see her ethnic difference as positive, further revealing how different (Latin American) ethnicities are valued over others in hierarchies of Swedishness (Boccagni, 2014; Koskela 2014; Mas Giralt, 2011). Irrespective of this difference, the consequence of Irene's framing is to blame Cristina for her experience, and her *'poor Swedish',* indicative of how she has internalised the "Swedish" majority gaze and used it to judge other ethnic minorities (Solhjell et al., 2019). Here, I can hence observe 'belittling' strategies emerge between ethnic minorities which are often ignored in favour of researching relations between 'minorities' and 'majorities' (For exception, see: Back et al., 2012, 144; Fathi, 2017; Kustermans, 2016). This individual responsibilisation leads us to my second section that explores how Cristina negotiates her perceived categorisation as 'Romanian' or 'Roma'. Whilst Cristina reports feeling 'excluded' and 'visible', the 'consequences' of this imposed categorisation goes beyond the expression of these emotions (Jenkins, 2000). The conflict between her internal identification as Swedish and perceived (external) categorisation as Romanian, lead her to deploy various boundary-making strategies that aim at being seen in a more positive, truthful way in order to feel safer (Koskela 2021, 24; Wimmer, 2008a).

5.8.2. Negotiating hierarchies of Swedishness

"I am not sure if they see me as Swedish, I am still learning about the culture here [Hammarby]".

Cristina is in the midst of learning how to negotiate her belonging to Hammarby and "Swedish" space more broadly. This in-between position - neither included nor excluded - and her uncertainties at navigating this in-betweenness, leads her to voice opinions that are normalised amongst others (Fox, 2017). For this reason, Cristina's narratives provide an ideal lens into otherwise taken-for-granted processes associated with belonging (See: 3.2.5) (Bennett, 2012; Fathi, 2017; Halse, 2018). Informed by Wimmer's "social identification strategies", Cristina's responses to her perceived external categorisation as 'Romanian' or 'Roma' are grouped into two overarching strategies: those that attempt to *reduce* the distance with 'ethnic Swedes' and those that seek to *increase* the boundaries with the 'Roma' and "immigrants" generally. The first group will be referred to as 'becoming Swedish' and tend to

play out in her 'first impressions' whilst the second shall be called 'distancing immigrants' that are more active in 'prolonged encounters'. This focus contributes to gaps in the boundary-making scholarship that have focused on boundary-making strategies by immigrants of colour (See: Boccagni, 2014; Haikkola, 2011; Lamont & Askartova, 2002), providing limited considerations on strategies amongst white first-generation immigrants or more specifically, white first-generation immigrant *women*.

Our attention shall turn to her first group of strategies, 'becoming Swedish'. During the walking interview, Cristina draws attention to several "Swedes" stretching in a field. She reflects, '*Swedes always seem to train outside, maybe I should take up training"*. This statement provides an insight into several facets of Cristina's "social identification strategies" (Slooter, 2019, 619) which will be deconstructed, the first regarding what I have previously termed as the learning of "language of strategies" (Koskela, 2020). Her reflection provides a clear example of how Cristina constantly reads her environment, identifying how "Swedes" act in public space or what Wimmer (2008) refers to as local schemes of order, and later replicating these behaviours in an attempt to reinforce her 'Swedishness' (Clarke, 2020). Here, the words of Goffman (1963, 110) strongly resonate, "(S)he who passes will have to be alive to aspects of the social situation which other treats as uncalculated and unattended", as confirmed by other participants' inattention to Hammarby's social and physical environment. I have previously critiqued the interactionist literature for failing to consider how people are exposed to and become attuned to the 'language of strategies'. In this context, it is the walking interview that renders visible these otherwise mundane moments of 'learning' as Cristina explicitly comments on her surroundings during our walking tour, prompted by what De Leon and Cohen (2005) refer to as probes. These observations lead her to identify and replicate "Swedish" behaviour, in this case, 'training outside' (Butz, 2009).

Her focus on 'training outside' was one of many behavioural features that were positioned as "Swedish". Whilst she mostly passes as "Swedish" in 'first impressions' due to her phenotypical whiteness, her previous experience of visibility in prolonged encounters underscore the need for further behavioural adaptations to pass the norms of Swedish whiteness. She proceeds to explain, "*I try to act like a Swede"*, for example, moving quickly with limited interaction with others in public space (Daun, 2002; Listerborn, 2013) and "*dressing like a Swede"*, mostly donning black clothes. This acts as a clear example of 'positional' moves of 'passing', less interested in changing the hierarchy itself and more

focused on repositioning oneself in a more positive location (Greenberg-Raanan & Avni, 2020; Koskela 2021; Krivonos, 2020; Wimmer 2008a). Combined, Cristina passes not only in her appearance but in the way of moving her body, her way of dressing and ability to act in line with local and national "Swedish" norms (Runfors, 2021, 71). Whilst they were mostly undertaken in 'first impressions', the same strategies were also used in her prolonged encounters where she learnt to hide her Eastern European accent (Krivonos, 2020; Presivic, 2018), discuss "Swedish" topics and express conventional "Swedish" opinions. This came to fruition within the focus group where she quickly changed her stance on the Facebook Group upon hearing Susan's more measured criticism (See: 4.5.3). Whilst the walking interview highlighted her consciousness of different norms, the focus group provided the opportunity to witness these processes in action and the speed at which she was able to change her behaviour, highlighting the benefits of this study's multi-method approach.

It was in the same focus group that I witnessed the second overarching strategy, 'distancing Romanians and Roma'. Each focus group begun with introductions where participants were encouraged to become familiar with one another. For the most part, participants emphasised their Swedish background or Swedish connections in the form of partners or family. Cristina was last to speak, focusing on her length of residence in Hammarby and recent Swedish citizenship, avoiding any discussion of her Romanian background (See: 4.5.3 for discussion of this omission) (See: Morosanu and Fox, 2013, for similar strategy). Whilst myopically labelled as a 'problematic silence' by positivist researchers, her silence regarding her Romanian ethnicity provided the unique opportunity to witness her boundary-making strategies at work, in this case, the *temporary* concealment of her Romanian ethnicity (Hollander, 2004). This generally aligns with what Gray et al., (2018, 1241) refers to as 'dodging', alluding to an individual's ability to avoid circumstances where one would need to divulge information regarding their stigmatised identity. I emphasise its *temporary* nature to recognise her overt emphasis as Romanian amongst Romanian friends or family, and its striking absence amongst Swedes or other Europeans. In keeping with our interactionist framework, Cristina's representation of her identity is constructed in the moment of the encounter depending on those present and its underlying context (Lapina, 2018). In that moment, her social identity as Swedish is not questioned, given Susan later assumes that Cristina has lived in Sweden her whole life. In contrast to her experiences in the courtyard, Cristina's assertion of her identity is validated by others, leading to temporary yet fragile acceptance (Koskela, 2020; Krivonos,

2020). Morosanu and Fox (2013) note the limitations of this strategy in more 'formal' prolonged interactions which involve acts of disclosure, triggered either by identity document checks or in-depth queries about migrants' origins, yet in this case, her strategy is successful. As argued by Leinonen and Toivanen (2014, 161), the (in)visibility of individuals is shaped in interaction with the majority, whether it be the "Swedish" man in the courtyard or Susan in the focus group.

Later in the focus group, she expresses strong criticisms against the 'Roma' and other "immigrants". In response to experiences of misidentification, Morosanu and Fox (2013) note how Romanian migrants draw symbolic boundaries to differentiate themselves from 'visible' others, predominantly the Roma, understood to not hold the same 'whiteness' capital (Halej, 2015; Krivonos, 2018, 2020). Through these criticisms, Cristina diverts attention from 'hierarchies within Swedishness' to more pressing 'boundaries' with the 'Roma' and "immigrants" (Slooter, 2019). The processes of racialisation are always relational, where her claims of whiteness and Swedishness are reliant on maintaining the 'other' in inferior positions (Krivonos, 2020, 396; Krivonos, 2019; Levine-Ranksy, 2011; Miles, 1994). Abigail recounts a similar incident on the bus with her mother in Kista. Upon embarking, they talk in Swedish leading the driver strike up conversation in what she refers to as '*Swedish but in a strong Eastern European accent…. They were complaining about a recent political announcement towards immigrants, where he described them [immigrants] as lazy'.* In this case, her and her mother later discuss how their shared whiteness, most likely encouraged the bus-driver to confide in them, given their presumed shared "Swedish" belonging and by proxy, shared views. She later adds that they had previously witnessed the same bus driver subject to racist comments by other passengers where they had mocked his accent (See: Koefoed et al., 2017; Shaker et al., 2021; Swanton, 2016; for other passenger-driver encounters). Whilst this encounter affirmed Eastern European migrants' positioning in hierarchies of Swedishness, it also led me to consider the similarities between Cristina and the bus driver's criticisms of the 'other'. Abigail later reflects, *'Maybe the oppressed becomes the oppressor, so they can survive'.*

For Cristina and the bus-driver, being able to benefit from 'Swedishness' relies on comparisons with working-class immigrants of colour. Back et al., (2012), Keskinen (2018), Koskela (2021) and Midtbøen (2018) identify similar strategies amongst immigrants of colour where they distance themselves from other immigrants and their negative traits. In protecting themselves

against racial discrimination, they reproduce racism by discriminating against other people of colour to ascend existing hierarchies (Krivonos, 2020, 396; Cheung-Judge, 2016). In this study however, this strategy was identified amongst white immigrants, resonating with Dahlstedt et al., (2017), Halej (2015) and Krivonos' (2018) exceptional studies which explore how EU migrants also draw attention to racialised migrant 'others' as a means to negotiate their own marginalisation, locating themselves within the invisible white majority. These reflections reveal how racial prejudice is not restricted to powerful groups – ethnic "Swedes" – but also prevails amongst minorities including Cristina and Abigail's bus driver (Krivonos, 2018). Although it is important to recognise that minority groups maintain groups, Eliassi (2013) reminds us however, that one should not ignore the political distances in terms of structural inequalities, between ethnic "Swedes" and Eastern European migrants in this example. One may risk depoliticising the inequalities that define hierarchies of Swedishness if we equate Cristina's exclusion by the Swedish man (See: 5.8.1) with her treatment of the Roma and "immigrants" generally (Eliassi 2013, 132).

5.8.3. Hierarchies of Swedishness: summary

In this section, I have explored how Cristina's materialised Swedish whiteness is deemed not enough, inciting her to enact what Runfors' (2021) terms 'performative Swedish whiteness', alluding to her ability to perform certain behaviours - for example, dress style and speech - in order to belong and be read as belonging in a "Swedish" space (Fileborn, 2016). Becoming visible by having her Romanian ethnicity revealed, was understood to have undesired consequences, leading her to feel more unsafe owing to her presumed exclusion from broader neighbourhood networks that protect "Swedish" women against "immigrant" men. Whilst Wimmer's (2008a) and Slooter's (2019) discussions imply that "social identification strategies" can be divided into separate typologies, exploring these processes through the lens of participants' encounters complicate their representation as mutually-exclusive. Although this typology of strategies is theoretically useful, Cristina's narratives reveal how she engaged with not one but several strategies in order to maximise her chances at 'passing' when faced with unwanted categorisations (Cheung-Judge, 2016; Koskela 2021). Up until this point, only Kruse and Kroneberg (2019, 439) recognise the 'fuzziness' of boundary-strategies, challenging dominant conceptions of 'mutually exclusive' strategies in current interactionist research (Slooter, 2019). In this context, Cristina adopts markers that signify her full membership to

"Swedes" whilst distancing herself from stigmatised 'Roma others' and "immigrants" during 'first impressions' and 'prolonged encounters' (Wimmer 2008a).

Despite this, her efforts and knowledge of what it entails to be a "Swedish" woman does not always ensure her passing (Skeggs, 1997, cited in Krivonos, 2020, 401; Ahmed, 1999; Greenberg-Raanan & Avni, 2020; Runfors 2021). This is best encapsulated through Aarset's (2018, 294) notion of 'conditional belonging' which underscores how feelings of belonging and being read as belonging, exist alongside an awareness of its conditionality. Aarset (2018) uses this notion with reference to different time periods, for example, exploring how particular events including terrorism, underline the conditionality of migrants' belonging. This thesis, however, is interested in its spatial dimensions, focused on how Cristina is seen as a 'Swede' in some spaces yet positioned as 'less Swedish' in others including the courtyard.

This section follows in Runfors (2021) footsteps, contributing to an emerging field of critical whiteness studies in Sweden. This realm does not take the over-researched North American experiences as a starting point but instead seeks to explore the Swedish version of whiteness and its extreme narrowness. It accordingly shows how white, first-generation female migrants negotiate Swedish racialised landscapes, underscoring how they are read and positioned in line with the norms of Swedish whiteness whilst contributing to studies surrounding the role of gender and space in broader critical whiteness scholarship.

5.9. Conclusion

Drawing on interactionist identity theories, this chapter focused on women's perceived (un)safety through the 'majority' perspective who were able to impose categorisations on others (Lewellen, 2002, 106; Koskela 2020, 27). It explored how participants from Hammarby sought solace in their shared belonging as white, middle-class "Swedes" and conversely, felt threatened upon their categorisation of "immigrants" or more specifically, "immigrant" men. These men were made visible through racialised and classed cues carried on their body and subsequently framed as dangerous due to their presumed patriarchal values. This provided insights into overarching boundaries of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes" which emerge as key for the question of "Swedish" women's perceived (un)safety. Informed by an intersectional framework, this chapter further considered hierarchies of belonging within 'Swedishness' through Cristina's perspectives. Here, it was possible to observe how she passed as "Swedish" in some spaces yet as "less Swedish" in other 'brighter' spaces (Jenkins, 2008,

123). This section sought to demonstrate her agency through considering how she overcame her original positioning within these hierarchies through different "social identification strategies".

Previous studies have underscored the importance of national structures of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes" for women's perceived (un)safety yet have failed to examine how these processes materialise in women's everyday negotiations of public space. Approaching the notion of women's safety through an interactionist approach helped provide the necessary tools to understand how national structures of belonging emerge in women's everyday encounters. More broadly, it shifted our understandings away from "Swedish" and "immigrant" identities as produced from within each group due to shared history and practices but rather demonstrated how these social identities are constructed through encounters (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013, 116). These boundaries and the identities that they enclose, are not fixed, but are constructed through encounters or in this case, 'first impressions'. This not only helps understand how women's perceived (un)safety emerges during their everyday encounters in Hammarby but also critiques how previous theorists have more broadly conceptualised "Swedish" and "immigrant" identities. Whilst this interactionist framework provides the tools to understand the importance of boundary-making in women's everyday encounters, this study's focus on 'first impressions' helped better gauge how these processes play out in fleeting encounters that dominate women's everyday negotiations of public space through drawing attention to processes of (in)visibility. Focus on (in)visibility helped to enliven these debates, underscoring how judgements on others belonging, occur through women's fleeting encounters, premised on bodily and behavioural cues varied on our bodies.

With this in mind, the attention of the next chapter shall now turn to the narratives of female "immigrant" residents living in Husby whose voices are notably absent in this chapter in favour of focusing on "Swedes" and "immigrant" men. This dual focus forms part of this study's overarching relational framework that seeks to approach (national) structures of belonging from both 'majority' and 'minority' perspective through a gendered lens.

Chapter 6. Husby: "Immigrant" (Husby) Femininities: 'We are Husby Women'

6.1. Overview

6.1.1. Introduction

'We are never heard.' (Mia)

Notably absent from the previous chapter are the perspectives of "immigrants". Until now, they have been 'spoken for' by "Swedish" women and effectively silenced. The attention of this chapter will turn to the "immigrant" perspective, exploring how "immigrants" are subject and respond to imposed categorisations in their encounters in relation to their perceived (un)safety. Informed by this study's conceptual framework, this chapter will explore women's perceived (un)safety using Jenkins' (2008) "dialectic of identification" through the lens of the minority or more specifically, "immigrant" population. This study emerges as one of few examples of work where the 'dialectic of identification' is approached from both majority *and* minority perspectives (Duemmler et al., 2010). Most interactionist scholars have contributed to debates by analysing either the perspective of the minority *or* the majority group, albeit the latter mostly addressed through the lens of macro-level institutions including the state or media (Sion, 2014; Slooter, 2019). Through this dual focus, this study aims to better explore the relational nature of 'internal' and 'external' moments of identification that has hitherto gone unrecognised, wrongly representing these processes as uni-lateral (Arora et al., 2019; Bork-Huffer & Yeoh, 2017; Duemmler et al., 2010; Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019).

The 'minority' perspective will be addressed through the narratives of "immigrant" female residents living in Husby, referred to as an "immigrant" space in popular discourse. Given "Swedish" women's fears are directed towards "immigrant" men (See Chapter 5), this chapter's focus on "immigrant" women may come as a surprise yet emerges as significant for several reasons. Explorations of 'minority' perspectives - albeit more extensive than discussions of 'majority' perspectives – are marred by the same gender-neutral perspectives discussed in 5.1.1. Whilst interactionist scholars have explored boundary-making strategies used by minority groups when faced with conflicting categorisations, lesser present in these approaches are any gendered considerations given the minority is largely imagined as 'abstract, homogenous entities' that are typically imagined as male (Sion 2014, 74; Grosz, 1994). The impacts of this elision are felt even greater when approached through the lens of 'immigrant minority' narratives, marked by a similar inattention to gender in the Swedish

context (Exception, See: Dahlstedt et al., 2017; Haghverdian, 2009). This is best encapsulated by Philipson's (2016, 1) commentary where she writes, the immigrant "is represented as a non-white man from the suburbs". Both within and beyond the interactionist field, discussions of "immigrants" in the Swedish context are mostly addressed through the perspectives of "immigrant" men whose violent stereotypes has captured public and scholarly attention (Birk Haller et al., 2020; Herz, 2019; Khosravi, 2012; Lofstrand & Uhnoo, 2014; Solhjell et al., 2019; Tolonen, 2019). Whilst one's racialised identity is understood as the most crucial marker of belonging in the Swedish context (Christensen, 2009; Pettersson, 2013), it is intersecting markers of masculinity and racialisation that dominate public discourse (Philipson, 2016). Less present in these discussions are the perspectives of "immigrant" women whose perceptions and experiences of (un)safety and belonging are often only positioned as relevant in regard to their relationship as "immigrant" men as passive victims of men's patriarchal beliefs or in comparisons with equal ethnic "Swedish" women (Christensen, 2009; Gokieli, 2017; Haldrup et al., 2006; Laukkanen, 2003; Listerborn, 2013; Philipson, 2016). Their invisibility should not imply however, that their perceptions and experience are either lesser or similar to "immigrant" men or "Swedish" women, hence explaining their conflation and absence but rather marks the need for separate considerations of their perceived (un)safety (Essed, 2002). Noting this lacuna, Brekhus (2003), Duemmler et al., (2010, 36) and Eliassi (2013), all separately conclude their work, emphasising the need to investigate the perspectives of 'female members of the minority'. Responding to this call, the next section will describe how this study's conceptual framework will be harnessed to explore "immigrant" women's perceived (un)safety within Husby.

6.1.2. Chapter aims

Drawing on the data from the study, this chapter aims to explore Husby participants' perceived (un)safety in relation to local and national structures - boundaries and hierarchies - of belonging. The first part of this chapter will explore how Husby participants become conscious of their external categorisation as "immigrant" women by "Swedish" men and women during 'first impressions' (Daum, 2002; Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). Participants' narratives point to the ways in which these categorisations affect their everyday life through the lens of their perceived (un)safety (Koskela 2014, 26). This chapter will then consider the "social identification strategies" used by Husby participants when faced with exclusionary encounters and the ways that they resist and accommodate them (Slooter, 2019, 619;

Wimmer, 2008a). Against this backdrop, I will explore how Husby participants reject their external categorisation as "immigrant" women and instead, claim their self-identification as 'Husby' women. Here, women assert their local belonging as 'Husby' women in response to their national unbelonging as "immigrant" women, justifying my decision to use the term, "immigrant" (Husby) women. In other words, participants are positioned as the "immigrant" minority in relation to national boundaries of belonging yet simultaneously form part of the Husby majority in relation to local boundaries of belonging. Drawn together, this challenges the ethnic lens dominant in immigrant research where it is often assumed that ethnic identity is always the main social identification for immigrants (Koskela 2019, 316; Runfors, 2016, Schiller & Caglar, 2013). In this context, their collective place-based identity forms the backdrop against which women individually negotiate their perceived (un)safety during 'first impressions' and 'prolonged encounters', underscoring the importance of local boundaries of belonging.

The second part of this chapter will explore hierarchies of belonging within the social identity of "immigrant" women in Husby. The voices of "immigrant" women are not only often eclipsed from public and scholarly discussion yet are mostly conflated in one homogenising category when seldom discussed (DeLaet, 1999). This criticism also broadly holds for representations of the "immigrant" suburbs where internal hierarchies are ignored in favour of diverting attention to more pressing boundaries between "Swedish" and "immigrant" spaces. In response, this section will first consider how "immigrant" (Husby) women are categorised by other "immigrants" (Husby) residents. This will reveal how differently-situated women hold different positions within the overarching "immigrant" (Husby) category, affecting their perceived (un)safety. This section will then consider how 'Husby' (immigrant) women negotiate their positions through "social identification strategies" during "first impressions" and "prolonged encounters" (Erdal & Stromso, 2018; Slooter, 2019; Wimmer, 2008a). Through the lens of their perceived (un)safety, this chapter seeks to demonstrate the importance of women's everyday encounters in relation to local and national boundaries of belonging whilst further considering hierarchies of belonging within the "immigrant" (Husby) women category.

6.1.3. Importance of space and overview

This chapter shall adopt a similar structure to the last chapter and is hence organised into a series of spaces (See Figure 29). This structure reflects how Husby participants' narratives continually emphasised the importance of their perceptions and experiences of different

spaces within and beyond Husby for their perceived (un)safety. Of key difference to the previous chapter however, participants in Husby were more direct in their discussions, resting in contrast to the indirectness witnessed amongst "Swedish" participants in chapter five who hid their opinions behind discussions of particular spaces, what I have termed, 'spatial pretexts' (Clarke, 2021; Judd 1994; Lemanski, 2006). This comparison provides a useful insight into how perceptions of (un)safety are articulated by differently-situated participants, an aspect that is often ignored in previous studies in favour of understanding the source of women's fears rather than how they are framed.
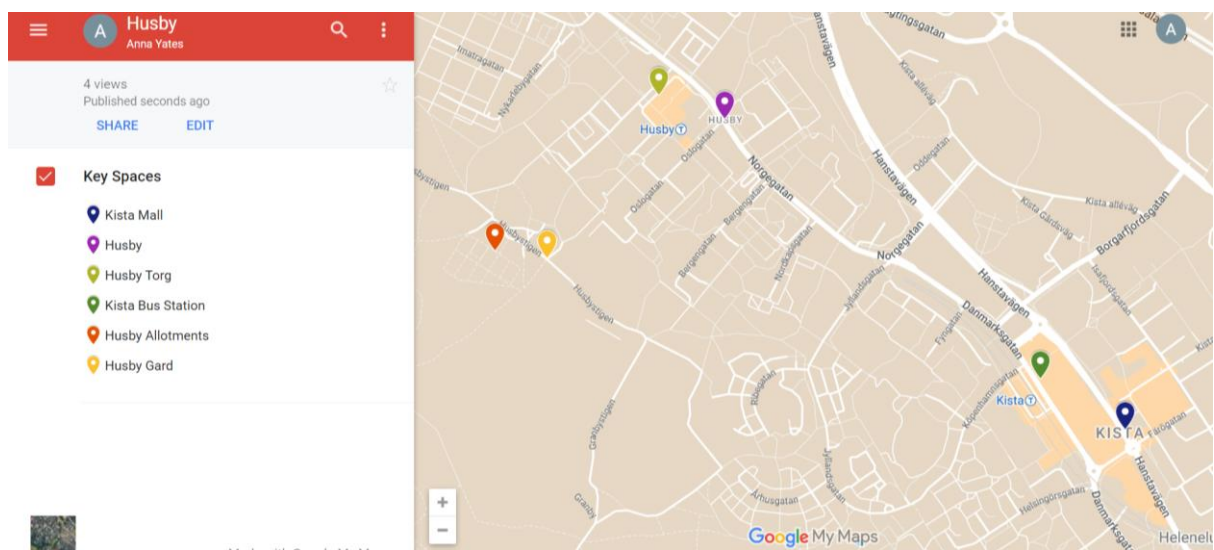
Figure 29: Location of spaces identified during participants' walking interviews

Section 6.2 and 6.3 will explore how Husby residents become conscious of their external categorisation as "immigrant" women through their encounters with "Swedish" men in the *city-centre* and "Swedish" women in *Kista's shopping centre* and *Husby's public space*. These sections will demonstrate how "immigrant" women are seen to be stereotyped in different ways by "Swedish" men and women, sexualised by the former and pitied and discriminated by the latter. It will subsequently illustrate how they respond to their national negative unbelonging as "immigrant" women through asserting their local positive belonging as 'Husby' women. This social identification has its own 'boundaries' and 'content', distinct to our discussions of 'Swedishness' in chapter five (Slooter, 2019). Through the lens of their perceived (un)safety, this will be discussed through women's individual 'first impressions' and 'prolonged encounters' along with collective neighbourhood surveillance networks. Using vignettes of women's experiences in *Husby Square and Kista Bus Station*, section 6.4 will

explore how differently-situated 'Husby' women experience and negotiate internal neighbourhood hierarchies. Attention will then turn to the *allotments* (6.5), discussions here provide further insight into different tensions between differently-situated women and their respective ethnic groups, reinstating the importance of ethnicity within Husby's hierarchies of belonging. Section 6.5 shall also turn to *Husby and Kista Gard* where these hierarchies and their concomitant tensions are eased owing to their functions as 'blurry' spaces (Alba, 2005; McKay, 2021). The final section (6.6) shall consider white, working-class, "Swedish" women perspectives and their respective perceptions and experiences in *Husby Torg and Gard*. Similar to chapter five's discussion of 'foreigners' (5.3), these participants complicate 'bright' boundaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes" that have captured academic and scholarly attention (Alba, 2005). I will accordingly explore how these women experience and navigate their (in)visibility across Husby through different boundary-making strategies (Wimmer, 2008a).

Although most spaces discussed are found with Husby, our attention also extends to spaces within Kista. The previous chapter has noted how Kista bears the marks of national boundaries of belonging, focused on racialised and classed binaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes". This chapter, however, will explore how Kista emerges as a mosaic of diverse spaces, some of which are coded as "Swedish" yet others that are dominated by Husby residents. During their visits to the neighbourhoods, they carry their localised belonging on the bodies, transgressing and disrupting "Swedish" space and its norms (Fox, 2017). Kista emerges as a unique case-study where national and local belonging meet and intersect. Taking a further step back, this discussion provides an insight into how notions of (un)safety and belonging are discussed amongst less privileged women, given this chapter is largely based on the perspectives of six differently-situated women including working-class or middle-class women of colour alongside white, working-class Swedes (See: Table 1 in 4.4.3). Combined, chapters five and six collectively address the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety, hence, responding to Bastia (2014) and Nash's (2008) call to address both oppression and privilege, given it is only through these considerations that intersectionality can emerge as an anti-exclusionary tool.

6.2. T-Centralen: Encounters with "Swedish" Men

'I *remember it well…T-Centralen was quite busy, and I had come in from an interview from a town outside of Stockholm. An old, Swedish man looked at me, and started approaching me.*

He spoke to me in Swedish and touched me, he put his hand on my back, but I didn't hear what he said at first, but then he repeated it, I understood what he said. He told me to go home to the suburbs. I started to tense and cry, no one helped me. I've never liked going to the city in case I meet these people. I prefer to stay in Husby, its safer, I think the men are safer'. (Mia)

Encounters between "immigrant" women and "Swedish" men often go undiscussed in favour of exploring incidents between "Swedish" women and "immigrant" men (See: Bredstrom, 2003; Herz, 2019). This imbalance mirrors broader scholarly gaps where "immigrant" women receive limited attention within the Swedish context, rendering them invisible (See: 6.1.1). The above quote, however, provides crucial insights into Mia's encounter with a "Swedish" man in T-Centralen, otherwise known as Stockholm's Central Station. The nature of her encounter demands further attention, particularly as other participants recounted similar incidents either personally or indirectly with female friends or family. In keeping with interactionist thought, I shall first explore how Mia becomes conscious of her external categorisation as an "immigrant" woman and what this entailed (Juhila, 2004). I shall then consider how she negotiates this imposed categorisation, recognising her agency within broader structures (Barth, 1969; Slooter, 2019; Wimmer, 2008a). Whilst she mentions more conventional strategies including place-avoidance (Valentine, 1992), her differentiation between "immigrants" and Husby residents leads us to one of this chapter's key contributions. Informed by this study's interactionist framework coupled with Koefoed and Simonsen's (2012b) 'jumping scale', I explore how participants respond to their national *unbelonging* through their local *belonging* as Husby residents, the nature of which forms the backdrop against which they negotiate their perceived (un)safety.
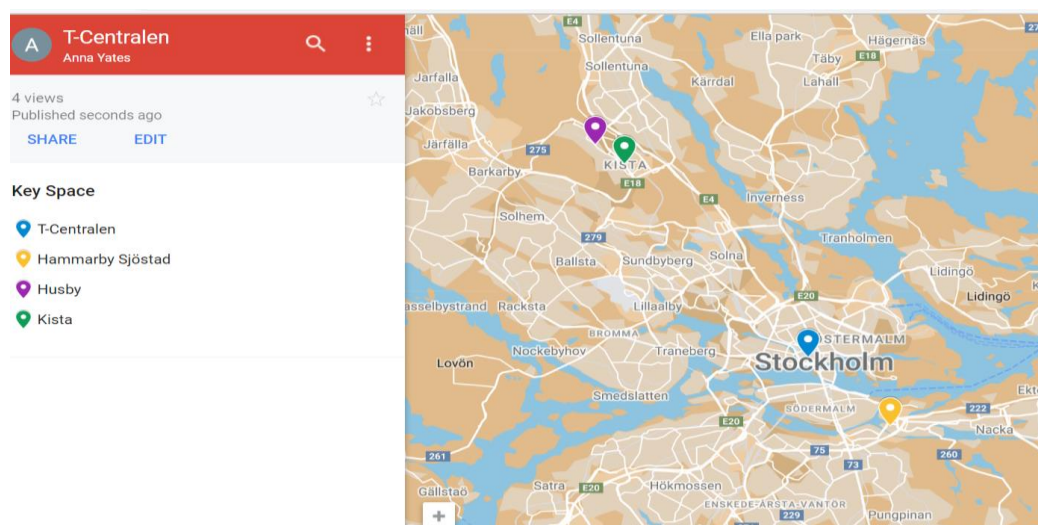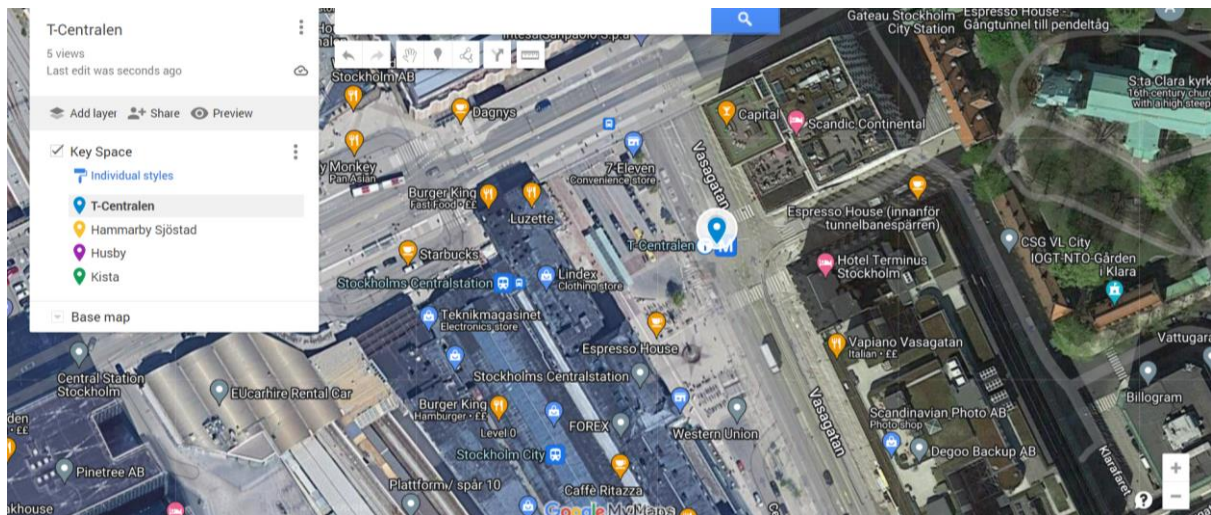
Figure 30: Photograph and Satellite Map of T-Centralen

6.2.1. T-Centralen: understanding their (sexualised) categorisation as "Immigrant" women

Whilst walking through the station, Mia recounts an encounter with an old "Swedish" man. Similar to Jenni's partner (5.3.2), she recalls how he stared at her before moving closer. For Mia however, this encounter transcended beyond a cursory glance into a hostile verbal interaction, to which she does not initially understand. Key to this argument however, this misunderstanding was understood to arise not due to his use of Swedish, which is her mother tongue, but rather the quietness of his speech given the noisiness of the surrounding environment. After he repeats his comment, she then heard, '*Go home to the suburbs*'. For readers outside of Sweden, the specific meaning of this comment may go misunderstood, yet for Mia, the meaning was clear. The term 'suburbs' is used as a pretext for "immigrant" neighbourhoods that rest in opposition with "Swedish" neighbourhoods, as prior illustrated by Irene's prejudice against "immigrants" from the 'suburbs' in Max's (See: 5.5.1) (Judd, 1994; Lemanski, 2006; Pred, 2000; Runfors, 2016). This phrasing emerges as a clear example of what Goldberg (2001) refers to as 'geo-phenotypes' where bodies are mapped onto specific spaces (Antonsich, 2018). Combined, the man's gaze and the five words that follows, was seen to quickly position her as an "immigrant" from the 'suburbs'.

Following this, she recalls similar encounters, where she feels she has been read an "immigrant" within "Swedish" spaces despite her Swedish nationality (Hallgren, 2005). Her aforementioned interpretation of the encounter above is hence mediated by her previous experiences (Ahmed, 2000; Eliassi, 2013; Frost, 2011; Toivanen, 2014). As Essed (2002, 107) argues, "One event triggers memories of other, similar incidents, of the beliefs surrounding

172

the event, of behavioural coping and cognitive responses". Explaining his and others' responses, she reflects, '*I know I don't look Swedish',* referring to her dark skin, hair, and eye colour, reaffirming how racialised bodily markers are used as boundary markers in national boundaries of belonging between "Swedes" and "immigrants" (Eliassi, 2013, 10; Lundström, 2010). Tantamount to processes of 'meta-stereotyping' described by Vorauer (1991) and Koskela (2020), Mia demonstrates a clear awareness of being misrecognised as an "immigrant" and the stereotypes invoked by her categorisation. Whilst the last chapter recalled other participants' accounts of a "Swedish" man's misrecognition in the courtyard (5.6.2), Mia's experience emerges as the first personal narrative of what Hopkins et al., (2017) refers to as 'an encounter of misrecognition' or in interactionist thought, a conflict between internal and external identification (Klein & Azzi, 2001; Koskela, 2020).

Not discussed in the quote above was the way in which this encounter moved beyond a visual gaze to a verbal comment to finally, a physical act of touch, where the man places his hand on her lower back, what Essed (2002, 2050) refers to as "uninvited touching'. By placing his hand on her back, he intrudes her personal boundaries leading her to feel shaken. This bodily intrusion causes a visceral reaction, to which no passers-by either witness or respond. Here, women's lack of belonging in public space is seen to justify male intrusions, in the form of gazes, comments and in this case, touch. She later reflects, *'I don't think he would have done this to my partner'.* Similar to Cristina's experiences in the courtyard (5.8.1), participants often reflected on whether similar incidents would happen to male relatives, friends or in this case, partners, leading them to doubt the gendered dynamic at play (See also: Shaker et al., 2021, 9). Their accounts reflect the fact that the broader acceptance for men's aggressions often renders women's experiences of sexual acts unintelligible for women themselves (Lennox, 2021). In light of this, I draw on Kelly's (1988) 'continuum of sexual violence' to make explicit connections between seemingly disparate incidents. Pushing beyond her focus on gender to recognise its intersectional nature, this encounter of touch is firmly entwined with other intersectional acts of sexual harassment that most women, including Mia, have been unfortunately exposed (Shaker, 2021).

For Mia, this encounter emerged at the intersection between her racialised and gendered identity, virtue of her external categorisation as an "immigrant" woman of colour. Through her experiences in sex work, Sara elaborates on how women of colour are framed as objects of desire by Swedish men, '*It tends to be richer, older men who live in rich exclusive*

neighbourhoods, these tend to be the biggest problems. They go for the girls with non-white backgrounds'. Notions of 'the other' as both sexually exciting and dangerous are closely connected to European colonial history, and yet again, position 'civilised' white societies in opposition to individuals racialised as non-white (Fernando, 2021; Kehl, 2020; Laskar, 2015;; Massad, 2007; Rattansi, 2011). This rests in contrast to images of the white "Swedish" female as pure and vulnerable, alluding to racialised and gendered notions of virtue (See: 5.7.2). With the exception of Laskar (2015) however, the white fetishization of the bodies of women of colour is lesser-recognised in the Swedish context, owing to broader backdrops of Nordic exceptionalism (See: 2.2.3).

This section has demonstrated how Mia becomes conscious of her categorisation as an "immigrant" woman and its racialised and gendered connotations that subsequently render her 'hyper-visible' (Bennett, 2012). This image is in conflict with how she sees herself as 'in-place' and belonging due to her Swedish nationality. Moving beyond this encounter, racialised and sexualised encounters between "Swedish" men and "immigrant" women were reported by other participants. Women of colour - or 'immigrant women' - were constantly confronted by images of 'sexualised ethnicity', the likes of which have hitherto largely been rendered invisible in academic and public discussion in favour of addressing other gendered and racialised encounters between "Swedish" women and "immigrant" men in the suburbs.

6.2.2. T-Centralen: framing: 'But are you sure?'

Whilst the next section shall consider "immigrant" women's response to their imposed categorisation, I will briefly explore how encounters of 'misrecognition' were framed and received by "Swedish" women. During my focus group with Kista residents, Mahati relayed a similar incident in Kista Mall that is also coded as a "Swedish" space in women's 'mental maps' due to the dominance of white, middle-class Swedes (Valentine, 1989). Within this space, she explains that she was harassed by a "Swedish" man leading her to feel traumatised. Upon hearing this incident, other participants responded in shock, explaining that they had only heard of similar incidents with "immigrant" men. Abigail quickly responded, '*Well, if he was Swedish, he was probably white trash, you know the kind that support Sweden democrats'.*

Through beginning her response *with 'If he was Swedish...'*, Abigail first seemingly undermines Mahati's identification of the perpetrator as "Swedish" given she implies an element of doubt regarding Mahati's ability to ascertain his Swedishness. Following this, Abigail diverts others

attention away from "Swedes" to 'white trash'. Prevalent in everyday conversation, the term 'white trash' emerges as a class-related insult, used for white, working-class Swedes (Doane & Bonilla-Silva, 2013; Hubinette and Hyltén-Cavallius, 2014, 87). Here Abigail uses implicitly-understood language to undermine Mahati's focus on white, middle-class Swedes and instead, blame the white, working-class for her experiences of harassment. If I revert my attention to the previous chapter and its discussions of the Facebook Group (See: 5.7.1), similar dynamics can be observed where "Swedish" women were keen to defend the actions of "Swedish" men and instead, blame "immigrant" men. As Abigail cannot blame immigrants due to Mahati's focus on 'white men', her most promising alternative emerges in the form of 'white working-class' men (Clarke, 2021, 2). In keeping with our interactionist framework, group boundaries are always in the process of being (re)iterated, with accusations regarding perpetration of unwanted sexual harassment emerging as one way in which these boundaries are (re)produced (Fileborn, 2016, 103).

Combined, the invisibilisation of the actions of white, middle-class "Swedish" men goes hand-in-hand with the hyper-visibility of "immigrant" men and in this case, 'working-class' men (Chapple, Jacinto & Vance, 2017; Haldrup et al., 2006). The positioning of certain (white, working-class or "immigrant") men as threatening is not unwarranted but instead what makes these comments problematic is the simultaneous erasure of white, middle-class men as perpetrators (Fileborn, 2016, 104). This imbalance in attention is not only confined to the everyday discourse but equally spills into the academic realm. At the time of writing, only two references have been identified where harassment by "Swedish" men has been discussed. In a brief paragraph, Ärlemo (2017, 10) discusses an "immigrant" woman's experience of harassment when surrounded by "white, non-secular, non-immigrants in one of the most privileged areas of the inner city of Stockholm". Kustermans (2016, 168) reflects on similar narratives in the context of the Stockholm metro, "I was told stories about black women being pushed aside on the subway, always by white men". Apart from these cursory acknowledgements, no other examples were found, testament to the invisibilisation of encounters between "immigrant" women and "Swedish" men.

6.2.3. T-Centralen: response: "Swedish" men and 'Husby' men

When faced with misrecognition, participants developed elaborate strategies in response (Hopkins et al., 2017, 942). Mia for example, has since avoided the city or more specifically, "Swedish" spaces. Mahati equally explains, '*I've avoided going to the Galleria on my own since*

that happened'. Far from stand-alone incidents, encounters with "Swedish" men have direct impacts on women's subsequent negotiations of public space, leading them to avoid the site where the encounter took place. Similar strategies of place-avoidance were documented in Hopkins et al.,'s (2017) study where his participants withdrew from particular spaces after being mistaken for Muslims, hence, taking responsibility for the racism faced. In this scenario however, participants not only avoided the particular site of the misrecognition but equally responded through remaining within Husby as much as possible, revealing the ways in which their neighbourhood was used as a resource to protect themselves from discrimination (Sriskandarajah, 2019)

Looking more closely at Mia's answer, her perceived unsafety towards "Swedish" men in "Swedish" spaces emerged hand-in-hand with her perceived safety amongst '*Husby'* men in Husby. Their discussions of the presumed threat of "Swedish" men consistently prompted comparisons with their perceived safety around '*Husby* men', reiterating the importance of this study's interactionist framework and its focus on boundaries. This type of boundary-making was present throughout the study where "Swedish" and "immigrant" women sorted through passers-by during their encounters in terms of their belonging to either social identification, "Swedish" or "immigrant" (Gilow, 2015; Pain, 2001; Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020). Up until this point however, it was assumed that Mia's and other women's emphasis on 'Husby' men emerged as a synonym for "immigrants". It was only until Mia's walking interview that the importance of this distinction begun to crystallise, *"As an immigrant…",* she stopped, appears frustrated and corrected herself, "*Not as an immigrant, I am Swedish, but as someone from Husby"*. The manner in which Mia immediately corrected herself, hinted at a fragile tension between her external categorisation as an "immigrant" and her self-identification as "Swedish" (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011; Näre, 2013). This tension became even clearer during Mia's warm-up and relief mapping interview where she replied, '*Husby is my flag'* when asked to self-identify her nationality (See: Table 1). When asked for further clarification, she argues that residents claim their local identity as '*Husby residents'* in response to their categorisation as "*immigrants*". From this point onwards, I shall refer to participants from Husby as "immigrant" (Husby) women to recognise their external categorisation as "immigrants" by majority Swedes and their subsequent self-identification and shared belonging as "Husby" women.

For Mia, this emphasis on 'Husby' residents was distinct from their external categorisation as "immigrants" despite shared similarities. Similar to conceptions of "immigrants", 'Husby' residents were working-class, people of colour and hence, predominantly centred on racialised and classed (in)visibilities. Despite this, 'Husby' residents professed a huge dislike for the term, "immigrant", given its *negative* use by "Swedes" and 'foreigners' (Näre, 2013). This contrasts to Runfors' (2016, 1857) who argues that her participants from the suburbs referred to themselves as "immigrants" as a way to inhabit social space in the Swedish context. In this study however, their belonging as 'Husby' residents emerged as a *positive* social identification where they proudly carved their own community space. Participants' emphasis on local identification challenges current interactionist discussions of established responses to conflicted internal and external definitions (Boccagni, 2014; Eliassi, 2013; Haikkola, 2011; Lamont & Askartova, 2002). Amongst immigrants in Sweden, Eliassi (2013) and Hallgren (2005) explore how racial discrimination stimulated a reactive ethnic identity or conversely, denial of their ethnic identity. Regarding the former, discrimination was understood to strengthen ethnic identity, which in this context may have encouraged Mia to embrace her Somalian roots (Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019). Conversely, 'becoming Swedish' by rejecting their ethnicity was also identified as an important strategy (Eliassi, 2013; Haghverdian, 2009; Hallgren, 2005). This was observed amongst Mahati given her attempts to assimilate into mainstream Swedish society through adopting Swedish norms. In this case however, Husby residents' shared experiences of (national) unbelonging and exclusion, underscored the collective construction of their local belonging (Back et al., 2012; Clarke, 2020; Listerborn, 2013; Phoenix, 2011)

Beyond interactionist studies, geographers have recognised what is referred to as 'scalar dissonance' where local belongings are experienced alongside national unbelongings (Anderson, 2008; Antonsich, 2018; Koefoed & Simonsen, 2012; Nayak, 2017). This dynamic however, has gone lesser recognised in the Nordic context and instead, more often discussed is place belonging at the city-level. Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen (2014), Koefoed and Simonsen (2011, 2012b), Osanami-Torngren (2020), for example, reflect upon participants' self-identification as 'Copenhageners' and from 'Gothenburg' respectively, in response to their national exclusion as "immigrants". Exceptions to this trend, however, emerge in the work of Sernhede (2011) who upon interviewing young immigrant men, noted their belonging to the suburbs in response to their alienation from Swedish society. At first glance, participants' local belonging emerged as a prime example of 'boundary blurring' where

racialised boundaries between "immigrants" and "Swedes" were blurred through their neighbourhood identification.

For Mia, the best way to encapsulate their localised identity was through their use of Rinkeby-Svenska, previously scorned by Irene as an aural marker of their national unbelonging as "immigrants" (See: 5.5.2). Naaz explains however, that Husby residents refuse to speak "Swedish" as their main form of communication, preferring to converse in their own unique dialect that bears the marks of their Swedish upbringing and diverse ethnic backgrounds. In keeping with Wimmer's *'social identification strategies',* participants' varied attitudes towards the Swedish language were indicative of their different responses to their imposed categorisations as the 'other', revealing the importance of intersectional approaches within boundary-making scholarship. Mahati attempts to 'assimilate' through the learning of "Swedish", Cristina aims to 'pass' through hiding her Eastern European accent (Aarset, 2018; Wimmer, 2008a), and "immigrant" (Husby) residents proudly converse in Rinkeby-Svenska. It was at this point however, that my previous emphasis on 'boundary-blurring' was quickly complicated. Whilst this was initially framed as an example of boundary-blurring, their use of Rinkeby-Svenska was better understood through the lens of 'transvaluation' strategies or more specifically, 'normative inversion' (Wimmer 2008a, 1037). This accepts the existence of (ethnic boundaries) between "immigrants" and "Swedes" but reverses the 'existing rank order' so that the excluded, in this case, "immigrants", become 'morally, intellectually, and culturally superior to the dominant group' (ibid). Viewed through our understanding of (social) identifies as both 'boundaries' and 'content', this strategy transforms category features that are conventionally perceived as negative into positive ones (Slooter, 2019). Similar findings are reported in the case of Filipinos by Le Espiritu (2001), Eastern European migrants in the UK (Halej, 2015), and Kurds in Finland (Toivanen, 2014) where they "resist their marginalisation by rearticulating the same racialised terms that others use to categorise them and re-inscribe this language with different values" (Morosanu & Fox, 2013, 439). Participants' proud use of Rinkeby Svenska formed part of their overarching collective inversion from a negatively, racially-stereotyped "immigrant" group to a united place-based identification as 'Husby' residents. In other words, the same markers stigmatised by majority Swedes as indicators of their national unbelonging – including their appearance, dialect, and behaviour – were embraced by Husby residents as positive markers of their local identification.

Whilst Wimmer's 'boundary-making strategies' provided a useful framework, the spatial dimensions of participants' responses were left unaddressed, leading me to adapt his otherwise 'comprehensive' typology. Here, Mia's narratives could be best understood through coupling Wimmer's 'normative inversion' with Koefoed and Simonsen's (2012b, 639) notion of 'jumping scale', the latter of which is used to describe how identity problems on one scale can trigger a partial displacement of identification towards others (See also: Simonsen & Koefoed, 2015). In interactionist terms, participants responded to their imposed external categorisation as "immigrants" - that conflicted with their self-identification as "Swedish" - through collective normative inversion strategies (Jenkins, 2008; Wimmer, 2008a). This sought to transform their negative 'identity content' as "immigrants" into positive 'identity content' as 'Husby' residents. Absent was any consideration of what was prior referred to as 'scalar dissonance', whereby national unbelonging is experienced alongside local belonging. I combined Wimmer's 'transvaluation strategies' with Koefoed and Simonsen's notion of 'jumping scale', the aim of which is to better recognise how 'transvaluation strategies' play out across different scales. Revisiting our previous statement, I use this framework to recognise how Husby participants transformed their negative 'identity content' as "immigrants" – imagined at the national scale - into positive 'identity content' as 'Husby' residents – at the local scale. Combining these conceptual approaches helped better understand Mia and other participants' responses to their misidentification as "immigrant" women.

6.2.4. T-Centralen: what does this mean for women's safety at the individual level?

It is against this backdrop and their emphasis on 'local' belonging in response to national unbelonging, that discussions around their perceived (un)safety took place. I have prior established that "immigrant" (Husby) women felt safer amongst "immigrant" (Husby) men in comparison to "Swedish" men. This section will push these discussions forward through exploring how this materialises in their everyday encounters. Similar to "Swedish" women's discussions of the tram platform (5.2.1), participants discussed the homogeneity of their neighbourhood, emphasising that most passers-by are 'Husby residents', leading them to feel safe. Mia elaborates, '*We can immediately tell someone is an outsider, just by looking at them... You just feel safer around locals, there is a sense of solidarity'.* In Husby, Mia acts as the 'referent population', part of the local majority and hence able to impose categorisations on others (Lewellen, 2002, 106; Koskela 2020, 27). This contrasts with her previous

experiences in T-Centralen, a "Swedish" space, where she is categorised by "Swedes" as an "immigrant". Although interactionist theorists speak of binaries between categorisers and categorised, approaching these questions through the lens of the encounter show this binary to be more fluid, given one's position is dependent on the exact moment and its underlying power dynamics (Duemmler et al., 2010; Shaker et al., 2021).

Processes of (social) identification take place through 'first impressions' given she emphasises the 'immediacy' of their judgements on passers-by social identity, hinting at the absence of dialogue between the observer and observed. In the absence of any verbal information, women make judgements on others belonging through their appearance and behaviour (Erdal & Stromso, 2018; Jenkins, 2012). She draws particular attention to the importance of visual cues through her emphasis on '*just by looking at them*', emphasising their '*darker complexion*', alongside a set of local behaviours and norms including their use of Rinkeby-Svenska, that collectively legitimatise their 'Husby-ness'. Up until this point, there are various similarities with "Swedish" women's navigations and negotiations of public space where they impose categorisations on others and deny any self-identification on the part of those encountered.

Mia later clarifies, '*I feel safer around Husby men, but not completely safe*'. She argues that women are always partially visible in public space due to their gendered unbelongings (Vera-Gray & Fileborn, 2018; Roy & Bailey, 2021). From a young age, she became conscious of the dangers of being a woman, given older relatives taught her to be cautious of men in public space, what Ahmed (2016, 25) refers to as 'girling' (Goodey, 1997; Pain, 2001). This refers to the social discourses and practices of being addressed as a girl which teaches them to act cautiously in public space and to occupy less space than boys (Ahmed, 2016, 25, cited in Mulari, 2020). Similar to "Swedish" women, she was taught to be responsible for her safety, hence, underscoring how her judgements of passers-by's social identification – and by proxy, presumed threat – are seen to carry more weight in contrast to her brothers and male friends' navigation of space (Nicholls, 2017). This provides a much-needed insight into the different ways in which men and women engage with interactionist processes, a gap highlighted by intersectional scholars (See: 3.2.6). Here, women's vulnerability encourages pre-emptive, rapid identification that forwards act of categorisation and denies self-identification on the part of those surveyed.

In contrast to "Swedish" women however, her gendered vulnerability leads her to feel safe(r) around 'Husby' men yet not completely safe. This contrasts with Swedish women's narratives

where gender equality was used as a boundary-marker between "Swedes" and "immigrants" (Bredstrom, 2003). From "Swedish" women's perspectives, "immigrant" men are unanimously dangerous to Swedish women compared to their perceived safety around "Swedish" men and women. In contrast, Mia draws on 'boundary blurring' (Wimmer 2008a), admitting that sexism is found on both sides of the boundary. "Immigrant" (Husby) women are less susceptible to what has been termed the 'myth of commonality', acknowledging how threat is even present amongst those who are similar to them (Fileborn, 2016, 95). This further reinstates how gender-equality is advocated by "Swedes" as the basis of Swedishness and used to justify exclusion yet only with bodies deemed the 'other' (Clarke 2021, 10). Aware of this contradiction, Mia argues that women are never fully safe around "Husby" men or "Swedish" men, yet she feels safer around the former compared to the latter due to their local solidarity.

6.2.5. T-Centralen: what does this mean for women's safety at the collective level?

Expanding on this local solidarity, Bibiana adds, *'It is not so much the individual here; we all have each other's backs like a family'.* Alongside individual encounters, Husby residents alluded to the importance of neighbourhood networks, redrawing our attention to connections between the individual and collective (discussed with reference to Hammarby in 5.6). Similar to residents in Hammarby, participants spoke of overseeing public space from their apartments and in the worst case, intervening in any incidents in public space. Mia describes this design as "*Foucauldian*", referring to Bentham's remote panopticon that Jenkins (2012, 162) frames as the 'protype of surveillance' (Kustermans, 2016). Absent however, are any references to online or hybrid elements, as forwarded in Hammarby residents' narratives. Instead, their networks of social control are reminiscent of Jenkins' (2012, 160) commentary of "informal community surveillance…. gossip and twitching curtains" (Bennett, 2012). Whilst Ceccato and Dolmen (2013, 110) and Jenkins (2012) muse over the importance of online mass surveillance in modernity, these narratives highlight how novel hybrid surveillance networks exist alongside rather than replace traditional forms of neighbourhood surveillance.

Naaz reflects on the significance of this surveillance, '*I recently heard that a grandma intervened in a fight between a Swedish boy and Husby boy in order to protect the Husby boy'.* According to Naaz, the Husby boy was assumed to be a local due to his appearance and behaviour yet was simultaneously known by the Grandma. Bibiana later expanded on this, *'You can tell who is from Husby, but it is also a small community, so you know some people',* highlighting how their belonging can be both assumed and known. Their neighbourhood social

control extends to those who not only appear to belong due to their physical appearance and behaviour but are also occasionally known to belong due to their strong social connections (Listerborn, 2013). Whilst this discussion provides an insight into collective networks of social control across the neighbourhood, it also leads us to revisit our initial focus on 'first impressions'. It was initially assumed that 'first impressions' dominated women's everyday negotiations of Husby's public space similar to "Swedish" women in Hammarby Sjöstad. However, Husby participants' descriptions of neighbourhood surveillance leads us to reconsider its focus. Whilst it remains that some of their everyday encounters falls under the label of 'first impressions', their established social networks and strong connections, meant many of their encounters were not their 'first' and instead, their self-identification as a 'Husby' resident was already known (Listerborn, 2013). This contrasts to Hammarby Sjöstad where the lack of social connections coupled with their stereotyped reserved nature meant that (social) identification processes were understood to play out through the lens of 'first impressions' (Daun, 2002). This reiterates the importance of studying women's encounter and broader systems of surveillance in their context, given our focus on "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) spaces provide different insights into women's encounters in public space (Ahmed, 2000; Erdal & Stromso, 2018).

These networks of social control proved of particular importance for the issue of women's safety. Alongside their individual encounters and 'safety work', Husby participants explained that they felt safer, knowing that others would intervene in case of an incident. Similar to Hammarby Sjöstad, women's perceived vulnerability placed them at the centre of social control networks due to their stereotypes of vulnerability. Bibiana reflects, '*Women are seen as more vulnerable, and I mean it helps sometimes, as people help us more'*. Here, she is conscious of her stereotypes as 'vulnerable' and exploits this representation in order to protect herself against any danger from "Swedish" men, once again, challenging stereotypes of 'passive immigrant women' (Fernando, 2021; Mohanty, 2003).

6.2.6. T-Centralen: summary

Interviews with Husby participants provided different perspectives on the "immigrant-Swede" binary discussed in chapter five. Section 6.2.1 explored how "immigrant" women were subject to racialised and gendered harassment by "Swedish" men. In keeping with interactionist thought, participants became conscious of their external categorisation as "immigrant" women through their everyday encounters in "Swedish" spaces. Despite this, these

experiences with "Swedish" men in "Swedish" spaces are notably absent from public and academic discourse (For exception, see: Arlemo, 2017; Kustermans, 2016). Even when voiced, section 6.2.2 explored how these encounters are downplayed by "Swedish" women in focus group, diverting attention to the more pressing boundaries between "Swedish" women and "immigrant" men, highlighted in chapter five by "Swedish" women. Section 6.2.3 explored the way in which "immigrant" women respond with place-avoidance, avoiding "Swedish" men and spaces and staying within Husby, given they feel safer amongst Husby residents. Whilst strategies of place-avoidance have been well-documented in women's safety scholarship (Valentine, 1992), the attention of this section was confined to women's subtle distinction between "immigrant" and "Husby" residents. Using Wimmer's (2008a) typology, women responded to their external categorisation as "immigrants" through 'normative inversion' that transformed their negative identity content as "immigrants" into positive identity content as "Husby residents". I combined these insights with Koefoed and Simonsen's (2012b) notion of 'jumping scale' to recognise their broader shift in emphasis from national unbelonging to local belonging. These collective strategies formed the backdrop against which women's individual negotiations of public space took place, explaining their focus on their perceived safety around 'Husby' residents rather than "immigrant residents". Against this backdrop, I have begun to explore their encounters in Husby's public space where participants proceed to rely on 'first impressions' and known social connections to sort through passers-by and categorise 'outsiders' that are represented as a threat. The next section shall further explore their self-identification as "immigrant" (Husby) women with particular interest in its gendered dimensions that have an impact on their everyday navigations of public space.

6.3. Kista Mall and Husby: Encounters with "Swedish" Women

Whilst encounters between "Swedish" men and "immigrant" (Husby) women have received limited attention in public and scholarly discussion, encounters between "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) women have been subject to even less consideration despite their significance in participants' narratives. The following section shall explore how participants become conscious of their external categorisation as "immigrant" women by "Swedish" women. Although they are subject to the same categorisation imposed by "Swedish" men, the categorisation is seen to have a different meaning when used by "Swedish" women across different settings. Their encounters in Kista Mall reveals how "immigrant" women are discriminated against by "Swedish" women in "Swedish" spaces whilst encounters in Husby

show how they are pitied by "Swedish" women in "immigrant" spaces. This similarly reveals the importance of an intersectional (and spatial) framework that pays attention to the different ways in which categorisations are imposed by differently-situated people, the meanings of which depends on the context in which they are deployed (Christensen, 2009; McKay, 2021; Shaker, 2021; Valentine, 2007). The last section shall consider how immigrant women respond through their localised belonging as 'Husby' women, with particular attention paid to the gendered connotations of their localised identity.
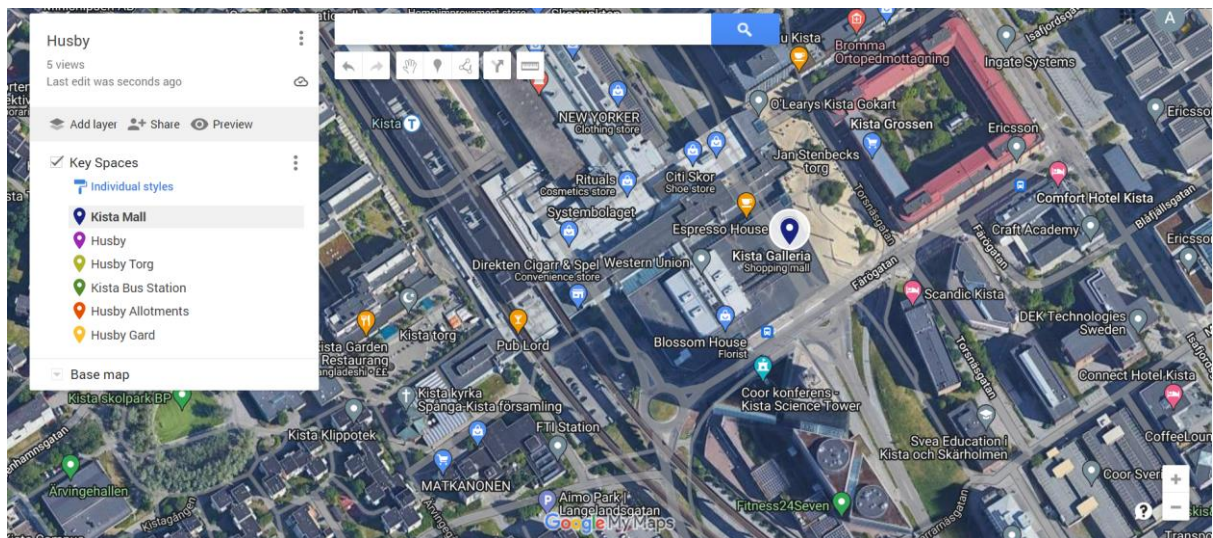
Figure 31: Photograph and Satellite Map of Kista Mall
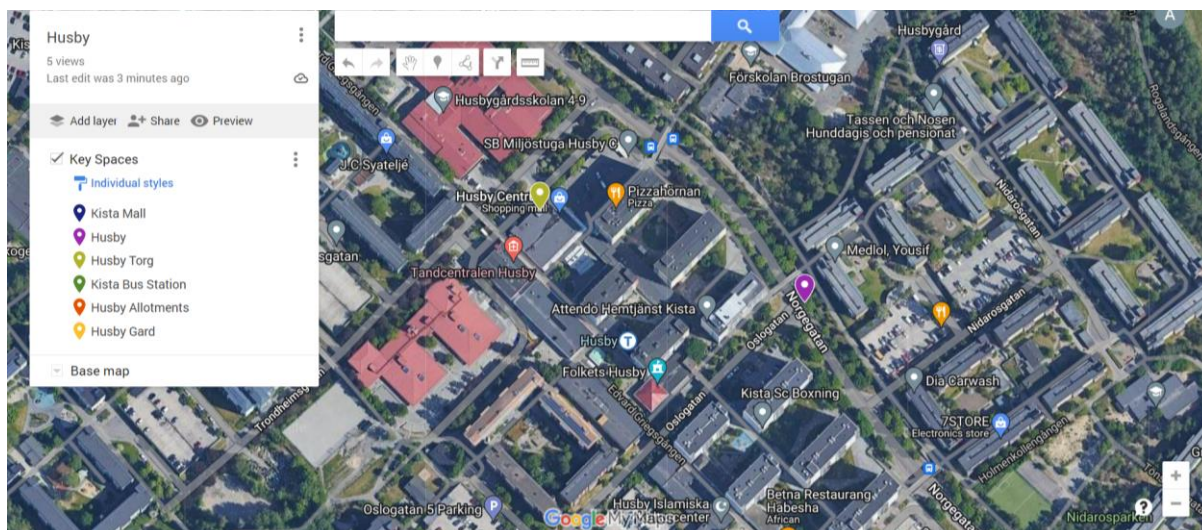
Figure 32: Satellite Map of Husby

6.3.1. Kista Mall: understanding their (criminalized) categorisation as "Immigrant" women

"I guess that 'Karen' said something about me" (Mia)

The term Karen is a slang-term used to refer to white, middle-class, racist women (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2022; Chavez & Hill, 2021; Negra & Leyda, 2021). In this context, it is used by Mia with reference to a recent incident in Kista Shopping Centre where, '*Those Karen's [Swedish women] had staff walking behind me'*. Bibiana alludes to similar experiences, explaining how friends from Husby were asked to leave shops due to the assumption that 'they' (immigrant women) would be unable to afford the clothing and were therefore likely to steal, making "Swedish" women feel uncomfortable in their presence. Branden (2022, 74) describes similar acts of exclusion in her study of security guards in Swedish malls, noting how 'socially marginalised' groups were managed due to their perceived risk to 'the public'. The attention of Branden's work, however, remains focused on the acts of security guards, interested in how they act as figures of protection in the void of welfare state, leaving the perceptions of 'Swedish women' and the 'socially marginalised' unaddressed (Becket and Herbert, 2008; Branden, 2022; Saarikkomäki, 2017). Whilst these encounters – described by participants and Branden (2022) – emerge as more overt examples of racial profiling, most encounters were more subtle than those described above. Rather than being followed or asked to leave the premises, Bibiana explains, '*Sometimes, you can just tell by the way that a Swedish woman looks at you'*. Whether it be through more subtle gazes or overt actions, the effects of these encounters were clear. Drawing on notions of meta-stereotyping (Vorauer, 1991), participants become conscious of their external categorisation as "immigrant" women

and the associated stereotypes of criminality in "Swedish" spaces of consumption that rendered them out-of-place and hyper-visible (Shaker, 2021).

Similar to their experiences of harassment by "Swedish" men (6.2.2), these encounters were downplayed by "Swedish" women. When addressed in Kista's focus group, Abigail describes the encounter discussed above as *"potentially plausible"*. Her response is indicative of how "Swedish" women police the boundary between the "immigrant" minority and "Swedish" majority in an attempt to protect the latter's reputation as anti-racist against a backdrop of Nordic exceptionalism (Christensen, 2009; Keskinen et al., 2009; Mulari, 2020). It was at this point however, that Margit interjects, *"I think I could steal. I could get away with it a lot more because I don't look like someone who is going to steal"*. The focus group fell silent at that point. I also paused for a moment, taken aback by the openness of her observation. In my research diary, I later reflected on that moment of silence, why did her honesty feel awkward for the rest of the group? In that moment, Margit had openly acknowledged how women were stereotyped to act in certain ways depending on their appearance and behaviour, directly alluding to the importance of 'first impressions'. Here, she had admitted how categorisations of "immigrant" and "Swedish" women were imbued with value judgements, in this case, referring to the former's likelihood to steal and the latter's likelihood to be a victim or at least, innocent. Racialised and classed structures and their associated stigmas were cast open wide. What was more jarring, was how she acknowledged this as a 'loophole'. Margit did not show mere passive awareness but rather clear considerations of actively exploiting these structures. Following her comment, Abigail proceeds to flippantly acknowledge. *"Profiling seems to be a problem"*. Her change in perspective, following Margit's reflections, reiterates how knowledge claims are doubted when voiced by "immigrant" women yet taken as fact when discussed amongst "Swedish" women.

In response to her experience above, Mia preferred shopping in 'Kista Grossen' or more local shops in Husby, adopting practices of place-avoidance documented in earlier women's safety literatures (Valentine, 1992). In shops within Husby, she moves through partially invisible where she is read as belonging and is known to belong, to the perceived majority of "immigrant" (Husby) residents, albeit she remains partially conscious of her gendered visibility. Here, one can identify a similar pattern to that discussed above with "Swedish" men (6.2.1), where Husby participants confront their external categorisation by "Swedes" and respond through place-avoidance and their assertion of local self-identifications and shared

belonging. In this space however, they are understood to become conscious of their stereotype as 'criminal shop-lifters' in contrast to their sexualisation by "Swedish" men. This reveals how specific stereotypes associated with their categorisation as "immigrant" women, depend on the identity of the passer-by or categoriser in this scenario, and the underlying space, in question (Shaker, 2021).

More broadly, the criminalisation of "immigrant" women by "Swedish" women has gone unacknowledged in existing scholarly accounts in favour of researching "immigrant" men whose racial profiling in public spaces has been well documented in Sweden and the Nordic context (Birk Haller et al., 2020; Bursell, 2012; Lofstrand & Uhnoo, 2014; Pettersson, 2013; Schclarek Mulinari & Keskinen, 2022; Solhjell et al., 2019). It is likely that these encounters have gone amiss due to the framing of shopping centres and more broadly, spaces of consumption as 'safe feminine spaces' where women are understood to have relative freedom to engage in socialising and strolling (Dreyer & McDowall, 2012; Greenberg-Raanan & Avni, 2020; Kern, 2021). This reinstates the flaws of current research that approaches women's perceptions through a homogenised lens, ignorant of intersectional tendencies. In addition, the more subtle nature of their discrimination leads their experiences to be dismissed as less important than "immigrant" men whose discrimination often involves physical aggression (Philipson, 2016). Koskela (2019, 319) for example, writes, "Female migrants seem to get a gentler reception', later arguing (323), "The great disadvantages amongst the skilled migrants in Finland seem to be experienced male skilled migrants with unfavourably viewed, visible ethnicities". In contrast to these representations, this thesis points to the importance of considerations of 'policing' of "immigrant" women by white women and security guards that have hitherto myopically received limited attention due to scholars' focus on intersections between racialisation and masculinity that garner a discourse of suspicion (Philipson, 2016).

6.3.2. Husby: Understanding their (victim) categorisation as "immigrant" women

Alongside their criminalisation, "immigrant" women were more often confronted with their stereotypes as 'passive victims' of "immigrant" men's presumed abuse, the nature of which has been detailed in depth in chapter five. These views led to the implementation of projects by Swedish female academics who intended to make Husby's public spaces safer for "immigrant" women (Arlemo, 2017; Hansson et al., 2013). Participants recounted seeing "Swedish" women walking through Husby's public space, visiting for meetings with local

organisers. Mia reflected, '*You know, it is unusual to see them here, they are usually too scared to visit'.* In this quote, she refers to how "Swedish" women normally resort to place-avoidance due to their fears of "immigrant" men, fuelled by media and government sources or in Hammarby's case, local Facebook Groups (See: 5.7). More importantly however, Mia's quote draws attention to how Husby participants are conscious of their presence, alluding to their ability to differentiate between "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) women. Bibiana expands on this, '*They [Swedish women] are easy to spot. They are hella white'.* Her reference to '*hella white'* was initially interpreted as a reference to their skin colour given it was previously established as a boundary-marker between "immigrants" and "Swedes", and 'Husby residents' and 'outsiders' (See: 6.2.3). She later elaborated, '*You know, they just seem scared and on edge. They have heard all the stereotypes'.* In this case, whiteness was not only associated with a specific appearance but rather a set of behaviours or opinions. Her emphasis on behaviour continues to challenge current literature that narrowly conceptualises racialisation and whiteness, reducing them to readings of skin colour, and failing to acknowledge the broader extra-corporeal registers through which ideas of whiteness inform valuations of national identity (Clarke, 2021, 4).

Beyond initial identification processes, "Swedish" women's visits to Husby were followed by the implementation of 'feminist' projects. In her walking interview, Barbara described a recent project, 'Knitting Project' where "immigrant" women were encouraged to 'knit' in Husby's public space to challenge its appropriation by men. During its planning process, local women were invited to voice their thoughts in 'collaborative meetings' where they voiced several criticisms, most notably that their engagement with 'first-world activities' including knitting and handicraft, would reinforce assumptions regarding gendered behaviours in non-Western societies (Listerborn, 2013). Despite their criticisms, the project went ahead, showing the aforementioned framing as 'collaborative' to be little more than a token gesture. As Naaz reflected, '*They think, 'I will do this place better'. But who are you, what do you know about this place, and have you asked what we want?'* Not only were the voices of "immigrant" women silenced in these projects, but the solutions forwarded by "Swedish" women, reproduced stereotypes of 'passive' "immigrant" women abused by "immigrant" men, despite the reality of their experiences (6.2). These feminist projects were somewhat akin to a rephrasing of Spivak's (1993, 93) claim, 'White men saving brown women from brown men', yet instead here one sees, 'white *women* saving brown women from brown men' leading to

their marginalisation (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014, 34, italics; Bredstrom, 2003; Cheung-Judge, 2016; Ware, 1992).

During walking interviews, the process of these projects and the remnants left behind in public space, served as a reminder of their categorisation as "immigrant" women, in this case, as 'passive women' that 'need to be saved' (Clarke 2021; Simonsen, de Neergaard & Koefoed, 2019). These findings reiterate the importance of 'indirect encounters' or what Swanton (2007) refers to as 'more-than-human encounters' where exposure to the urban environment triggers particular recollections which in this case, reminds them of how "Swedes" understand and perceive them (Mulari, 2020; Simonsen et al., 2019; Wilson, 2013). Whilst they discuss their framing as 'criminals' by "Swedish" women in "Swedish" spaces, they also describe their framing by the same women as 'victims' in "immigrant" spaces, revealing how their categorisation gained diverse meanings in different settings (Anthias, 2012; McKay, 2021; Shaker, 2021). Irrespective of the setting, they expressed frustration at their external categorisation that rests in tension with their self-identification as "Swedish" women and hence, as equals. Their unbelonging as "immigrants" and subsequent gendered representations as 'shop-lifters' and 'passive victims' incited them to channel their sense of belonging into their self-identification as not only "immigrant" (Husby) residents but "immigrant" (Husby) women.

6.3.3. Kista Mall and Husby: response: 'we are 'Husby' women'

Naaz draws attention to a recent local organisation - referred to as 'Rinkeby Mothers' - where a group of "immigrant" (Husby) mothers patrolled the neighbourhood, offering support to teenagers who gather in public space. Until now, this community support has gone undiscussed in broader scholarship, focused on formal modes of policing (Birk Haller et al., 2020; Herz, 2019; Lofstrand & Uhnoo, 2014; Pettersson, 2013; Solhjell et al., 2019; Thapar-Bjorket et al., 2009). Bibiana expands on this, *"I never needed them as my parents had enough money to be able to pay for childcare, but a lot of my friends saw them around. They offer support to teenagers who gather in public space".* Most residents' working-class status meant that they neither had enough funds or time to provide childcare or other forms of social support. This social support had a uniquely gendered aspect where it was undertaken by women or more specifically, 'mothers' in the community (See: Listerborn, 2013, for discussion of Husby's women-only community events). Very few scholars have addressed the significance of 'motherly' identities in relation to everyday negotiations of Swedish public space. Amongst

these exceptions, Lilja (2015) explores white "Swedish" mothers and their decision to avoid schools in neighbourhoods with 'children with too many immigrant backgrounds'. Whilst her work importantly touches on issues of residential segregation, it fails to consider motherhood through the lens of women within the suburbs. At the time of writing, no research on the (positive) role of motherhood within the Swedish suburbs has been identified.

Beyond 'Rinkeby Mothers', Mia emphasised their roles in community projects at the 'Folketshus', their local community centre. Whilst "immigrant" women were believed to be stereotyped by "Swedish" women as 'passive', Husby participants contradicted these representations, highlighting their unique role in the community. Their reduced presence in public space, often used by "Swedes" as evidence of their passive nature, was instead explained by "immigrant" (Husby) women with reference to their hyper-visibility in more hidden, semi-public community spaces (Baird, 2014). This is revealing of how the same features of their environment are interpreted in different ways by differently-situated women, in line with different national and local structures of belonging (Jaffe, 2020). Bibiana further explained, '*No one sees the Mums in the neighbourhood in public space, as they are always working within these community spaces'*. Demands regarding the everyday act of contributing – children's activities, volunteering - are most commonly explored through the literatures on active citizenship positioned in relation to *national* belonging (Aarset, 2018; Dahlstedt et al., 2017; Percy-Smith, 2015). Here however, "immigrant" (Husby) women's active community participation is framed as an important aspect of their *local* belonging, in particular, drawing attention to its gendered attributes.

Later, Mia reflects on her attendance of community meetings, '*Before the pandemic when I attended meetings, it was clear that everybody stops and listens when women speak during meetings…Mothers are seen as the pillar of the community'.* According to Mia, mothers are active in community activities and hence, treated with respect by other Husby men and women, leading to their protection in individual encounters and neighbourhood surveillance networks. Combined, her insights emerged as a clear gendered example of a 'normative inversion' strategy where their identity as "immigrant" women was transformed from a symbol of oppression into one of power due to their community role (Haghverdian, 2009; Slooter, 2019; Wimmer, 2008a). Their proud identity as 'Husby' women emerges as a distinctly gendered aspect of their overarching collective 'normative inversion' strategy where they seek to transform their negative 'identity content' as "immigrant" women – imagined at the

national scale – into positive attributes as 'Husby women' – at the local scale. My use of the term 'positive' is contentious as whilst Husby women are viewed with more respect in the local setting in contrast to their experiences of fetishization in "Swedish" spaces, I simultaneously question why "immigrant" (Husby) men need not actively contribute in order to gain recognition from others in everyday encounters and neighbourhood networks. One could hypothesise that women's general unbelongings in public space led to implicit expectations of contributions, the likes of which should not be normalised, hence, my subsequent caution around their self-proclaimed positive self-identification as "immigrant" (Husby) women. With this in mind, the next sections shall continue to explore the impact of this gendered distinction for their perceived (un)safety.

6.3.4. Kista Mall and Husby: summary

Against this backdrop, I have explored how Husby participants become conscious of their external categorisation as "immigrant" women during their everyday encounters. Drawing on notions of 'meta-stereotyping' (Vorauer, 1991), this section considered how subtle gazes, verbal interactions, and acts of touch, allude to their positioning as "immigrant" women. This provides important insights into how boundary-making strategies are experienced in everyday situations that have otherwise been neglected in more 'zoomed-out' interactionist studies (Juhila, 2004). The exact connotations of their 'external categorisation' are constructed in the moment of the encounter, depending on the identity of the categoriser and categorised and the underlying space, leading them to be seemingly criminalised, pitied, or victimised, for example (Lapina, 2018). Conflict between their external categorisation as "immigrant" women and self-identification as "Swedish" women, leads them to construct an alternative local belonging as 'Husby' residents. This emerges as a spatial fix for their national unbelonging as "immigrants", enabling them to inhabit social space in the Swedish context (Pettersson 2013, 420; Runfors, 2016). Subsequent discussions also revealed how this sense of belonging has a significant gendered aspect. Particular attention was placed on the role of mothers, who are treated with respect due to their community work within the neighbourhood, subsequently challenging stereotypes of 'passive' immigrant women. Whilst their self-identification as 'Husby' women is accepted within the local setting, their claims as "immigrant" (Husby) women is not recognised beyond this context, as made apparent through "Swedish" women's and 'foreigners' references to "immigrant" women in the past chapter (Clarke, 2020). One's ability to transform boundaries depends on one's social position and in this case, their

assertion as 'Husby' women is entwined with broader power relations (Duemmler et al., 2010; Osanami-Torngren, 2020; Wimmer 2008a).

Combined, both chapter five and six have revealed how "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) women sort through passers-by, categorising others during 'first impressions' (Erdal & Stromso, 2018). This chapter however, also illustrated how "immigrant" (Husby) women navigate local and national boundaries of belonging where they simultaneously act as the 'Husby' majority in "immigrant" (Husby) spaces and the "immigrant" minority in "Swedish" spaces, respectively. The above discussions respond to Dahinden's (2014, 313) call for the scrutinization of gendered representations in interactionist thought, yet more importantly call for intersectional approaches. Here, differently-situated women engage in very different ways with boundary-making approaches with "immigrant" women simultaneously emerging as the 'categoriser' or 'categorised' depending on the underlying power balance in relation to national and local boundaries of belonging.

6.4. Ethnic Hierarchies: Introduction

Informed by an intersectional framework, the next part of this chapter shall explore the category of "immigrant" (Husby) women which has hitherto been understood as a homogenous category. Whilst critical whiteness studies are lacking in the Swedish context, Sriskandarajah (2019) notes a greater dearth of research exploring local hierarchies of belonging at the neighbourhood scale. Conscious of this gap, Sriskandarajah (2019) set out to examine local belonging at the neighbourhood level, focusing on relations between youths with different ethnic backgrounds. Important for this study, participants drew attention to inter-ethnic tensions between black and Tamil youth that were otherwise eclipsed from the public eye and its focus on the national structures of belonging (ibid). These findings have implications for research into Stockholm's stigmatised suburbs which are often myopically represented as homogenous and harmonious, despite their ethnic diversity highlighted in the context chapter (See: 2.4.3) (Haikkola, 2011; Osanami-Torngren, 2020; Pettersson, 2013; Pred 2000; Runfors, 2016; Wacquant 2010).

In her conclusion, Sriskandarajah (2019, 277) raises the question, "What are the gendered and sexual particularities that young women face in their diverse neighbourhood?". Similar to other scholars (Slooter, 2019), Sriskandarajah's (2019) focus on youth unintentionally transcends into a study of teenage boys, leaving the voices of adolescent girls unaddressed,

to which she acknowledges as a limitation. Whilst her work lays the foundation for ground-breaking analysis of neighbourhood hierarchies of belonging, this section will move beyond her analysis through considering the gendered perspectives of "immigrant" (Husby) women in Husby. Although women in Husby point to a shared sense of belonging due to their non-whiteness and working-class, this section shall explore how ethnic differences intersecting within the group create a range of experiences which affect their perceived (un)safety (Koskela, 2020; Listerborn, 2013).

These discussions will be addressed through the lens of two spaces, Husby Square and Kista's Bus Station (See Figure 33 and 34). Despite their geographical distance, Kista's bus station was often understood by participants as an extension of Husby's square given it was reportedly dominated by the "*same group of Middle-Eastern immigrant men*", leading to their conflation in women's relief maps (See Figure 35) (Listerborn, 2013; Valentine, 1989). These spaces emerged as the most controversial spaces within Husby residents' 'mental maps' as they were deemed safe by some Husby participants yet framed as more unsafe by others (Valentine, 1989). These differences provide further impetus behind this study's intersectional framework as the same spaces were understood in different ways depending on the intersectional identity of the "immigrant" (Husby) woman, in spite of dominant theoretical approaches that view space through dichotomist understandings as safe or unsafe (See: 1.2.2) (Valentine, 2007). Against this backdrop, this section will explore differences within the "immigrant" (Husby) female perspective, addressed through the narratives of Bibiana, Mia and Sara. In keeping with interactionist thinking, I shall consider how participants are externally categorised by gatherings of "immigrant" (Husby) men and how they become conscious of this categorisation through meta-stereotyping. Attentive to their agency within local neighbourhood structures, each vignette will also consider how they respond to this categorisation in order to maintain their perceived safety.
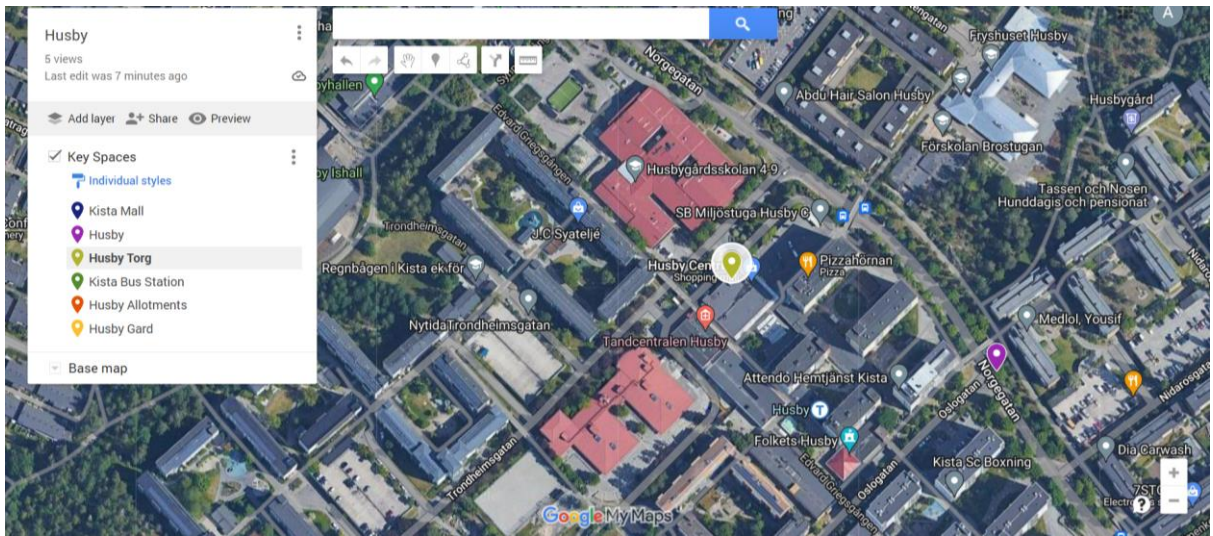
Figure 33: Photograph and Satellite Map of Husby Torg
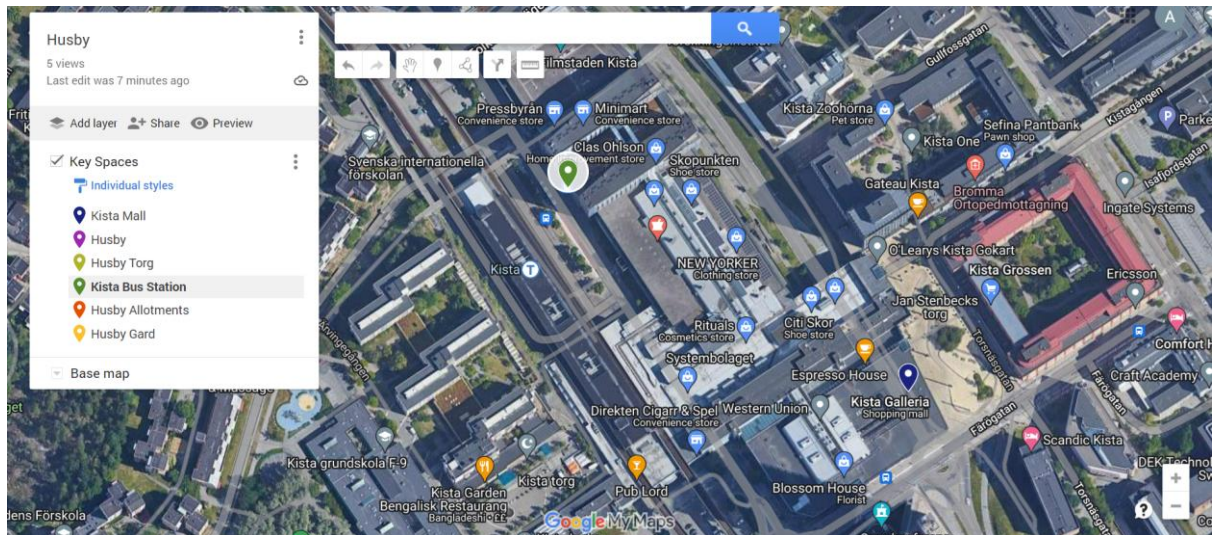
Figure 34: Photograph and Satellite Map of Kista Bus Station
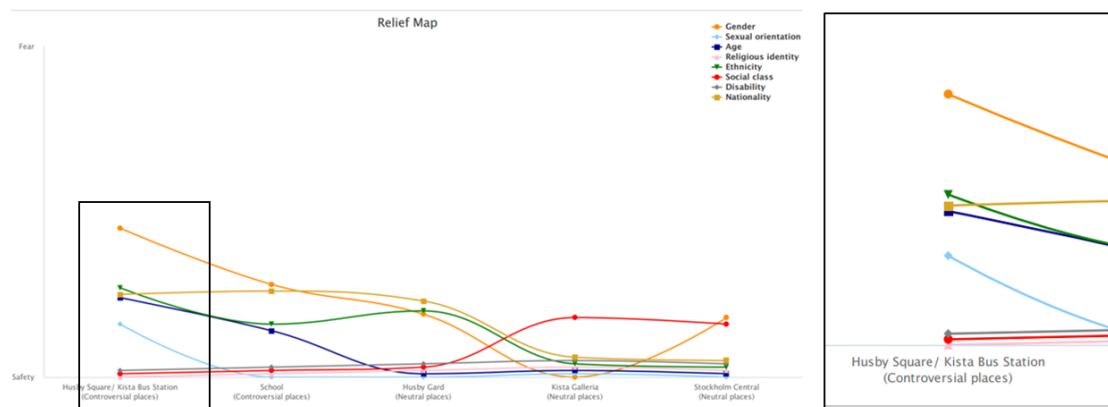
Figure 35: Conflation of Husby Square and Kista Bus Station in Sara's Relief Map

6.4.1. Husby Torg and Kista's bus station: Bibiana

"I used to go through the square and the station on my way back from school. I remember feeling really safe, as soon as I heard the use of Persian which is my mother tongue."

Here, Bibiana reflects on her commute home where she passes through the square and bus station. Upon entering these spaces, she recalls the sound of Persian to which she was in the process of learning due to her parents' Iranian background (Eliassi, 2013; Hallgren, 2005). This particular encounter redraws our attention to the importance of aural cues in women's everyday encounters or more specifically, 'first impressions' that otherwise go amiss in favour of analysing visual markers (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014; Shaker et al., 2021). In this context,

their shared use of Persian is seen to emerge as an aural marker of ethnic belonging, leading her to feel at ease due to their shared ethnic identification.

Upon moving closer, Bibiana explains that she often saw '*lots of Grandpas sitting'.* Her implied familiarity with the men sat socialising, marked a change in the type of encounter, from 'first impressions' to 'known encounters'. Elaborating upon her use of the term 'Grandpas', she explains that Iranians have a broad sense of family, moving beyond Westernised nuclear conceptions, to include any person with Middle-Eastern heritage who lives in the vicinity (Listerborn, 2013; Saggers & Sims, 2005). With reference to the 'Grandpas' above, she explains that some of these men were direct relations and others were known to her family yet there were always some whom she had never met. In this space, surrounded by these men, she recounts feeling safe as she explains, *'They always looked out for me and protected me as we are part of the same family'.* Her reference to 'family' as defined by ethnic group, complicates previous discussion of social control in Husby, where she earlier emphasised, '*We all have each other's backs like a family…'* (See: 6.2.5). Her perceived safety stems from their shared ethnic belonging which is primarily identified through known familial connections in contrast to 'first impressions' where the process of (social) identification relies on one's appearance and behaviour in the absence of interaction (Jenkins, 2012; Listerborn, 2013).

Whilst networks of social control are important for her perceived safety, she expresses frustration at its transition into '*hyper-policing'* of her everyday behaviours in relation to her bisexual orientation. In our walking interview, Barbara also provides an insight into this 'hyper-policing', '*I met this guy who came home to his family when he was like 15 and had pierced his ear, and he was spotted by someone in the community, and they were like, no,* no, *as they thought he was gay. They then took him to one of the older people in the community'.* Although this focus on sexual orientation is beyond the scope of this research, these narratives reiterate how Husby's social control not only involves the protection of local residents of the same ethnic community but can equally transcend into the dangerous terrains of the policing of difference. Similar behaviours were observed within the Parisian banlieues where Slooter (2019) describes how residents who do not follow the preferred identity content were policed by others in the community, emerging as a further consideration in future research.

6.4.2. Husby Torg and Kista's bus station: Mia

"I feel on edge. There are often local men sitting there, they are probably Middle-Eastern from what they look like, but I am not sure… I may not be Middle-Eastern, but I am still from Husby".

Mia recounts feeling '*on edge'* when crossing the square and station. Her heightened vigilance is attributed to the perceived gender (im)balance, detected from afar as she enters the space. Groups of men are often constructed as a source of threat for female passers-by due to women's presumed unbelongings in public space (Lupton, 1999; Radford, 2017; Roy & Bailey, 2021; Soljhell et al., 2019). Aside from this gender imbalance, her attention then turns to their ethnic identification. In the absence of any interaction, she relies on the men's racialised appearance and behaviour to make judgements on their ethnicity, to which she presumes is 'Middle-Eastern' (Erdal & Stromso, 2018; Jenkins, 2012). Here, the underlying power balance point in favour of the men, as confirmed by Mia's later observations, '*I am aware that they will see how much darker than them, I am a Somalian woman, so I stand out compared to them'*. In this case, her gendered *and* ethnic difference is understood to render her more visible and partially out-of-place in relation to the men sat socialising. In contrast to Bibiana, Mia's gendered fears are seemingly exacerbated by their presumed ethnic difference, revealing fractures within "immigrant" (Husby) residents.

The men's perceived categorisation of her as 'Somalian woman' aligns with her self-identification as 'Somalian' and hence, theoretically emerges as an example of 'harmonious' (social) identification (Haikkola, 2011). Her anxiety however, points to an important distinction that has not yet been explored. Whilst her external categorisation as a 'Somalian' is 'truthful', it is simultaneously '*negative'* in the sense that it draws attention to their ethnic differences. It is for this reason that Mia describes how she actively negotiates her presumed external categorisation as 'Somalian', primarily drawing upon strategies of 'boundary blurring' (Wimmer 2008a): '*If I wear my coaching gear, it tells them that I am part of a sport club. So, I feel that people look at me and they see someone who is really engaged in kids as well. If we are talking about my safety, I think they think that 'she is a good person, local and engaged in the community'.* Despite her gendered and ethnic difference, her visible coaching gear re-infers her connection to the broader community and hence, functions as a 'boundary blurring' strategy (Wimmer 2008a). Through this, she draws attention to her role as an "immigrant" (Husby) mother, an otherwise highly valued social identification in Husby (See: 6.3.3). She hence successfully draws men's attention away from her ethnic unbelongings – made visible through her racialised appearance and unfamiliarity with their use of Persian - to her broader

local identity as a "immigrant" (Husby) woman, an identification that supersedes aforementioned ethnic identifications. She describes reinforcing this (social) identification through greeting the men in Rinkeby-Svenska, marking its transition from 'first impressions' to 'prolonged encounters'. This second 'boundary-blurring' strategy is more closely linked to her identification as a Husby resident rather than as a Husby woman. Despite this, her use of these two strategies is indicative of how strategies are used in different combinations to reinforce positive self-identifications, challenging their previous conceptualisation as mutually-exclusive (Haikkola, 2011; Slooter 2019).

She later recounts how the men respond in Rinkeby-Svenska. For Mia, this otherwise subtle gesture is indicative of her temporary acceptance (Koskela, 2020; Migdal, 2004). Whilst her inability to communicate in Persian is believed to signal her ethnic unbelonging, their exchange in Rinkeby-Svenska seemingly cements their shared local belonging as "immigrant" (Husby) residents, leading her to feel temporarily in-place and safe. As Halse (2018) and Koskela (2020) previously argue, only after this recognition is achieved, can identity negotiations be considered for the time being complete, maintaining her (temporary) perceived safety. In this encounter, she demonstrates clear awareness and knowledge of local norms that are required for her acceptance and perceived safety. It is simultaneously revealing that the language of their social identification strategies is defined by their shared belonging as "immigrant" (Husby) residents that supersedes any internal ethnic fractures. Combined, this 'safety work' emerges as a clear example of what Lewellen (2002, 12) has previously referred to as 'cost-benefit manipulation'. Mia emphasises not only her right to self-definition but the right to be seen in a positive way by others with the broader aim to pass by without harassment, and to benefit from broader social networks of control.

She quickly adds, *'Just before we move on, I do still feel quite safe here, compared to you know, other spaces outside Husby'.* Before progressing, Mia reiterates that her perceived unsafety in the square and bus station is marginal compared to other "Swedish" spaces where she is categorised as an "immigrant" outsider in relation to national structures of belonging. Her explanations here, rest in contrast to her difficult navigations within "Swedish" spaces that opened this chapter. In 'Swedish spaces', the potential implications for misreading others or misjudging how she may be read, are far greater and can easily verge into harassment.

6.4.3. Husby Torg and Kista's bus station: Sara

Our attention finally turns to Sara's narratives, to which she precurses, '*My experiences really depend on who I am with'.* When she first started moving through these spaces alone, Sara recounts feeling '*eyes on my body'* that were often seen to be followed with sexualised and racialised gazes and comments (Roy & Bailey, 2021; Shaker, 2021). Her gendered and racial difference was deemed to render her more out-of-place and visible compared to Bibiana and Mia's relative ease. In response, she gradually learnt to overcome this sense of unbelonging through demonstrating her place-based belonging to the Husby community, somewhat similar to Mia's strategies. The exact nature of this response shall be explored in 6.6.3 due to her identification as a white, working-class woman in Husby.

Of greater importance for this section, was the difference in her reception when accompanied by her friend, Bibiana, whose experiences were outlined above (See: 6.4.1). Sara reflects, '*They don't stare anymore, they don't make any comments'.* Here, she feels that she is temporarily rendered less visible, her gendered and racialised difference are no longer read by "immigrant" (Husby) men as a source of tension. These contrasting encounters reveal the importance of another body's presence when moving through public space. The company of trusted others is widely recognised in women's safety scholarship, as previously discussed through the lens of dog ownership (See: 5.4.1), and more widely discussed, male company (Kern, 2021; Roy & Bailey, 2021; Vaadal, 2020). In this case however, it is a woman or more specifically, a Middle-Eastern woman, who seemingly alters Sara's reception, leading her to feel safer. Sara recounts, '*We have a saying here in Sweden, Arabs have their cousins, whereas what does a Swede have? Nothing'.* Through this comment, she highlights the importance of familial connections amongst Middle-Eastern residents where they are seen to protect one another, subsequently valuing close connections, in contrast to the individualistic connections seen as intrinsic to Swedish culture and spaces (Listerborn, 2013; Saggers & Sims, 2005). In this encounter, Bibiana's presence and their assumed friendship are understood to *temporarily* override the disadvantages that her visible difference would have brought, protecting Sara against any gendered, racialised harassment (Koobak & Thapark-Bjorkert, 2012; Koskela, 2020). Returning to this study's interactionist perspective, this scenario emerges as a prime example of 'selective attachment' where a new position is achieved through choosing with whom one associates, in order to demonstrate belonging to said group (Boccagni, 2014; Koskela 2021; Wimmer 2008). In his work on the Parisian suburbs, Slooter (2019) recollects one of his participants' observations, "My sister is doing fine, she is protected

by her brother. As long as there's family then everything is fine". In this example, Sara feels that she is protected due to her presumed friendship with a Middle-Eastern female, complicating previous insights established in previous scholarship that attest to the protective presence of *male* company (Kern, 2021; Roy & Bailey, 2021).

6.4.4. Ethnic hierarchies: summary

Whilst the first half of this chapter addressed how participants navigate power exercised from outside the neighbourhood, the second part of this chapter explored how power is simultaneously exerted within Husby (Kustermans, 2016). Although Husby and its "immigrant" residents are positioned as Swedish society's 'other', the narratives above illustrate how they do not form a coherent 'self' despite previous representations (Runfors, 2016; Kustermans, 2016). Runfors (2016) for example, optimistically concluded that tensions between ethnic minorities, witnessed ten years ago in her fieldwork, had largely subsided due to their shared identification as "immigrants". Whilst her focus on their 'positive' self-identification as "immigrants" is equally highly contestable (See: 6.2.2), my findings attest to ongoing ethnic antagonisms that have been hidden rather than erased through their overarching place-based identification as 'Husby' residents.

This section first demonstrated the importance of ethnicity in "immigrant" (Husby) women's everyday negotiations of public space in relation to their perceived (un)safety. For Bibiana, Mia and Sara, their (in)visibility in said space was seen to be dependent on their ethnic background, constructed in relation to the Middle-Eastern men sat socialising. Testament to their agency within local hierarchies of belonging, I explored how they managed their concomitant ethnic (in)visibility through 'social identification' strategies (Slooter, 2019; Wimmer, 2008a). Whilst Sara relied on Bibiana's company for temporary acceptance, Mia demonstrated her overarching local belonging to "immigrant" (Husby) social identity. The presumed success of Mia's strategies reveals the manner in which their broader social identification and shared local belonging as "immigrant" (Husby) women superseded any tensions regarding ethnic differences. The belongings discussed here are hence 'inescapably hierarchical' Clarke (2020, 104) in that local belongings as "immigrant" (Husby) residents are more important than ethnic belongings during their navigations of public space.

The attention of the three vignettes were confined to "immigrant" (Husby) women's encounters with 'Middle-Eastern' men in the square and bus station. Reminiscent of Nayak's

(2017, 297) racialised cartography, these spaces were coded as a 'Middle-Eastern' spaces in women's everyday mental maps (Amin, 2012; Valentine, 1989). Mia later mentions other spaces dominated by other ethnic groups, most notably 'African' spaces. Here, she describes feeling in-place and read as belonging, leading us to reflect on how ethnic differences are mapped onto different spaces within Husby, despite their overarching united emphasis on their shared belonging as "immigrant" (Husby) residents. In these spaces, Bibiana resorts to similar 'boundary-blurring' strategies, emphasising her overarching local belonging as an "immigrant" (Husby) woman with the aim to compensate for their ethnic differences. These cumulatively emerge as prime examples of what was referred to as 'cost-benefit manipulation' where women emphasise their ethnic *or* overarching place-based identification depending on the space and its users (Lewellen, 2002, 12; Koskela 2020, 31). Here, different situations trigger different articulations of belonging, and boundary-making strategies.

Few scholars have recognised the situational, dynamic nature of belonging and concomitant 'boundary-making strategies' (For exceptions, See: Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019; Lamont & Mizrachi, 2019; Morosanu & Fox, 2013). Instead, current interactionist research constructs boundary-making typologies as mutually exclusive and more importantly, aspatial, devoid of any considerations of how (combinations of) strategies may be used across diverse contexts. Even amongst work that recognises their 'situational' nature, their focus on individual personality traits (Witte, 2018) or broader national institutions (Lamont & Mizrachi, 2015) come at the expense of any considerations of features within and between neighbourhoods that influence the boundary-making strategies used by women during their everyday navigations of public space (See: 3.3.6). Through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety, it is hence important to acknowledge how differently-situated participants navigate segregated spaces coded as 'Middle-Eastern' or 'African' across their neighbourhood, revealing their experiences and negotiations of ethnic hierarchies within their overarching social identification as "immigrant" (Husby) women. The next section, however, shall turn to spaces, used by all ethnic groups, that are subject to a different dynamic to the segregated spaces discussed above. It was in spaces of 'inter-cultural mixing' (Sriskandarajah 2019, 272) where it was possible to better gauge the relational aspects of difference or more specifically, ethnic tensions within their overarching place-based belonging.

6.5. Ethnic Hierarchies and Stereotypes

"I thought I would start here. I will just turn my camera around, this is the allotments that feels less safe straight away, there is not much to do but sit and look after the allotments....I will continue around the corner to Husby Gard, it is the social area of Husby so we will probably see lots of people as it is a beautiful day. There is a play area, a café and grilling area. It feels very safe here. You see Middle-Easterners and Somalians in both spaces, but they just feel very different". (Naaz)

A sudden change can be identified in Naaz's walking interview as we walk from what she refers to as 'Husby Allotments' to 'Husby Gard' (See Map). Similar to participants' experiences on the tram platform (5.2), women's perceived (un)safety frequently underwent dramatic changes in quick proximities. This rests in contrast to dominant representations in the current scholarship on women's safety, described in 1.2.2, which favour binary representations of entire neighbourhoods as safe or unsafe, hiding a wealth of intricacies within their perimeters (Muller & Fischer, 2015). In this particular context, their shared similarities as ethnically-mixed spaces make this change in women's perceived (un)safety even more surprising. In contrast to Husby Torg and Kista Mall, Husby Allotments and Husby Gard are both used by 'Middle-Eastern', and 'Somalian' (or African) groups yet are understood as vastly different spaces in women's relief maps (Valentine, 1989). Against this backdrop, this section will explore women's experiences in each space in the hope to shed more light on this paradox. Initial discussions of Husby Allotments in 6.5.1 will build on our preliminary understandings of ethnic tensions that hitherto have only been described as 'negative'. The next section, 6.5.2, shall explore how "immigrant" (Husby) women negotiate ethnic tensions in relation to their perceived (un)safety. This discussion paves the way for subsequent comparisons between the two spaces (6.5.3), pointing to the ways ethnic tensions play out in different ways across ethnically-mixed spaces, the nature of which emerges as key for the issue of women's perceived (un)safety.
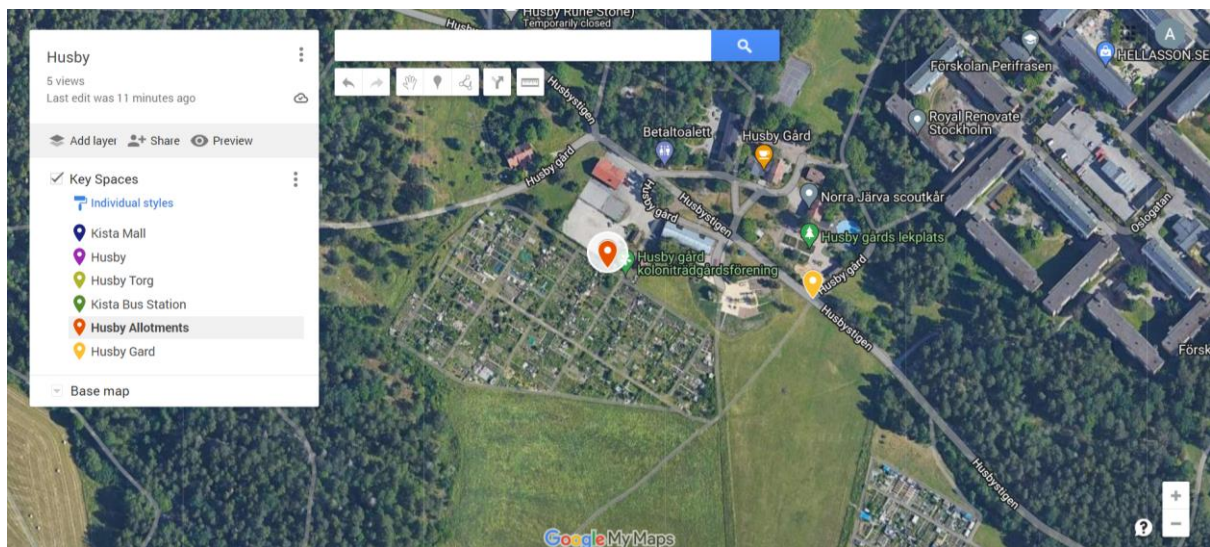
Figure 36: Photograph and Satellite Map of Husby Allotments
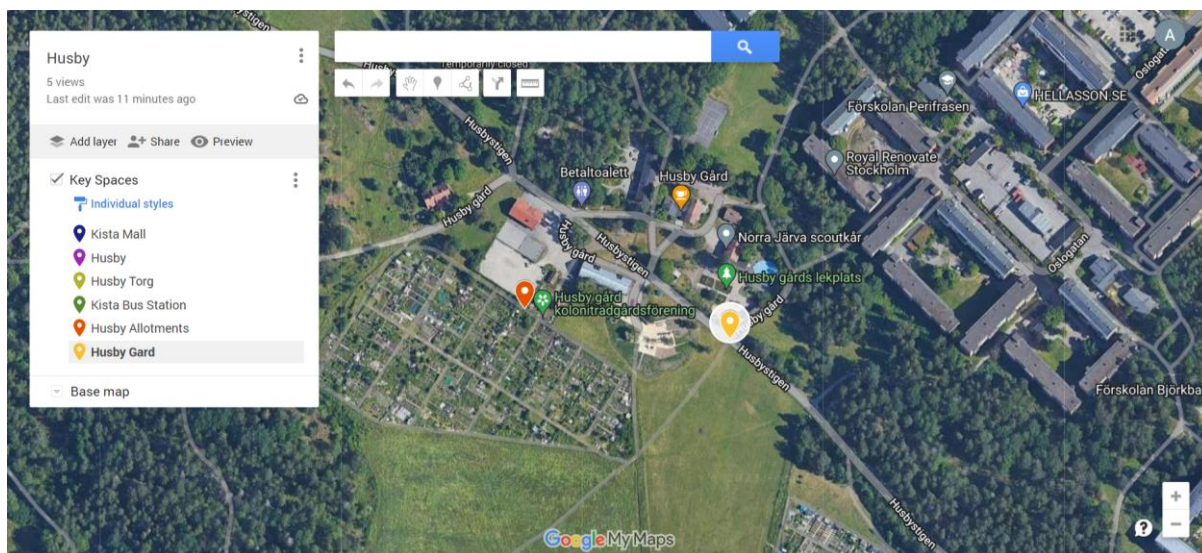
Figure 37: Photograph and Satellite Map of Husby Gard

6.5.1. Husby allotments: inter-ethnic stereotypes

"The owners of the allotment across us were both Middle-Eastern. Deeper into the allotment where Grandpa's allotments were, that was Middle-Eastern in the middle of the allotment. Yeah, I would say I felt very included and safe there as a young girl'. (Bibiana)

Bibiana reminisces over her childhood memories where she would sit with her 'Grandpas'. At this point, there were striking similarities to her descriptions of Husby Torg where her feelings of safety stemmed from their shared ethnic belonging, in this case, cemented through known connections. It was not until Mia's relief map however, that such similarities were quickly disbanded, writing in the comments section, *"There was a divide between African and Middle-Eastern circles. We used to sit separately"*. Further afield, beyond Bibiana's 'Middle-Eastern' group, were gatherings of Afro-Swedes or 'Africans', as Mia describes, who sat separately. In contrast to Husby Torg and Kista's bus station, the allotment's function as a garden attracted different ethnic groups, keen to grow their own produce and socialise in the summer nights. Despite its potential as a multicultural space, different ethnic groups proceeded to occupy distinct sections and for the most part, only socialised with their own group, revealing of how "hierarchy and inequality are represented directly spatiocorporeally" (Shaker et al., 2021, 11; Wilson, 2013). Micro-segregation at this scale is lesser addressed, with most scholars focusing on segregation across neighbourhood scales (See: Swedish literature on segregation in 2.3.1). One exception to this, is found in Askin and Pain's (2011, 318) study on community art, whereby they recall how "ethnically-homogenous cliques", including white-British born and

204

black African young people, initially kept to separate tables, staying in their group unless attempting to locate a resource not on 'their' table.

For Bibiana and Mia, this ethnic segregation was normalised due to their negative relations. Mia explained, '*Middle-Easterners are kind of racist towards us. When I grew up, I remember <u>hearing</u> things that some of them had said in the allotment like 'Why do Somalis only come out when it is dark outside?'. It was kind of fused into my head that they made fun of us".* Section 6.4.2 discussed Mia's tension when encountering Middle-Eastern men within the square and bus station, yet only at this point, do participants expand on the specific stereotypes behind this tension. Eliassi (2013, 163) emerges as one of few scholars that explores inter-ethnic tensions in the Swedish context. In his work, stereotypes on the part of Middle-Eastern communities are focused on romantic relations where 'Afro-Swedes' are rejected as marriage partners but accepted as sexual partners in exotic, sexual encounters (Eliassi, 2013; Haikkola, 2011; Macpherson & Stromgren, 2013). This rejection reveal how local hierarchies of belonging are entangled with national Swedish discourses of whiteness that not only position Middle-Easterners as superior due to their closer proximity to whiteness, but equally reproduce long-standing framings of women of colour as hyper-sexual (Eliassi, 2013, 164; Ajrouch & Kusow, 2007; Hubinette & Tigervall, 2009; Listerborn, 2013). Lesser discussed, albeit equally present in this study, was the discrimination of Middle-Eastern communities by Afro-Swedes. Bibiana explains, *"I remember <u>seeing</u> them, and my dad said to be careful, they think we are sneaky and not to be trusted".* Tantamount to meta-stereotyping (Vorauer et al., 1991), Bibiana is conscious of stereotypes of her own ethnic group, providing an insight into the stereotypes levied at Middle-Easterners, used to construct social boundaries (Eliassi, 2013, 161). Combined, Mia and Bibiana's discussion further exposed the negative relations between different ethnic groups, fuelled by stereotypes that inform the hostile encounters discussed in section 6.4.

What made these encounters of particular significance, was how the bringing together of different ethnic groups, encouraged the policing of ethnic boundaries, and an explicit naming of ethnic stereotypes in ways not witnessed in Husby Torg and Kista Bus Station. If I redraw one's attention to previous quotes, Mia recalls *overhearing* comments made towards her ethnic group and Bibiana's father warns her of Afro-Swedes after having *watched* them from afar. It is hence their physical proximity within the same space, that actively encourages their overt discussion of inter-ethnic stereotypes. Their close encounters have the exact opposite

effect as optimistically envisaged in Allport's (1954) contact theory, and more broadly, geographies of encounter scholarship, whereby frequent encounters are seen to dissipate ethnic tensions (See: 3.3.3) (Amin, 2002). In this case however, I do not seek to argue that close encounters change the nature of the underlying ethnic relations, as encounters appear similarly tense within Husby Torg, Kista Bus Station and Husby's allotments. Instead, close encounters render these tensions more visible and cast open the stereotypes that underlie them.

Important for this research however, not all participants mentioned these stereotypes when discussing the allotments. Bibiana explains, "*Some want to protect our image*". Participants' solidarity to their social identification and local belonging as Husby residents, often translated into an unwillingness to discuss any internal ethnic hierarchies of belonging, especially to an outsider such as myself. It was felt that discussions of experiences of tension would add to the already significant discrimination used by Swedes to oppress "immigrants" (Fileborn, 2016; Vickers, 1996 for similar processes amongst LGBTQI communities). All participants were in agreement that their local belonging to Husby as a community, superseded any other form of belonging, in this case, at the expense of recognising pressing ethnic tensions. Testament to Husby's unique dynamic, these findings are somewhat uncommon, given participants in other studies tend to prioritise their ethnic belonging over other social identifications (Eliassi, 2013; Sriskandarajah, 2019).

6.5.2. Husby allotments: gendered consequences

The significance of these ethnic tensions for women's perceived (un)safety has not yet been addressed, despite its evident importance given Naaz's perceived unsafety. To better understand this, I shall revert our attention to Bibiana's discussion of stereotypes levied at the Middle-Eastern community from African ethnic groups. Here, she recalled the paternalistic advice offered by her father, revealing how social boundaries are enacted through what Sriskandarajah (2019, 271) terms 'intergenerational transmission'. The gendered nature of this observation becomes strikingly apparent when aligned with her later comments, '*They [male relatives] were allowed to run like mad but we were told not to go too far away and stay away from the other men in the sections, as they could be dangerous*'.

According to Bibiana, the aforementioned ethnic stereotypes were mostly communicated to young girls, having an impact on their subsequent negotiation of the public space within the

allotment (Lupton, 1999; Stanko, 1990). Whilst male relatives and friends were seen to be left unsupervised and free to move between different micro-spaces within the allotment, her and her female friends were encouraged to stay with their 'Grandpas' who would then oversee their behaviour. The nature and consequences of ethnic stereotypes are hence firmly gendered, stemming from young women's perceived vulnerability in public space and subsequent greater visibility. With hindsight, she frames these gendered stereotypes as a way to control their movements of young girls for the supposed benefit of their safety. Their restricted movement emerges as a prime example of Valentine's (1989, 389) 'spatial expression of the patriarchy'.

Important for this study's intersectional framework, Bibiana contrasts her restricted behaviour with her older female relatives who were either absent in the allotments, undertaking community work (6.3.4), or if present, navigated these spaces in similar ways as described by Mia in Husby Torg and Kista Bus Station. Whilst women emphasised their ethnic belonging with their own ethnic groups in their separate section, their use of Rinkeby-Svenska and attempts to *'look bold and not scared'* when moving amongst men from different ethnic groups, was positioned as testament to their shared self-identification and local belonging as "immigrant" (Husby) residents. The differences between their 'safety work' reveals how ethnicity, gender, and age intersect in diverse ways, generating different experiences for young and older "immigrant" (Husby) women (Koskela, 2019). Here, it became possible to draw parallels between the strategies discussed in section 6.4, yet at a finer scale within different sections of the same space, pointing to women's impressive ability to navigate local hierarchies of belonging. Combined, insights into the allotments provide a somewhat cynical picture of a segregated albeit multi-cultural space, where hierarchies between ethnic groups are 'brightened' and play out across its segregated, micro-spaces.

6.5.3. Husby Gard

Whilst ethnic segregation was deemed necessary for women's perceived (un)safety in the allotments, women here were more likely to mix freely with residents of different ethnic background within Husby Gard. Ethnic tensions, starkly apparent in the adjacent space, were described as *temporarily* invisible. Naaz recounted, *'You see Mothers chatting with one another, fathers playing with their children. People are always doing so many different things, there is a great atmosphere as people are keen to get involved in different activities and socialise with others'.* Against this backdrop, all participants described feeling very safe, and

for a brief period, not having to monitor passers-by and their surrounding environment for any changes that may threaten their safety.

To better understand the differences between Husby Gard and Allotments, I will revert our attention to previous discussions of the courtyard and salmon steps in Hammarby Sjöstad (See: 5.8). These spaces were respectively referred to as 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces, referring to their ability to render (in)visible hierarchies of belonging within 'Swedishness' (McKay, 2021). In this context, I draw parallels between the courtyard and Husby's allotments due to their shared functions as 'bright' spaces in relation to hierarchies of belonging. I use this label to highlight how Husby Allotment drew attention to, and rendered visible, ethnic tensions within "immigrant" (Husby) residents' hierarchies of belonging. Whilst its function as a garden plot was understood to attract differently-situated residents from across the suburb – a step beyond Hammarby's courtyard, its monofunctional nature was believed to do little to *temporarily* overcome ethnic tensions, providing no reason for passers-by to interact beyond their ethnic group, maintaining power geometries. In contrast to McKay's (2021) binary-conceptualisation of 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces, these concepts are better understood as part of a continuum whereby Hammarby's courtyard can be understood as 'brighter' than Husby's allotments in relation to its hierarchies of belonging.

In contrast, Husby Gard's mixed design not only attracted differently-situated individuals but also seemingly temporarily eased ethnic tensions, encouraging residents to interact with one another where they became distracted and engaged with different activities. Combined, mixed designs with diverse individuals *and* diverse activities, led women to feel *temporarily* relaxed, not having to monitor their environment and its passers-by, or quickly adapt their behaviour in case of a potential threat. Within policy, simplifications are welcomed, and any exceptions are discouraged in fear that nuance may discourage clear action. It is hence tempting to assert the value of mixed design or 'blurry spaces' for women's perceived (un)safety, yet clarity and rules come at the expense of some. To explain this, it is important to note that a similar space was found within Kista, known as 'Kista Gard'. Similar to Husby Gard, a range of activities were on offer, including a smaller allotment, sports courses, and a dog park. At first glance, this space appeared to operate in a similar manner to Husby Gard whereby its range of activities diverted attention away from '*who one was'* to '*what one was doing'*. Any ethnic tensions were temporarily ignored through shared purpose and subsequent distraction, leading "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) women to report feeling very safe,

not having to revert to any social identification strategies. This narrative, however, was ruptured by Bibiana, who attests that '*Some people in my community didn't feel that safe there'*.

In section 5.4.1, Margit explained that '*only Swedes have dogs for pets'* whilst Middle-Eastern immigrants were often understood as more reticent due to issues of disease associated with stray dogs within their home countries. The dog park is mostly dominated by "Swedes", hence, emerging as an extension of "Swedish" neighbourhoods dominated by Swedish norms and values. I hence highlight the importance of mixed space with a caveat, with a note to emphasise the importance of an intersectional lens when considering mixed-use 'blurry' designs. Mixed designs appeared to temporarily alleviate women's perceived (un)safety as they temporarily hide ethnic tensions or more broadly, hierarchies of belonging, that inform women's everyday encounters. However, one must be simultaneously careful of the type of activities and spaces included within mixed designs, as not all spaces are inclusive and hence, not all mixed 'blurry' designs are intersectional. Whilst Beebeejaun (2017) and Roy and Bailey (2021) issue similar cautions regarding the gendered nature of urban planning, the intersectional dimensions of urban planning have gone unrecognised, leading us to encourage urban planners to take note of intersectionality when designing mixed 'blurry' spaces (Sandercock, 2000; Yates, 2021).

6.5.4. Ethnic hierarchies and stereotypes: summary

Far from navigating their perceived (un)safety in similar ways, I have explored how "immigrant" (Husby) women have different experiences in Husby, learning to navigate and negotiate different spaces across their neighbourhood. Against this backdrop, I explored how women learn to navigate local hierarchies of belonging within the neighbourhood that are gendered in their nature and consequences. This hence reinstates how notions of belonging are firmly entangled with women's perceived (un)safety, used as a means to predict and respond to any potential threat. Armed with ethnic stereotypes, women are encouraged to restrict or adapt their behaviour in public space, underlying how they are made responsible for their own safety.

Looking closely at these strategies, participants used different 'social identification' strategies across different spaces. First, our attention turned to monofunctional 'bright' spaces that were dominated by one ethnic group, including Husby Torg and Kista's Bus Station. Here,

participants emphasised their overarching self-identification and shared belonging as "immigrant" (Husby) residents if encountering individuals with a different ethnic background or asserted their self-identification and shared ethnic belonging if encountering people from the same ethnic background. Women hence learnt to expertly navigate different spaces across their neighbourhood, balancing competing claims of ethnic and local neighbourhood belonging in order to 'blend in' with the perceived majority. This contrasts with Cristina's navigations of 'bright' spaces within Hammarby where she sought to pass as "Swedish" through reducing boundaries with "Swedes" in relation to national hierarchies of belonging, whilst simultaneously maintaining national boundaries of belonging through her explicit stigmatisation of the Roma and other immigrants. Absent in her narratives, are any strategies of 'boundary blurring', testament to Hammarby's extreme homogeneity that makes 'boundary-crossing' or more specifically, passing, the only option. Second, I then turned to Husby Allotments where similar strategies were also observed yet at a finer scale. Women proceeded to resort to 'boundary-blurring' strategies as they negotiated different patches occupied by men with different ethnic backgrounds. Whilst the allotments attracted 'Middle-Easterners' and 'Africans', its monofunctional design failed to encourage any mixing leading to the same segregation witnessed in Husby Torg and Kista's Bus Station. These spaces are collectively framed as 'bright' spaces where hierarchies of belonging are rendered hyper-visible. Third, the final section considered Husby Gard where its mixed nature led to its classification as a 'blurry space'. In this space, women reported to feel very safe and no boundary-making strategies or 'safety work' were practiced, in contrast to the depth and complexity of strategies discussed above. Through this discussion, I by no means wish to construct a typology given such constructions risk ignoring the messiness of real life that feminists have sought to challenge. Instead, I seek to emphasise the importance of 'blurry spaces' for differently-situated women's perceived (un)safety given it was in Husby Gard – and the Salmon Steps in Hammarby Sjöstad – where differently-situated women felt most at ease. This was largely attributed to its mixed design that not only attracted different ethnic groups across the neighbourhood, but also encouraged socialising between differently-situated individuals. Its mixed, multifunctional design temporarily drew attention away from "immigrant" (Husby)'s hierarchies of belonging, leading to its classification as a 'blurry' space.

In light of discussions above, this emphasis on the importance of mixed design must be treated with caution given it must be understood through an intersectional framework that considers

the type of space and how this may affect differently-situated individuals (Yates, 2021). Of equal importance is an emphasis that urban design is only part of a short-term solution, hence, explaining my emphasis on the *temporary* (in)visibility of ethnic difference in the previous section. Whilst ethnic tensions are always present, they are temporarily rendered more or less visible depending on the nature of space. Although mixed space emerges as a short-term solution through hiding ethnic tensions, its usage does not resolve these ongoing fractures, hence, my previous caution to label these spaces as "cosmopolitan" (McKay, 2021, 12, See: 5.8.2). Wary of enforcing environmental deterministic solutions, the use of mixed 'blurry' spaces must be accompanied with longer-term changes that address ethnic tensions and underlying structural inequalities within these spaces (Sriskandarajah, 2019). These ethnic tensions are ignored by Swedes in favour of homogenous representations and by "immigrant" (Husby) residents in fear of further stigmatisation. Yet this ignorance comes at the expense of "immigrant" (Husby) women's perceived (un)safety who are not only encouraged to rely on ethnic stereotypes to predict any threat but forced to restrict or adapt their movements in public spaces. As noted by all women, their male relatives and friends are free to roam space as they choose, whilst women must remain on edge and alert, ready to adapt at any point.

6.6. White, Working-Class Swedes: Introduction

With the exception of a few references, the perspectives of white, working-class Swedes have been absent within the past chapters. This will now be addressed, not least as these individuals comprise a significant proportion of Husby's population, but also due to the uniqueness of their subject positions. This section will subsequently address the narratives of Ada, Nora and Sara, all of whom self-identified as working-class, Swedes and resided within Husby. Before exploring their narratives, I will turn to other participants' perspectives to ascertain their viewpoints on white, working-class Swedes, first addressing "immigrant" (Husby) women and second turning to "Swedish" women.

Mia reflects, "*They [white, working-class] don't understand what we face in our everyday lives. They don't even see recognise their privileges of being white"*. Despite their shared working-class status, it was felt that their whiteness emerged as a barrier to inclusion within the neighbourhood. Mia argues they are unable to understand how people of colour faced racialised exclusion on an everyday basis, the nature of which played a huge role in residents' social identification as 'Husby' residents. At the same time, their working-class status was seen to prevent their inclusion in 'Swedishness'. Abigail for example, was quick to blame white,

working-class men or as she referred, 'white trash', for Mahati's experiences of harassment (See: 6.2.2). Their working-class status overrode their shared identification as 'ethnic Swedes' leading them to be seen as lesser and not quite "Swedish". These perspectives closely align with Mulinari and Neergard's (2005) framing of the white, working-class Swedes' double-ostracised position as excluded "*above* ('elite') and *below* (racialised other)". Whilst their consideration of white, working-class perspectives responds to concerning gaps within Swedish scholarship, their decision to describe their position as 'above' and 'below' should be treated with caution. Instead, this study describes their dual exclusion as 'in-between' which not only avoids constructing a hierarchy between "Swedes" and "immigrants" yet also recognises the co-existence of national and localised structures of belonging.

Combined, the comments above reveal how white, working-class Swedes are deemed neither "immigrants" (Husby) residents nor "Swedes" due to their racialised and classed identities, respectively, leading them to occupy an in-between position, beyond local and national structures of belonging. This in-betweenness was understood to render them invisible in everyday discourse as argued by Nora, '*I don't feel included anywhere, I mean no one even talks about what we face, because we don't belong anywhere'.* Testament to this, narratives discussed in previous chapters and the broader literature have focused on the tensions between "Swedes" and "immigrant" (Husby) residents, ignorant of white, working-class perspectives (For Exceptions, See: Hyltén-Cavallius and Hubinette, 2014; Mulinari & Neergaard, 2005). In contrast to their invisibility at the level of public discourse, both "immigrant" (Husby) and "Swedish" women attest to how the bodies of white, working-class Swedes were rendered hyper-visible during 'first impressions' in public space owing to their whiteness or working-class status, respectively. Their (structural) invisibility in public and academic discourse hence contrasts with their (individual) hyper-visibility in everyday encounters, what I refer to as a 'paradox of (in)visibility'. Haywood and Yar (2006, 10, cited in Halej, 2015) expand on this hyper-visibility, noting how the physical visibility of their white, working-class bodies can be seen to result in structural invisibility (Leinonen & Toivanen, 2014). This paradox is particularly significant given this study's focus on 'first impressions', primarily interested in how bodies are read in public space.

For white, working-class women however, their hyper-visibility was also gendered. Whilst white, working-class men receive more academic attention (Clarke & Garner, 2010), women's unique gendered experiences have been documented by Skeggs within the UK context. Skeggs

(1999, 228) explores how white, working-class women are "judged and made visible through the discourse of respectability" (Nicholls, 2017). Equally within the UK context, Tyler (2008) studies the fetishization of the 'chavvy mum', intended to racialize white poor femininity in order to distinguish it from middle-class respectability (Halej, 2015, 40; Nayak & Kehily, 2014). Similar stereotypes centred around respectability were identified amongst participants. For "immigrant" (Husby) women, working-class Swedish women were seen to act and dress in 'immoral ways' in contrast to their own 'classier' behaviour that demanded respect from "immigrant" (Husby) men (Fileborn, 2016, 105; Haghverdian, 2009; Haldrup et al., 2006). The same behaviours were also criticised by "Swedish" women in Kista, leading them to be labelled as '*dirty'* and 'un-*Swedish'*. In response to Abigail's observations of their behaviour in the focus group, Mahati recounts, '*You know some white trash woman threw a bottle at me, she was drunk and wearing not much'.* Mahati's criticisms are indicative of the stigmatisation of 'white trash' amongst 'foreigners', despite their own exclusion from national and local systems of belonging (Chang, 2014; Haikkola, 2011). More specifically, Mahati's use of the Swedish term - '*white trash'* – is indicative of her desire to assimilate and learn the language of "Swedish" norms, constructing boundaries between 'foreigners' and 'white trash' whilst attempting to reduce those with "Swedes" (Wimmer 2008a). Significantly, these direct observations were absent amongst most Hammarby residents. It was clear however, that their use of the term "Swede" referred to white, middle-class residents, excluding the white, working-class (See: 5.2.3). Whilst partially attributed to their indirectness (Clarke, 2021), Abigail explained '*Those Swedes live in their own segregated space and aren't confronted by them on an everyday basis'.* Through this, she implies that their indirect observations, stems from their lack of contact within their segregated bubble (Amin, 2012; Schuermans, 2016; De Backer et al., 2016). Similar views are expressed by Leitner (2012, 10), albeit with reference to immigrants, where she writes, "The acceptance and tolerance expressed by white middle and upper classes are in part enabled by their greater ability to distance themselves socially and spatially". Irrespective of their different viewpoints, it remains that white, working-class women were rendered hyper-visible in white, middle-class spaces due to their working-class status and in immigrant spaces due to their whiteness. In both however, the presence of their bodies incited stereotypes of promiscuity, having a huge impact on their negotiations of public space in relation to their perceived (un)safety, as will be explored in the following sections.

The above discussions were addressed through the lens of "immigrant" (Husby) women and "Swedish" women which touched upon processes of categorisation on the part of the 'referent population' in "immigrant" (Husby) and "Swedish" spaces, respectively. I will now turn to the narratives of three participants to address how they become conscious and negotiate these stereotypes - known as 'meta-stereotypes' in interactionist thought - to maintain their perceived (un)safety (Vorauer et al., 1991). As I have argued throughout, it is not enough to address one side of the boundary but instead, deeper understandings are only possible through relational approaches that consider both the categoriser and the categorised (Duemmler et al., 2010; Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019). At this point, I will only address white, working-class women's experiences within Husby, first owing to this chapter's focus on this neighbourhood and second, as white, working-class women's negotiations of (white) middle-class spaces and subsequent attempts to pass as middle-class have been extensively explored by Skeggs (1997) (See Also: Gray, 2018 for study on identity work amongst working-class).

6.6.1. White, Working-Class Swedes: Nora: Responding to (In)visibility through Invisibilisation

'I know how they see me, they don't know me, but I can tell from way that those men look at me and make comments'.

Walking through Husby Torg, Nora is conscious of how she is read and stereotyped as sexually liberal during her 'first impressions'. Unlike white, middle-class, Swedish women's fleeting visits to the suburbs (6.3.2), her heightened vigilance is an ongoing feature of her everyday life given she is unable to move to the 'city' due to its higher rent. Constrained by her social class, she explains her subsequent adjustments to her constant hyper-visibility in Husby's public space, *'Since I moved here, I've learnt to cope with this. I've shaved my head and mostly try to wear baggy clothes. This means I draw less attention from men sat there. It varies however, in some places I get more attention than others'*. Vera-Gray and Kelly (2020) and Greenberg-Raanan and Avni (2020) document similar strategies of 'invisibilisation' amongst their participants. Their desire to be invisible, to avoid being gazed at, and being perceived as 'too feminine and too sexualised' translated into covering up their bodies. Nora's 'safety work' was accompanied by more drastic adaptations, including shaving her head, lesser discussed in extant studies. Through these adaptations, Nora attempts to render herself less visible and less susceptible to othering practices by Husby "immigrant" men (Shaker et al., 2021). Although she is still recognisable as a white woman, she feels safe*r* and can go *less* noticed,

diverting attention to other more feminine, less respectable women. Her freedom or her temporary invisibility, is seen to come at the expense of the freedom and invisibility of other white women, to which she describes as *'inevitable'*, a cynical reflection on broader intersectional structures.

Although Nora deploys the same strategy of invisibilisation in most spaces, her accounts show a greater spatial variability in her reception, *'I can just sit here in Husby Gard and feel very safe, whilst I do the same thing, and not wear make-up and baggy clothes, but am very visible in the square'.* Moving beyond discussions of homogenised neighbourhoods, Nora recognises how (in)visibility is dependent on the micro-space and its passers-by, mapping onto previous discussions of 'bright' and 'blurry' micro-spaces (McKay, 2021). In this context, her strategies of invisibilisation are less successful in Husby square where its extreme ethnic, gendered and racialised homogeneity render her hyper-visible. In contrast, Husby Gard's multi-functionality diverts attention away from her bodily difference, with passers-by more focused on the activities on offer, leading her to '*happily sit and watch others walk by'*. Whilst she is evidently conscious of her varied reception, it is important to note that she makes no adjustments to her strategy, continuing to act and behave in the same way in every space, similar to what is emphasised in earlier accounts on women's safety work (See: 1.2.3). The significance of this lack of adjustment will materialise in chapter 7 and its focus on 'chameleons', the precise meaning of which shall be later explored (Brekhus, 2003).

Beyond her experiences in public space, Nora draws attention to her apartment during the relief map interview, '*I had a neighbour that knocked on my door and wanted to start a relationship with me because he was single and I was single, and he thought it would be good for me. He said he wanted to save me as a single Swedish woman".* Cautious of cementing binaries between private and public space (Whitzman, 2007), Nora acknowledged a palpable difference in her experiences within her apartment, its corridors and Husby's broader public spaces. Whilst her intersectional identity led her to be seen as promiscuous in public space, she explains that she is stereotyped as '*needing to be saved'* in semi-public or private spaces. In response, Nora explains, '*I try to not open the door when I think he is knocking, and I never stay in the corridor, and you know trying to move into and out of my apartment as quickly as possible'.* Although the realm of private space is beyond the scope of this thesis, it emerges as an importance space in relation to her perceived (un)safety, reiterating how specific stereotypes are associated with different spaces (See: 6.3 for similar discussions amongst

"immigrant" women). Similar to her discussion above, Nora responds to her hyper-visibility through rendering herself invisible, primarily through techniques of place-avoidance (Valentine, 1992). Before finishing our interview, Nora reflects, '*I've recently taken up a job as a postwoman. I am thinking about how I feel around that, I have felt kind of safer as a postwoman'*. Whilst she moves through the same spaces discussed above, she expresses confusion at the contrast in her reception during her working hours, seemingly subject to no gaze nor comments from neighbours. However, she is at loss for the reasons behind her varying receptions, the nature of which shall be further explored with reference to Ada's narratives below.

6.6.2. White, working-class Swedes: Ada: responding to (in)visibility through motherhood

'You know before I had him, I used to feel quite unsafe here. I used to avoid it all together, or if I had to, I would not wear make-up. I just wanted to draw less attention to myself from them. When I first arrived, they used to look at me in a certain way, but it was better once I've changed my clothing and stuff'.

Similar to Nora, Ada's previous experiences of harassment have taught her to render herself invisible in public space. She describes '*avoiding the square",* hence, resorting to place-avoidance alongside more micro-techniques including '*not wearing make-up and wearing loose-fitting clothes'*. These strategies of invisibilisation are understood to temporarily alleviate her perceived (un)safety, lessening the likelihood of any experiences of harassment. Similarities between Nora and Ada's 'safety work' points to the strength of discourse around women's individual responsibilisation of safety where women are taught to protect themselves against potential threats. In this scenario, this leads both to make changes to their appearance and behaviour in the hope to divert attention elsewhere to other 'more feminine' women. In contrast to Nora however, the first sentence in Ada's quote hints at a recent change in her perceptions of (un)safety, to which she expands on, *"I guess if I think about when I move through public space with my son now, I will tick protection, I feel safer, I'm no longer sexualised. They used to make comments towards me, and now they point at my son and smile, it is more friendly".*

Ada attests to a change in her reception in public space following the birth of her son. Whilst she feels that she was previously sexualised as a white woman, the company of her son has led her to feel more protected. Compared to her active negotiations of her safety when alone,

the presence of her child leads her to feel safe, requiring limited changes to her appearance or behaviour. This extract draws our attention to the importance of company in women's everyday encounters, shifting our attention away from conventional discussions of the benefits of male company (Rader, 2009), to pets (Coble et al., 2003), female friends (Kern, 2005) to now, children. What makes her account of particular interest is the way in which the company of her child leads her to voice feelings of 'protection'. In previous research, parents often express 'altruistic fear' alluding to their greater fears for the safety of their children (Heber, 2009; Snedker, 2006; Warr & Ellison, 2000). For Ada however, the visible presence of her child leads her to feel safer, the opposite of what has been premised in previous studies of altruistic fear.

It was only until she began travelling to Kista that she became conscious of the presumed power of her parenthood. *"I guess I first became aware of it when I started going to Kista. In the residential area and the Galleria, honestly being with my son has no impact, people walk on their own and there are less families. They just have a small playground in Kista Galleria [Kista Mall] compared to the large family-friendly grounds in Husby. But when I start moving near the bus station for example, I can feel that they look at me with respect, I guess because family is so important for these people. Like the square, they sometimes approach and say how sweet he is, it seems like my identity as a parent suddenly really matters there"*. Through this statement, she outlines how Kista emerges as a mosaic of different spaces, subject to "Swedish" and "immigrant" norms. The short distance between these spaces leads her to recognise the dramatic difference in her reception. In "Swedish" spaces, she feels that she is received in very similar ways, with or without her child. In contrast, she attests to a different reception in "immigrant" spaces, sexualised when alone, yet respected when with her child. From her perspective, her difference in reception boils down to the importance of family in "immigrant" cultures. She focuses on how the environment itself bears imprints of the broader social structures at play and in this case, the visibility of family services attests to the importance of family inclusion, reiterating how the urban landscape demonstrates meanings of inclusion and exclusion (Antonsich, 2010; Baird, 2014; Coaffee, O'Hare & Hawkesworth, 2009; Swanton, 2007;). Combined, Ada understands her identity as a parent to neutralise the initial negative valuation based on somatic features (Koskela, 2020). This realisation leads her to actively draw attention to her identity as a parent, for example, through always carrying his pram when heading out for a walk (Koskela, 2019).

Reverting our attention to 6.3.3, "immigrant" (Husby) women outline how mothers are well-respected within the community, seen as leaders of societal change within their neighbourhood. Ada's use of the term "immigrant" and focus on 'parents' is indicative of her 'outsider' position from local structures of belonging, given "immigrant" (Husby) residents dislike the term "immigrant" due to its stigmatisation, along with residents' emphasis on the importance of motherhood rather than parenthood. Whilst Ada explains the importance of families within Husby with reference to cultural explanations, the role of 'mothers' are extremely respected within localised systems, in similar ways to Mia's role as a football coach and Nora's as a postwoman. These identities made visible through 'first impressions', are understood to prove one's commitment to the community in ways that alleviate from their otherwise prejudiced position as white women, as seen by their differences in reception. Whilst they are seemingly rendered partially invisible due to their community and maternal values, Nora and Ada's confusion and misunderstandings of these encounters remind us of their outsider position beyond local structures of belonging.

6.6.3. White, working-class Swedes: Sara: responding to (in)visibility through boldness

Sara was the only participant that had grown up in Husby and hence, felt more accustomed with its structures. She describes becoming *gradually* conscious of her negative valorisation as a white, working-class Swedish girl from her harassment in the school playground, '*When I first went to school, they saw me as this white girl with blonde hair and blue eyes and used to always push me".* Faced with these encounters, she learnt to avoid gendered and racialised incidents of harassments through '*acting like one of the boys…I was always bold, not like other girls".* This emphasis on 'gradual' is hence of particular significance given Sara underscores the unevenness of this process, explaining how she faced multiple incidents of harassment before becoming confident in how to best navigate the playground (Koskela 2019; Wilson, 2013, 2014). The irregularity of these process is often wrongly left unaddressed in interactionist studies, failing to address the complex ways in which boundary-making strategies are learnt and practiced (See: 3.2.4). Her 'boldness' occasionally led her to become involved in physical altercations, to which she reflects, '*It is a better option than the sexual stuff that happened to other girls'.* Women in Lennox's (2021, 653) study, report avoiding the use of physical violence as self-defence due to its associations with immorality where "only bad, unvirtuous women stoop to fighting" (See also: Madriz, 1997). As Nicholls (2017, 262) argues, 'appropriately' feminine behaviour has long been associated with passivity and submissiveness. Sara,

however, appears unfussed by judgements of unrespectability, and instead, proudly argues that it diverts attention to *"scared white girls"*. Similar to Nora's reflections, women's perceived safety is conceptualised as a system of displacement where the male sexualised gaze is seen to be diverted elsewhere to less 'respectable' or more 'scared' white women.

Whilst boldness is highlighted by Koskela (1997) as a general technique in women's everyday navigations, it harbours a specific meaning in this context, emerging as a boundary-making strategy of 'assimilation' when viewed through an interactionist lens (Wimmer, 2008a). "Immigrant" (Husby) women have previously mocked how white working-class women are *'hella white'* referring not only to their presumed promiscuity but their assumed fearfulness owing to their exposure to stereotypes of dangerous "immigrant" men (See: 6.3.2). In contrast to Ada and Nora, Sara appears to have learnt the language of localised strategies through being conscious of others stereotypes of *'scared, white women'* after growing up in the area and befriending other residents. Through these encounters, she has learnt how to negotiate her (in)visibility and perceived (un)safety in 'first impressions' and 'known encounters', where she admits she soon got a reputation for herself and seen to adopt "immigrant" (Husby) traits (Edwards & Maxwell, 2021; Hall & Bates, 2019). She admits however, that she will always remain partially visible due to her identity as a white woman or more specifically, *'blonde-haired, blue-eyed Swede'*. Her boldness can *'compensate'* yet never fully *'overcome'* her gendered and racialised identity, albeit as she puts it, *'isn't that better than nothing?'*.

Similar to other participants, Sara believes that her boldness has varying success in different spaces, drawing specific attention to Husby Torg, *'Like everyone, I find Husby Torg probably one of the least safe, just because it is Middle-Eastern men sitting there'.* In this space, she relies on boldness and the company of her friend, Bibiana (See: 6.4.3). Interestingly however, she explains that this strategy is *'useless'* in Kista Mall due to the presence of security guards who always intervene in fights. These guards were simultaneously understood as a source of safety for other "Swedish" women including Nora and Ada who emphasise feeling safe upon 'seeing them in the Galleria'. This rests in contrast to the perceptions and experiences raised by "immigrant" (Husby) women (See: 6.3.1), revealing the importance of intersectional lens which recognises that security guards do not universally alleviate women's feelings of unsafety, and indeed, shopping centres are not always safe spaces for women (Fileborn, 2016; Kern, 2021).

6.6.4. White, working-class Swedes: summary

Combined, I have sought to demonstrate the different ways in which white, working-class women were seen to be rendered hyper-visible in public space, associated with certain stereotypes, specific to the space in question. Whilst Nora, Ada and Sara feel that they will always be partially visible and excluded due to their whiteness, Ada and Sara sought to actively compensate for their visibility through different forms of safety work that drew attention to aspects of their identity which were seemingly valued within Husby's social identity, their 'parenthood' and 'boldness'. These strategies were firmly rooted within the local context as illustrated by their perceived limited 'success' in Kista's "Swedish" spaces, subject to different norms and behaviours that are otherwise intrinsic to Swedishness. At this point, I will draw parallels with my previous emphasis on Cristina's 'performative Swedish identity' (See: 5.8.2) and refer to the aforementioned strategies as 'performative Husby identity' (Runfors, 2021). Through this, I seek to underscore that participants did not change their appearance but rather adopted certain behaviours in accordance with dominating local norms (Runfors, 2021, 73).

Importantly however, I would add to my previous emphasis on 'performative Husby identity' through distinguishing between 'intentional' and 'unintentional' (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2015). The importance of this distinction shall become apparent in the next chapter, for now however, I shall only briefly expand on this distinction. For Nora and Ada, and their occupation as a postwoman and identity as a mother respectively, unintentionally aligned with local structures of belonging, showing their commitment to the local community. For both however, they were not conscious of its exact meaning in its context, with Nora's account focused on '*not wearing make-up and baggy clothing*' and Ada misunderstanding the importance of mothers within the community. This contrasts to Sara who shows clear understandings of local norms within their place of residence. For Sara for example, she carefully observes how "immigrants" (Husby) behave in their environment, mimicking their behaviours in order to ensure that she is read as belonging. She becomes conscious of stereotypes of white women in the neighbourhood and seeks to learn to overcome these through acting '*not hella white*'. The use of the terms 'intentional' and 'unintentional' are hence important as they draw attention to women's knowledge and familiarity of local norms, learnt through previous encounters, reiterating the relationality between the past and now (Ahmed, 2000; Koskela 2020; Schuermans, 2017). The focus of the next chapter will build on this binary, shall turn to participants who are able to navigate between "immigrant" (Husby)

and "Swedish" space, moving beyond our focus on diversity within "immigrant" (Husby) or "Swedish" neighbourhoods.

6.7. Conclusion

Drawing on interactionist identity theories, this chapter focused on women's perceived (un)safety through the 'minority' perspective. Whilst the previous chapter focused on "Swedish" women's fears of "immigrant" men, our attention turned to "immigrant" women whose perspectives often go unacknowledged. It explored how Husby participants were subject to various external categorisations by "Swedish" men and women, all of which affected their perceived (un)safety. The precise meaning of their categorisation as "immigrant" women and the stereotypes attached, was seen to be dependent on the space and passer-by in question, leading them to feel that they are sexualised by "Swedish" men, and criminalised and pitied by "Swedish" women. Irrespective of the specific meaning in hand, all were in tension with their self-identification as "Swedish", leading them to channel their sense of belonging into their place-based identification as 'Husby' residents.

Whilst the previous studies have briefly highlighted the importance of national belonging for women's perceived (un)safety, no studies have recognised its entwinement with local belonging, from the perspectives of "immigrant" women and their perceived (un)safety. Here, Husby participants transformed their negative 'identity content' as 'immigrant women' – imagined at the national scale - into positive 'identity content' as 'Husby' women – at the local scale. The question of local belonging hence emerged as pivotal for their perceived (un)safety and was subsequently analysed through their everyday encounters and 'first impressions'. Here, "immigrant" (Husby) women sought solace in their shared local belonging as 'Husby' residents and felt threatened upon their external categorisation of "Swedish" men and to a certain extent, "Swedish" women. These were seen to be made visible through racialised, and classed cues carried on their body and subsequently framed as dangerous, due to previous incidents of harassment. Whilst categorised by "Swedes" as 'immigrant women', Husby participants emerged as the 'referent' population, part of the local majority and able to impose categorisations on others, revealing the relationality of these encounters (Schuermans, 2017). Informed by an intersectional framework, this chapter also begun to consider how their social identification as "immigrant" (Husby) residents were fractured by ethnic tensions, that were referred to as 'hierarchies of belonging' within overarching boundaries of belonging. I sought to demonstrate their agency through considering how they

overcome their positioning through 'social identification' strategies, mostly drawing on 'boundary-blurring', learning to balance competing claims of ethnic and place-based identifications, depending on the space, in question, leading us to our next argument.

The last two chapters have provided an insight into how 'bright' boundaries of belonging play out between Hammarby and Husby through the lens of their national and local belonging. Within these neighbourhoods, there are hierarchies of belonging within 'Swedishness' and 'Husbyness', the likes of which have otherwise been neglected in previous studies due to their focus on homogenous "Swedish" or "immigrant" neighbourhoods. These are rendered more or less visible, depending on the type of space, leading them to be classified on a continuum from bright to blurry spaces. Against this backdrop, women not only reproduce national and local boundaries of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes", or 'Husby' residents and outsiders, but also negotiate internal hierarchies of belonging within each. Combined, boundaries (and hierarchies) of belonging, are hence entangled with women's perceived (un)safety, where they wish to render themselves in-place, hoping to draw less attention and pass by unnoticed by other passers-by. The attention of the next chapter shall turn a small group of women, referred to as 'chameleons', who are able to navigate and negotiate national and local structures of belonging across Hammarby, Husby and Kista.

Chapter 7. Chameleons: 'I am like a chameleon. I blend in everywhere.'

7.1. Overview

7.1.1. Introduction

Anna: I was going to ask you about Husby actually.

Susan: I have never been there, I have to say. I mean, no. I wouldn't go there.

My conversation with Susan confirmed what had been established with other Hammarby Sjöstad residents. For most participants and for their female friends and family, the suburbs were largely understood as 'no go zones' for "Swedish" women (See: Kassam & Farage, 2017; Milani, 2020; Sanandaji, 2020 for discussions of Tensta and Rinkeby, Stockholm as no-go zones). Testament to their indirect approach, participants hid behind pretexts and mostly emphasised the lack of '*services*' within the suburbs, as Susan continued, *'…I mean why would I go there, the same way they wouldn't come here. There's no services here for them'.* Her references to '*there…they…here...them*' returns our focus to this study's overarching interactionist framework, drawing our attention to boundary-making strategies between social divisions, '*us*' and '*them*' and spatial boundaries, '*here*' and '*there*' (Duemmler et al., 2010; Haldrup, Koefoed & Simonsen, 2008; Koefoed & Simonsen, 2012). Despite their initial indirectness, the reasons behind Swedish women's place-avoidance were clear. Aligned with their narratives in chapter five, most "Swedish" women avoided visiting Husby due to the perceived threat associated with "immigrant" men. Similar findings attesting to "Swedish" women's avoidance of the suburbs can be identified across Swedish scholarship (See: Heber, 2009; Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Lilja, 2015). Combined, participants' narratives and broader findings highlight how 'bright' spatial boundaries of belonging between the "immigrant" suburbs and "Swedish" city emerged as central when considering the question of women's perceived (un)safety across Stockholm (Alba, 2005).

Anna: What about Hammarby Sjöstad? Have you been there?

Mia: I try to avoid it as much as I can. My Mother never goes, she doesn't like it, it feels unsafe for us. But I go yes, I have to because of my job.

A similar picture emerged when discussing Mia's everyday movements between the 'suburbs' and the 'city'. In the more direct manner previously noted amongst Husby residents, Mia was quick to explain how her mother avoided the 'city' and preferred staying within the 'suburbs'

(Kustermans, 2016). Whilst lesser discussed from the perspective of "immigrant" women within extant studies (See: Exception: Arlemo, 2017; Hubinette & Tigervall, 2009), similar strategies of place-avoidance were observed amongst Husby participants in order to maintain their perceived safety. For Mia however, this place-avoidance was unfeasible. Whilst she too felt at her safest in Husby, her everyday responsibilities forced her to cross this boundary on a regular basis, leading us to this chapter's focus on transgressed boundaries. Chapters five and six focused on how differently-situated "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) women negotiate their perceived (un)safety *within* their place of residence, examining how national and local structures - boundaries and hierarchies - of belonging play out within neighbourhood perimeters. However, safety strategies such as place-avoidance were not always possible due to limited economic and social capital, as shown by Mia's comments (Lennox, 2021). I must ask: what happens when "Swedish" women enter "immigrant" spaces, and how do "immigrant" (Husby) women negotiate their perceived (un)safety in "Swedish" spaces?

Beyond superficial observations of place-avoidance, there has been limited engagement of differently-situated women's navigations of public space in relation to their perceived (un)safety beyond their place residence in the Swedish context (For Exception, See: Lundström, 2010). The attention of this chapter shall be confined to exploring the narratives of participants who regularly move between "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) spaces and are understood to successfully navigate the respective structures of national and local belonging. This focus aims to challenge the static nature of current conversations surrounding women's perceived (un)safety which fail to fully recognise the dynamism of women's everyday navigations of public space beyond their place of residence. In order to achieve this, I shall first discuss this chapter's overarching aims and structure, before turning to two bodies of work that help situate this chapter's focus.

7.1.2. Chapter aims

The overarching aim of this chapter is hence to explore the ways in which participants experience and negotiate their perceived (un)safety during everyday encounters across and within different neighbourhoods. This stands in contrast to the focus of the previous chapters whose attention was confined to participants' movements within their neighbourhood, Hammarby Sjöstad and Husby respectively. Despite this difference, this chapter is informed by the same overarching theoretical framework which was used to explore women's perceived (un)safety within their place of residence. In contrast to chapters five and six

however, this chapter shall not discuss the ways in which broader structures of belonging are imposed by "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) women in each neighbourhood. The previous chapters have already provided detailed insights into how external boundaries of belonging are reproduced during women's encounters and broader neighbourhood networks alongside exploring the ways in which these boundaries are fractured by internal hierarchies.

Instead, the following sections will explore how differently-situated women *regularly* and *successfully* simultaneously navigate national and local structures of belonging. This shall be explored through the lens of three groups of women, who navigate neighbourhoods spaces in ways that partially or fully falls under this study's understanding of 'chameleon' navigations. Regarding the former, my focus on '*regular'* movements rests in contrast to "Swedish" women such as Susan, and 'immigrant' (Husby) women including Mia's mother, who remain within their place of residence owing to their fears of "immigrant" and "Swedish" neighbourhoods, respectively. In terms of the latter, the aforementioned focus on '*success'* stands in tension with Indian foreigners (See: 5.3) and white, working-class Swedes (See: 6.6), who despite moving regularly between different neighbourhoods, report feeling unsafe and express feeling hyper-visible across "Swedish" and "immigrant" neighbourhoods due to their appearance and behaviour (See: 7.1.3 for further discussion of 'successful' negotiations).

With this in mind, the first section shall explore "Swedish" women's navigations of Husby whilst the second section will discuss "immigrant" (Husby) women's experiences in "Swedish" spaces. The third section will consider the perspectives and experiences of Bibiana, emerging as the 'ultimate chameleon'. Each section shall point to a different aspect of 'chameleonism' that I seek to harness in relation to this study's focus on women's perceived (un)safety, in particular, underscoring the role of intention, its conceptualisation as a continuum, and considerations of structure-agency. Before proceeding however, I wish to underscore that I am conscious of the dangers of grouping participants' narratives into three groups given it may mask the complexity of each case. However, the need to draw broader reflections and conclusions soon outweighed this concern, leading me to treat the aforementioned grouping as necessary. Now, our attention shall turn to two bodies of work that provide the backdrop for this study's focus, beginning with contextual studies on Sweden's residential and social segregation, before turning to conceptual discussions surrounding Brekhus' (2003) chameleonism.

7.1.3. Contextual: situating within Swedish scholarship

Addressing these participants' perspectives will broadly contribute to discussions surrounding residential segregation in Stockholm that are marred by traditional conceptions of segregation (Andersson & Mollina, 2003). These conceptions frequently neglect the most important components of residential segregation: its immaterial and symbolic aspects, alongside its dynamic processes (Lundström, 2010). I take influence from Lundström's (2010) ground-breaking work on the movement of young Latina women who regularly transgress otherwise sharp divisions from the Stockholm suburbs to the inner-city (Abrahamsson & Simpson, 2011). I combine Lundström's (2010) insights with more recent work from Greenberg-Raanan and Avni (2020) who focus on everyday transgressions by Palestinian and Israeli women across neighbourhoods in Jerusalem. Whilst they narrowly focus on women's changing clothing practices, they broadly conceptualise women as "active actors with the ability to transverse different boundaries through their embodied practices" (2020, 2). Following in their example, I seek to address the constant dynamism within and between segregated spaces in the form of daily travel through the lens of differently-situated women (Greenberg-Raanan & Avni, 2020; Lundström, 2010).

To achieve this, I have prior established that our attention shall turn to the narratives of participants, who *regularly* and *successfully* negotiate spaces within and across "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) spaces. Whilst my use of the term 'successful' is later up for debate (See: 7.2.4), my decision to deploy this term reflects my interest in women who describe feeling safe when navigating different "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) spaces and their corresponding structures of belonging. This contrasts to an emerging body of work on the everyday experiences of 'mixed-race' Swedes who for the most part, exhibit physical markers that are not perceived to belong to "Swedes" or "immigrants", leading to their presumed exclusion and feelings of unsafety across the suburbs and inner-city (Adeniji, 2014; Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019; Osanami-Torngren, 2019, 2020). Their contributions on mixed-race Swedes and their exclusion, are more relevant to the negative experiences of Indian migrants (See: 5.3) and white, working-class Swedes (See: 6.6), all of which were rendered hyper-visible across "Swedish" and "immigrant" space and were seen to disrupt established 'bright' racialised boundaries between "Swedes" and "immigrants".

In this chapter, women's narratives attest to a more positive 'in-betweenness' or 'blurriness' (Alba, 2005) – described by Naaz as *'chameleons'* – stemming from their perceived ability to *'blend in'* within and between different spaces across "Swedish" and "immigrant"

neighbourhoods. These women are able to navigate both spaces and their respective boundaries and hierarchies of belonging in contrast to the findings of Hubinette and Arbouz (2019) and Osanami Torngren (2019) who attest to its 'either/or' logic, or as described by a participant in Ismail and Magnusson's (2016, 63) study, "It was always either or, never both". Despite this, their more successful 'in-between' perspectives often go unaddressed in favour of focusing on those at the extreme end of the spectrum who either feel very unsafe or refuse to move into segregated spaces due to their perceived unsafety (Stephenson, 2021). Due to their invisibility in public and scholarly discourse, the attention of this chapter shall explore their 'in-betweenness', leading us to our second conceptual section that introduces the term, 'chameleonism'.

7.1.4. Conceptual: situating within Brekhus' 'chameleonism'

"I am like a chameleon, I blend in everywhere" (Naaz)

This chapter's title, coupled with Naaz's quote, point to the significance of the term, 'chameleonism'. Up until this point however, its meaning within this study has remained unaddressed, marking the need for further consideration. Following Naaz's interview, I came across the term in Brekhus' (2003) ethnography of American gay suburbanites. After an in-depth survey of existing research, it appeared that Brekhus' study emerged one of very few works that directly engages with the notion of chameleonism. Other examples have also addressed the experiences of sexual minorities yet were both more fleeting in their engagement with the term – or variations of it - and more psychological in their nature and style, leaving us to focus on Brekhus' sociological and geographical writings (See: Arayasirikul & Wilson, 2019, Ghabrial, 2019 for discussions of 'snakes'). Through his study, Brekhus (2003, 4) constructs a typology on how different types of gay men organise their gayness in relation to their overall presentation of self, first as 'lifestylers' or peacocks, second, as centaurs or 'integrators', and third as chameleons or 'commuters'. For 'peacocks', being homosexual is key to their identity as they socialise, work, and live in exclusively gay circles, and hence, their homosexual identity is treated as a noun (ibid, 12). For 'centaurs', their homosexuality emerges as one part of their social identity as they live openly in heterosexual space and integrate their gay identity and thus, their gay identity is understood as an adjective (ibid, 12).

Important for this chapter however, chameleons or 'commuters' live and work in conventional suburban settings during the week but lead intense gay social lives beyond the suburbs at the

weekend. Whilst some have noted that an individual's identity can change over a lifetime (Gergen, 1991), Brekhus (2003) is interested in how identities shift over a single week or day, what he refers to as a 'micro-temporal everyday shifts in identity' (Brekhus, 2003, 51; Nippert-Eng, 1996). Focused on these temporal dimensions, he reflects, '*Commuters blend in like a chameleon, taking care to match his presentation of self with his surroundings"* (Brekhus, 2003, 58). Brekhus (2003, 61) pays attention to how their gay identity emerges as a verb or a 'doing', in other words, he is interested in how 'commuter' gay men 'do heterosexuality' – in other words, pass as heterosexual - when confronted with the demands of living in heterosexualised environments to avoid stigmatisation. The ways in which men 'actively do' their identities to '*blend in with the majority'* and match their environmental setting, illustrates how identities are socially (re)constructed in everyday interactions (ibid). This returns our focus to our interactionist framework that approach self-identification and external identity attributes as flexible, further interested in how this is achieved in encounters or more specifically, 'first impressions' (Brekhus, 2003, 21; Jenkins, 2000).

Whilst Brekhus (2003) discusses the concept of the 'chameleon' through the lens of commuting gay men in the American suburbs, he concludes his study through noting its broader applicability to general theories of social identity, opening up avenues for further discussion, and subsequently, leading to this study's conceptualisation of certain women as 'chameleons'. This chapter's limited discussion of Brekhus' (2003) work and its relevance for this study's focus on women's perceived (un)safety is deliberate as I aim to gradually illuminate my understanding of the term 'chameleonism' through the sections below, as previously argued in 7.1.2. I accordingly seek to push beyond Brekhus' (2003) initial discussions and build on his core focus on how participants '*blend in with the majority'*. This subsequently provides a more useful alternative to existing discussions of invisibility in earlier women's safety literatures that do not encapsulate women's abilities to constantly adapt to diverse settings to avoid harassment. Informed by this study's interactionist-encounters framework, I will examine how 'chameleons' negotiate their belonging within and between different neighbourhoods in order to avoid any discrimination and hence, maintain their perceived safety. This pushes beyond Brekhus' initial findings that ascertain how gay men play up their gayness in homosexual spaces and play it down in heterosexual spaces. Instead, the following discussion the notion of chameleonism, to be far more complex when viewed across differently-situated women's encounters across and within "Swedish" and "immigrant"

spaces in relation to their perceived (un)safety. Before exploring participants' narratives, it is important to emphasise that this chapter – and thesis – remains focused on national and local forms of belonging alongside ethnic identifications. Whilst these emerge as the dominant modes of belonging in this study, participants partook in multiple other social solidarities that were beyond the scope of this study. After having provided the contextual and conceptual backdrop of this chapter, our attention shall now turn to participants' narratives, beginning with "Swedes" in the "immigrant" suburbs.

7.2. Chameleon

7.2.1. "Swedes" in the 'Suburbs': unintentional versus intentional agency

"I regularly go to Husby and Kista for work. I kind of pass in most spaces, because of what I look and sound like, compared to more Swedish-looking women.".

For Cristina, her work means that she regularly commutes from Hammarby Sjöstad to Husby and Kista, crossing the spatial divide between the 'city' and 'suburbs'. The same physical features – pale skin, dark hair eyes – and aural cues – Eastern European accent - that led to her externally categorisation as '*not Swedish'* in Hammarby's 'bright spaces' (See: 5.8.1), were seen to enable her to 'pass' during 'first impressions' across Husby and Kista. Testament to this 'success', she describes how the male gaze of immigrant men is seemingly diverted to more 'Swedish-looking women', leading her to feel less visible and susceptible to harassment (Haldrup et al., 2006, 2008). Whilst passing is usually associated as "passing to privilege" (Stone, 1991, cited in Krivonos, 2020, 390), Cristina's account complicates this emphasis, underscoring the significance of analysing boundary-crossing within its context, given 'passing as an immigrant' is seen as more advantageous than passing as white in Husby, what is otherwise referred to as 'reverse passing' (Beydoun & Wilson, 2017). Alongside her physical visible traits, Cristina explains, '*I act bold and strong. I saw other immigrant women do the same. This probably acts as a source of intimidation for groups of immigrant men who are there in the main squares'*. She proceeds to contrast her '*boldness'* with the attitudes of her Swedish friends, who '*look scared'* and in most scenarios, refuse to walk through the suburbs, preferring direct transport (Koskela, 1997). The narratives of her Swedish friends align with strategies of place-avoidance highlighted in Susan's discussion in the introduction of this chapter. Tracing back to chapter 6, boldness is understood as part of "immigrant" (Husby)'s set of behaviours or more specifically, identity content (Slooter, 2019), in contrast to the fear

and cautiousness witnessed amongst "Swedish" women that is labelled by Bibiana as *'hella white'* due to the dominant stereotypes circulating around the dangers of "immigrant" men.

Irene attests to similar processes, commenting on how her darker features and initially accented Swedish led her to move around safely, seemingly diverting "immigrant" men's attention to more 'Swedish-looking' women. In contrast, she expresses feeling less visible, able to pass unnoticed to which she reflects, '*I think I look Middle-Eastern too, Latinas and Middle-Eastern, it can be confused*' attesting to her passing as an "immigrant" or more specifically, 'Middle-Eastern' immigrant. In her work on their everyday movements, Lundström (2010) also focuses on the perspectives of Latina immigrants yet only explores their non-belonging in white spaces, failing to recognise how they may 'pass' as "Swedish" or in this case, as "immigrants". Significant for this study, Irene contrasts these experiences with her more recent 'first impressions' after having met her "Swedish" boyfriend and gained Swedish nationality, to which she earlier attributed for her '*flawless Swedish*' (See: 5.8.1). Her 'invisibility' in previous encounters was seen to be quickly disrupted after her boyfriend begun accompanying her within the same spaces, to which she argues, elicited more attention from gatherings of men. Earlier research on women's perceived (un)safety continually attests to the perceived protection granted by the presence of accompanying men (Kern, 2021; Roy & Bailey, 2021). In this case however, his 'Swedish-looking' appearance is seen to render her more visible, disrupting her attempts to 'blend-in' and subsequently leading her to avoid moving through the suburbs in his company. She reflects, '*I look like I'm one of them when it's just me, but he changes how I am seen, so I try to avoid that. They will see me as Swedish, and I know what they think of Swedish women'.* Irene's observations align with Goffman's (1963) original theorisations where the social identity of an individuals' company is used as a source of information regarding one's own social identity, the assumption being that she shares the same identity as him.

Expanding on our previous discussions of 'selective attachment' in relation to Bibiana and Sara (See: 6.4.4), Irene's refusal to walk with her boyfriend emerges as a prime example of 'selective detachment', first discussed by Boccagni (2014) in his case study of Ecuadorians in Italy. Boccagni (2014, 65) notes this strategy is used "when systematic alignment with co-nationals is perceived as detrimental for one's reputation in the host society". Whilst her boyfriend aids her integration within Hammarby Sjöstad, his presence within "immigrant" spaces disrupts her temporary attempts to 'blend in', leading her to feel vulnerable to

gendered harassment seemingly directed towards "Swedish" women. The former strategy has been well-documented in existing scholarship, Fathi (2017, 159) for instance, comments on Iranian women's desire for connections with white, English middle-class people, and Hallgren (2005, 332), Keskinen (2018) and Runfors (2021) focus on how their participants keep a distance from those who they identify as "immigrants" whilst 'keeping close to real Swedes'. For Irene however, the presence of her boyfriend is intimately bound up with complex, contradictory feelings of (un)safety depending on the context, subsequently pushing past static assumptions that associate his presence with safety, as implied in current scholarship on women's perceived (un)safety (Edwards & Maxwell, 2019; Haikkola, 2011).

Whilst chapter five explored how Cristina and Irene are understood to mostly pass as "Swedish" during 'first impressions', both participants attest to similar processes of 'passing' during their 'first impressions' in "immigrant" spaces due to their appearance and behaviours. In keeping with this study's interactionist focus, their positional moves of passing are less concerned with affecting the hierarchy itself but more about repositioning themselves in a more positive location (Koskela 2021, 252; Wimmer 2008a). Important for this study's argument, I previously introduced a binary distinction between 'intentional' and 'unintentional' that emerges as one aspect of this study's conceptualisation of 'chameleonism' (See: 6.6.5). Fuller, Chang and Rubin (2009, 136) introduce a similar distinction in their study of sexual minorities' passing, where intentional passing is defined as "*actively* attempting to appear straight…and monitoring one's self-presentation" whilst unintentional passing stems "from others assumptions of heteronormative assumptions of gender expressions". Whilst passing emerges as an important strategy used by 'chameleons' such as Cristina and Irene, later discussions will reveal that other social identification strategies – boundary-blurring - are also used by chameleons, preventing us from now conflating 'passing' with 'chameleonism' (Wimmer, 2008a). For this reason, I am more interested in Fuller et al., (2009) overarching differentiation between intentional and unintentional rather than their specific discussions of 'passing'. Returning to their definition, their distinction rests upon a binary between active and passive negotiations of one's self-presentation, the former of which requires detailed understandings of what it means to be 'straight' and important for this study, to be seen or 'externally categorised' as 'straight' (Barth, 1969; Goffman, 1963; Jenkins, 2008). An implicit suggestion associated with interactionist scholars' use of the term 'strategy' is that they will

always be undertaken with clear intention, yet in this context, boundary-making strategies are undertaken with a lack of intention.

At first glance, Cristina and Irene's navigations of public space in Hammarby and Husby seemingly align with what Fuller et al., (2009) refer to as 'intentional passing'. They both believe that they can pass as "Swedish" and "immigrants" during 'first impressions' in Hammarby and Husby due to their physical appearance which is neither stereotyped as "Swedish" nor as typical to "immigrants". They are able to exploit their 'in-betweeness' in a way which has not previously been documented in Swedish scholarship. As discussed earlier, Hubinette and Arbouz (2019) document the exclusion experienced by mixed-race Swedes, whose appearance, as neither "Swedish" nor "immigrants", leads them to be seen as belonging to neither space. In this context however, Cristina and Irene's in-betweeness is understood in a positive light, enabling their presumed inclusion within both "Swedish" and "immigrant" spaces. In both "Swedish" and "immigrant" spaces, they proceed to reinforce assumptions associated with their appearance with particular behaviours. It is these active changes in their behaviour or self-presentation, that lead them to feel that they pass in "Swedish" and "immigrant" spaces. However, Fuller et al.,'s (2009) above definition, and by default, this study's understanding of chameleonism, refers to how participants not only actively negotiate their identity but equally show an active consciousness of structures (and hierarchies) of belonging and their norms.

In Hammarby Sjöstad, I previously explored how Cristina shows impressive knowledge of Hammarby's norms and behaviours. She actively monitors her environment and its passer-by, observing and mimicking what is typically understood as "Swedish" behaviour, what Runfors (2021) refers to as 'performative Swedish whiteness' or in Brekhus' (2003) words, 'doing Swedishness'. She demonstrates her awareness of the broader extra-corporeal means through which notion of whiteness inform valuations of nationality (Clarke, 2021, 4). In Husby, Cristina proceeds to 'act bold' and Irene avoids the company of her boyfriend. If we more closely consider Cristina's strategy, her 'boldness' in public space is informed by dominant conceptions of 'dangerous immigrant men' that circulate within Swedish discourse in Hammarby Sjöstad and at the national scale. In addition, Irene's strategy equally stems from similar misunderstandings, fuelled by stereotypes of 'dangerous' "immigrant" men and their resentment of "Swedish" women. Their passing as "immigrants" is hence unintentional given it stems not from their understandings of local structures but more from their gendered fears

fuelled by national discourse. Nonetheless, their appearance and behaviour are hence seemingly misinterpreted by "immigrant" (Husby) residents, as evidence of their belonging as 'Husby' (immigrant) residents. Their lack of knowledge is further cemented by their labelling and conflation of Husby and Kista as "immigrant" spaces, hence, ignorant of local structures (and hierarchies) of belonging and concomitant diversity amongst its residents. Having said that, Cristina acknowledges that her 'passing' is not always successful in all spaces and Irene notes that she passes as 'Middle-Eastern', both showing subtle progress of dismantling homogenous representations of "immigrant" spaces and residents. For the most part however, they understand their negotiation and navigation of Husby's public space through "Swedish" perspectives and its norms, and it is for this reason that I am reticent to label them as full 'chameleons' due to their lack of intentional passing in "immigrant" (Husby) spaces.

In summary, the term 'chameleon' refers to not only an active management of one's self-representation but equally an in-depth familiarity with structures of belonging. Whilst both women show signs of chameleonism within Hammarby, it is the unintentional nature of their passing due to their lack of understanding of structures of Husby that prevents me from seeing them as full chameleons. As Brekhus (2003) argues above, chameleons "take care to match his presentation of self with his surroundings". Chameleons are able to navigate different spaces, demonstrating an awareness of local norms and actively change their behaviour, showing a level of investment, not demonstrated by these participants. To label these women as full 'chameleons' would be to belittle the efforts of other women's constant reading and navigation of "Swedish" and "immigrant" spaces and their concomitant norms and structures, to be discussed below. It is for this reason that this study conceptualises 'chameleonism' as a continuum rather than a binary in an attempt to avoid repeating the mistakes of past research that tightly holds onto the notions of binaries despite their failure to capture the messiness of everyday life. Whilst Cristina in particular exhibits chameleon traits due to her negotiations within "Swedish" spaces, I would argue that she appears to pass in Husby due to her misunderstandings of "immigrant" spaces, underscoring a clear lack of intention, and hence, lacking a crucial aspect of this study's conceptualisation of chameleonism in relation to women's perceived (un)safety.

7.2.2. "Immigrant" (Husby) women in the 'City': Mia: constraints of broader structures

Similar to Cristina and Irene, Mia and Naaz express a strong sense of belonging to their place of residence and are simultaneously conscious of hierarchies of belonging within their

neighbourhood as illustrated in the previous chapter. Despite their strong sense of belonging as "immigrant" (Husby) residents, both women regularly move beyond 'Husby' to the city. This section shall be divided into two, first focusing on Mia's narratives and then, proceeding to consider Naaz's encounters, in order to draw attention to the differences in their experiences that continue to challenge stereotypes of homogenous "immigrant" women.

"Some Swedish girls in my school, knew I was from Husby. I talked about it earlier, they thought I will do something bad and *laughs*... I act like that then. They feel like I am a criminal. I used to be worried that they would do something to me". Here, Mia talks of her awareness of their stereotypes – or more specifically, meta-stereotypes - of her as a criminal. Whilst fetishized in T-Centralen (See: 6.2.1), discriminated against in Kista Galleria (See: 6.3.1), and pitied in Husby (See: 6.3.2), Mia attests that her female classmates see her as dangerous. What makes this extract of particular interest, is how she responds to these stereotypes in a different way to those described in the previous context. In the classroom, she capitalises on these stereotypes, later explaining that she tried to act *'as a threat'* in order to scare them and maintain her perceived safety. Whilst Cristina and Irene's 'unintentional passing' focus on escaping external categorisations, Mia's strategy embrace the imposed identity boundaries and content (Slooter, 2019, 179-80). In keeping with this study's interactionist framework, her response corresponds with what Tilly (2004, 143) refers to as 'inscription' where one exaggerates similarities amongst in-group members and differences with others in order to maintain the existing condition (Slooter, 2019). This observation is in line with Barth's reflection that '… under varying circumstances, certain constellations of categorization and value orientation have a self-fulfilling character, … others will tend to be falsified by experience, while others are incapable of consummation in interaction' (Barth, 1969, p. 30, cited in Jenkins, 2014, p. 125; Slooter 2019, 180). Mia's decision to reproduce stereotypes, firmly contradicts Slooter's (2019) observation that it is predominantly young men who engage in this strategy. Bredstrom (2003), Pettersson (2013) and Solhjell et al., (2019) reports similarly gendered findings in the Swedish context, noting how immigrant men occasionally adopt the deviant label assigned by police officers and teachers, contributing to their self-criminalisation (Eliassi, 2013). Lundström (2010, 158) however, challenges this gendered generalisation, exploring how Latina female immigrants also reproduced criminal representations in Swedish schools, noting the way in which one participants' performances as a 'tough girl' was received with surprise by school authorities due to its association with

234

young men from the suburbs. Combined with Lundström's finding, these observations begin to challenge Slooter's (2019) gendered observations that continue to position "immigrant" women as passive and unwilling to engage in 'more daring' strategies.

It becomes possible to understand how Mia carefully navigates different "Swedish" spaces, learning to quickly read her environment and accordingly respond in the most fitting way in order to maintain her perceived safety (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2015). She demonstrates clear familiarity of both "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) norms and how boundaries and hierarchies of belonging play out across 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces. It is this ability to actively change one's self-presentation and demonstrate awareness of national and local norms that emerge as defining traits of chameleonism, as established in the previous section. Despite this, her perceived safety in this scenario rests upon her hyper-visibility in contrast to Brekhus' emphasis on "blending in with the majority", leading us to our second important trait of chameleons. Whilst the previous section drew attention to women's agency within structure, this emphasis on agency should not come at the expense of overarching structures. In this case, Mia's choice of 'boundary-making strategy' in "Swedish" space is restricted by overarching racialised structures that position people of colour as 'outsiders' and "immigrants" in "Swedish" space. Entering homogenous white spaces, her 'dark skin' is seen to permanently assign her the identity of an "immigrant" women, as demonstrated through her discrimination and fetishization in T-Centralen (6.2.1). Whilst some markers are more easily negotiable including ways of dressing, forms of non-verbal communication, others including her skin colour are harder to negotiate (Boccagni, 2014, 66; Frost, 2011; Grobgeld & Bursell, 2021). As noted by Grobgeld and Bursell (2021, 14) with reference to the Swedish context, a lack of the required visual ethnosomatic differences impedes inclusion in the majority group, leading her identity to be seemingly scrutinised and policed (Osanami-Torngren, 2020; Toivanen, 2014). Her clear inability to 'pass' as "Swedish" may lead the reader to question her inclusion within this chapter as I have previously established that the viability of passing as "Swedish" is reserved for those with white skin (Lulle & Balode, 2014; Koskela, 2021). Despite my implicit emphasis in Cristina and Irene's discussion, I have outlined her experiences with the aim to underscore the manner in which overarching structures - in this case, racialisation - restrict who is able to perform chameleonism, irrespective of their familiarity with both local and national structures of belonging.

The same arguments can be levelled at Sara's exclusion from 'chameleonism'. Despite her awareness of "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) structures (See: 6.6.3), her physical appearance - blonde hair and blue eyes – is understood to prevent her from 'border crossing' or more specifically, 'passing' within "immigrant" (Husby) spaces. Restricted by overarching structures, Sara attempts to assimilate through adopting local behaviours yet is simultaneously conscious she will never pass as an "immigrant" (Husby), subsequently emphasising how 'blending in' is only reserved for those with 'in-between' physical appearances. This emphasis is crucial, or else one is at risk of perpetuating criticisms previously levelled at Barth where his emphasis on agency was misunderstood as representing individuals as 'free agents' rather than 'strategic actors' (See: 3.2.4) (Barth 1998; Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013). Mia and Sara's narratives illustrate how chameleonism is not a matter of choice but is dependent on broader structures at play (Becker, 2015; Boccagni, 2014; Cheung-Judge, 2016; Jenkins, 2000; Koskela, 2019).

Drawing this together, key to this study's understanding of chameleonism is the ability to read and respond to encounters in different settings across diverse spaces in order to blend in with the majority. Discussions of structure remain less explored in Brekhus' contributions and hence, are at risk at ignoring how chameleons are constrained by overarching structure. This underscores the importance of approaching Brekhus' (2003) notion of chameleonism through more visible identity markers. Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen (2014, 32) reiterate the need to nuance the importance of categories through discussions of (in)visibility, arguing that some categories and minority positions are more visible whereas others can remain invisible until verbalised or acted upon by the person inhabiting them. In this regard, the authors for example, note how it is more difficult to escape racial minority positions due to its greater visibility. In contrast, one – yet not all - can more easily pass as a straight woman and hence, inhabit the 'normal' category. It is not that it is necessarily easier being an invisible minority, given it requires ongoing negotiations and efforts to be included, but rather intersectionality and categories of oppression affect our lives differently depending on the visibility of these categories. Our discussion of chameleonism, in relation to racialised boundaries of belonging, hence, works to redraw attention to the importance of structural constraints that are lesser recognised if addressed through more invisible stigmatised markers. In this case, women's ability to 'blend in' across different environments is only reserved for a select few who are able to pass as "Swedish" and "immigrants" due to their 'in-between' physical appearance.

Despite this, I still wish to use Mia's encounters to recognise her agency and ability to galvanise on her hyper-visibility in ways that continue to complicate Vera-Gray and Kelly's (2020) and Kern's (2005) emphases on invisibility as key for women's perceived safety. Whilst the attention of this chapter is confined to 'chameleonism' as a form of safety work, this emphasis must not come at the expense of recognising how other women successfully negotiate different structures of belonging in order to feel safe (Ghabrial, 2019). Our attention will now turn to Naaz, who exhibits all of the aforementioned established traits of 'chameleonism', drawing together our discussion so far.

7.2.3 "Immigrant" (Husby) women in the 'City': Naaz: agency and structure

"It takes so much of my energy to feel safe. Having to think about what I am wearing. Faking topics that I am interested in. Acting in a certain way, like more reserved and quieter. You go into an ultra-ego that you don't even like. But it's not just in Swedish spaces either".

Naaz explains her recent experiences travelling to and from her workplace in the "Swedish" city. Similar to Cristina and Irene, her racialised appearance is seen to enable her to pass during most 'first impressions' in "Swedish" spaces due to her lighter skin and complexion - as she later describes, *'I am neither dark enough to be seen as an immigrant by Swedes, nor white enough to be seen as a Swede by immigrants'*. This in-betweenness, seemingly elicited by her appearance, is subsequently reinforced with certain behaviours that are stereotyped as "Swedish" when in "Swedish" spaces, highlighting the importance of broader extra-corporeal registers through which whiteness informs valuations of national belonging (Clarke, 2021, 4). Above, she speaks in detail of her observations of "Swedish" behaviours in everyday scenarios, namely their clothing, behaviour, and conversation topic, to which she later replicates in the hope to pass as "Swedish". Whilst some of these adaptations are mostly used in 'prolonged encounters', her change in clothes and loudness are more relevant to 'first impressions' that dominate everyday negotiations in "Swedish" spaces (Daun, 2002). Her discussions hence tie together different aspects of chameleonism – active changes to self-presentation and awareness of structures of belonging, along with physical traits that enable her to pass as Swedish, with the aim to avoid her fetishization as an "immigrant" woman (Laskar, 2015).

Up until this point, this discussion has addressed her negotiations of "Swedish" spaces, ignoring her everyday movements within 'Husby'. Like Mia, Naaz expresses a strong sense of belonging as an "immigrant" (Husby) woman whilst her perceived passing as "Swedish" is

understood as a façade. However, the last sentence of the quote above redraws our attention to the importance of 'boundary-blurring' within Husby and Kista. The last chapter detailed how "immigrant" (Husby) women learn to navigate hierarchies of belonging within their neighbourhood that play out across 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces. In essence, "immigrant" (Husby) women seek to balance competing membership claims to their ethnic and place-based belonging, emphasising one at the expense of the other depending on the context or 'situation' in hand (Brekhus, 2003, 5; Slooter, 2019). This rests in contrast to Cristina and Irene's navigations of hierarchies of belonging in Hammarby Sjöstad where they consistently seek to assert their belonging and pass as "Swedish" in all spaces and need not resort to 'boundary-blurring'. It is for this reason that earlier in this chapter, I express caution against the conflation of 'passing' with 'chameleonism', given the latter is conceptualised as an umbrella term that covers passing and boundary-blurring. Whilst both seek to achieve the privileges afforded to the dominant group, Naaz does not seek to hide her ethnic identification when in the company of Afro-Swedes but draws attention to her broader place-based belonging. In "Swedish" spaces however, she seeks to 'pass' as Swedish, deliberately hiding other aspects of her identity. To conflate 'passing' and chameleonism, would be to ignore how "immigrant" (Husby) women carefully read their environment, attempting to blend in with the majority, through a range of social identification strategies. This subsequently reveals how different strategies are used across different contexts: boundary crossing or 'passing' is used to navigate boundaries of belonging across "Swedish" and "immigrant" spaces whilst 'boundary-blurring' emerges as dominant at a finer scale when navigating hierarchies of belonging within "immigrant" (Husby) spaces. She hence shows an ability to successfully navigate public space, whilst considering two (often conflicting) structures of belonging, one imposed by "Swedes" and the other by "immigrant" (Husby) residents (Slooter, 2019, 194)

Drawing this together, what we hence observe is what Anderson (1999, 36) broadly refers to as 'code-switching'. Jenkins (1994, 83) describes code-switching as, "the masks the oppressed learn to wear for different occasions". In Anderson's (1999) study of inner-city America, he differentiates between 'decent' and 'street' people, each having their own rules (Slooter, 2019). He subsequently explores how people 'switch' to different behaviours, depending on the situation in hand, in order to 'fit in' and be read as belonging (ibid). To maintain their safety, they have to present themselves differently on the street compared to their home, given the codes of what he terms the 'decent guy' at home has less value in this setting (ibid).

In other words, it is not sufficient to adopt what Jenkins (1994) terms the 'majority mask' that would necessitate individuals abandoning their culture of origin (Gray et al., 2018, 1244). Algarin-Ruiz (2014, 28, cited in Gray et al., 2018) argues that effective code-switching requires individuals, "To possess a high level of understanding of the two cultures, as well as deep understanding of the underlying structures". In a similar vein, Naaz shows an awareness that to stay safe, she must switch between "immigrant" (Husby) and "Swedish" performances, the likes of which are possible as virtue of her racialised appearance. Similar to Anderson's 'code-switching' is 'social navigation' explored by Utas (2005) and Vigh (2006) who analyse the ways in which people navigate different situations through strategically undertaking different self-representations. Important for this research however, they focus on 'social navigations' amongst women who accordingly present themselves as either victims or as warriors (Slooter, 2019). Common to these conceptualisations is their focus on 'bicultural' competencies, alluding to their ability to navigate two environments and their respective cultures, in this case referring to boundaries of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes". However, their binary representations underestimate the complexity of Naaz's safety work, given she is able to navigate boundaries *and* hierarchies between and within "Swedish" and "immigrant" spaces.

The extent of Naaz's 'code-switching' (Anderson, 1999) or 'social navigation' (Utas, 2005) comes into fruition when recalling her 'first impressions' within Kista. In the bus station, she recalls recognising fellow 'Middle-Eastern' Grandpas who are known to gather in Husby Torg. In this context, she is conscious that she is read and is also known as part of the Middle-Eastern community. She does admit however, that there have been occasions where 'Afro-Swedes' from Husby have also been present. In this case, she draws on 'boundary blurring', encouraging her reading as an "immigrant" (Husby) woman through her use of Rinkeby-Svenska, seemingly diverting attention from her ethnic belonging in the absence of any shared ethnic solidarities. Travelling up the escalator into the Galleria however, she is quickly confronted with a different set of norms, carried on the bodies of "Swedish" shoppers. Here, she replicates "Swedish" behaviours, learnt through her exposure to "Swedes" in the work-place, with the aim to pass as "Swedish" and avoid any unwanted attention from "Swedish" women and security guards due to previous experiences of racial profiling. It is through this series of rapid 'first impressions' that the extent of her chameleon traits come into being, as throughout this journey, she makes a conscious effort to consistently read her environment,

making rapid adjustments in order to 'blend in' with the perceived majority. Kista's diverse mosaic of "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) spaces help best illuminate the extent of her 'shape-shifting' (Ghabrial, 2019) or 'chameleonism' (Brekhus, 2003). In this context, her self-presentation changes within a matter of metres or seconds, indicative of her remarkable ability to read and respond to her environment. It is the speed at which this 'code-switching' or 'social navigations' takes place, which explains this study's decision to use the term 'chameleonism' given it best encapsulates her ability to quickly adapt and change how she is seen by others. This type of 'code-switching' and 'social navigation' is notably absent in "Swedish" women's accounts in Hammarby Sjöstad, and in Nora's navigations of Husby where women use the same 'safety work' in all spaces, taking little care in making adjustments in line with changes in their environment. Thinking more broadly, this code-switching has not been acknowledged at this micro-scale given most scholars' work focuses on comparisons between larger spaces including the inner-city and suburbs (Slooter, 2019), the home and public space (Anderson, 1999), or one's neighbourhood and work-spaces (Brekhus, 2003). Similar to criticisms levied at women's safety literature, the micro-scale is often wrongly ignored at the expense of recognising the depth and complexity of women's daily negotiations of public space.

However, Naaz acknowledges that 'passing' as Swedish is not always possible especially within homogenous white and middle-class spaces - including Hammarby Sjöstad's courtyard - tantamount to what I have previously defined as 'bright spaces' (Alba, 2005; Nare, 2013; McKay, 2021). In these spaces, she is conscious, *'Only blonde, blue-eyed Swedes will be seen as Swedish'.* Although Mia is unable to pass as "Swedish" in any space due to her racialised appearance, Naaz is able to pass as "Swedish" due to her pale complexion yet is simultaneously aware that only ethnic Swedes are accepted in some spaces. Through this discussion, she hence demonstrates an awareness of hierarchies of belonging within 'Swedishness' that play out across 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces within "Swedish" neighbourhoods. Being a chameleon does not always mean that one successfully 'blends-in' within all spaces, but rather stems from their unique ability to understand their limits in relation to hierarchies of belonging or what Fathi (2017, 154) previously referred to as 'glass ceiling'. In her study, middle-class Iranians living in the UK show an awareness of never being full 'accepted' in English circles despite their social class. The same argument applies to Naaz,

who whilst able to 'blend-in' most spaces, feels that she will never be seen as an 'ethnic Swede' in 'bright spaces' due to her phenotypical racialised appearance.

Towards the end of our discussion, she compares this sense of alertness with her partner, brothers and male relatives and their subsequent '*complacency*'. She explains how they face discrimination as hyper-visible "immigrant" men yet simultaneously reflects on how they act themselves in public space, leaving their appearance and behaviour unchanged, compared to her efforts to '*blend in as a chameleon*'. She attributes this complacency to their gender. Her fear of harassment and rape compel her to undertake safety work and hence, the desire to 'blend in' is felt greater amongst women due to their gendered unbelongings and the risks that may accompany their hyper-visibility. I am hence cautious to conflate her experiences of 'blending-in' with invisibility, given she is simultaneously conscious that women may never be fully 'invisible' due to this lack of belonging. For her and other participants, being a chameleon is a uniquely gendered experience in relation to their perceived (un)safety.

7.2.4. The ultimate chameleon

The previous chapters have focused on Bibiana's ethnic belonging as Persian along with her previous place-based identification as an "immigrant" (Husby) woman. What has not yet been emphasised is her subsequent relocation to a "Swedish" neighbourhood during her teenage years owing to her parents' middle-class status that led them to afford a 'nicer' flat within the city, and hence, where her social class hence enabled greater mobility than other participants (Philipson, 2016). Beyond the Swedish context, Aarset (2018) and Fathi (2017) discuss the social mobility amongst second-generation migrants afforded by their middle-class status, enabling them to work and live in 'white, middle-class' spaces within Norway and the UK respectively. Despite their focus, both note the dearth of research regarding the experiences of middle-class ethnic minorities, a lacuna that this section seeks to address through its focus on Bibiana's narratives.

For Bibiana, her family's relocation has led to regular movements back and forth, visiting 'Husby' to socialise with old friends and family, and subsequently returning to her university and home in the "Swedish" city. What is of particular interest for this chapter's focus, is how this relocation has affected her sense of belonging. In other words, Bibiana explained that she now sees herself as neither an "immigrant" (Husby) nor a "Swede". In contrast, this chapter has hitherto established how Naaz attests to her ethnic and place-based belonging, yet

simultaneously deliberately passes as "Swedish". Conversely, Cristina and Irene proudly belong to Hammarby Sjöstad as "Swedish" women, albeit they unintentionally pass as "immigrants" in Husby. For Bibiana however, the answer to this question is less clear-cut, unsure of her self-identification and broader sense of belonging (Ghabrial, 2019). Hubinette and Arbouz (2019, 155) note similar sentiments amongst 'mixed-race Swedes', what they refer to as "an inner state of psychic fragmentation". In contrast to Hubinette and Arbouz's (2019) mixed-race participants however, and of great significance for this chapter's focus on chameleons, was the way in which Bibiana compared her lack of self-identified belonging with her ability to be read as belonging, both within and between "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) neighbourhoods. Her lack of belonging is set in contrast to her feelings of safety across "immigrant" (Husby) and "Swedish" spaces, disrupting the spatialised binaries of (un)safety that have hitherto dominated this thesis. It is for this reason, and her seemingly paradoxical scenario, that her narratives will now be explored in-depth, subsequently marking her as what I refer to as the 'ultimate chameleon', positioned at the very peak of the continuum discussed above (See: 7.2.1).

To better understand her narratives, this section will begin by tracing her encounters within primary and high-school as it was these moments that subsequently shaped her lack of self-identification and chameleon traits. Despite this study's interest in spatial aspects, this temporal perspective is needed in order to understand her development as a 'chameleon', an aspect that Brekhus (2003) recognises as important in his considerations of changes over gay men's life courses. Participants' previous encounters in the school in particular, whether it be the playground or classroom, continually return to the fore as significant for processes of (social) identification, where women first learn how to negotiate and navigate their (in)visibility (See: Sara, 6.6.3) (See: Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019, and Tolonen, 2019, for discussion on importance of schools in relation to ethnic boundary-making). This hence underscores the importance of looking beyond women's current 'first impressions' in public space to their previous encounters in public or semi-public space, revealing their spatial and temporal relationality (Kern, 2005; Schuermans, 2017) which is often ignored in favour of focusing on specific encounters in a single spatial or temporal context.

Section 6.5.2 explored how Bibiana became conscious of the importance of Husby's local boundaries of belonging and its ethnic hierarchies through conversations with her Grandpa in the allotment. It was in the school however, that the impact of this socialisation came into

practice as she learnt to assert her place-based identification as an "immigrant" (Husby) resident. This rests in opposition to Sriskandarajah's (2019) findings that underscore the emergence of different power structures in the school setting with their own unique hierarchies. In her study, she notes how black youth were highly ranked in terms of 'coolness', allowing them to carve out a unique space within local school hierarchies (ibid, 270; Cheung-Judge, 2016). Bibiana's primary school conversely emerges as a microcosm of broader neighbourhood hierarchies (Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019; Runfors, 2019). Within the playground, Bibiana for example, recounts how she conversed with her classmates in Rinkeby-Svenska and listened to music created by Husby residents (Gokieli, 2017). It was also in this context that she reproduced its ethnic fractures as she mostly socialised with her Middle-Eastern bubble. She fondly recalls visiting their family homes on Fridays whilst *'friends from other backgrounds would just be playground friends'.* Inter-cultural relations for the most part, remained on a somewhat superficial level that did not necessarily translate into friendships or inter-family connections (Nayak, 2017, 293; Sriskandarajah, 2019, 268; Tolonen, 2019). As argued by Kruse and Kroneberg (2019), strategies of boundary policing – as demonstrated here - are more common in the school contexts where children face bright boundaries, often leading to segregated friendship groups. Despite this segregation, she explains that she cannot recall any other emotion than happiness and felt a sense of belonging to her Persian and Husby social identification.

Faced by a completely new environment, she contrasts her feelings of safety and inclusion in Husby to her sentiments of unsafety and exclusion within her new high-school. Upon hearing her accent, she recalls moments of 'hyper-visibility' where "Swedish" classmates bullied her as the "immigrant" girl (Hallgren, 2005). She pauses in the relief map, explaining she feels sadness when recalling these times, and in particular, feelings of shame stemming from her subsequent response, '*I just learnt to deny my Persian background and Husby identity. I didn't speak Persian or Rinkeby-Svenska when my parents phoned me at school. I was really aware of what I brought into lunch, I wanted sandwiches, not anything associated with my background'* (See: Gunnarrson, 2013, for further discussions around the shame of 'becoming Swedish' amongst immigrant girls)*.* This also corresponds with what was previously discussed in 6.2.3 by Eliassi (2013) and Hallgren (2005) as a possible response to ethnic discrimination. Hubinette and Arbouz (2019) draw attention to the temporal aspect of this response, noting denial of one's ethnic identity is more common during childhood and teenage years, as can be

demonstrated with Bibiana's narratives. Testament to this, Hallgren (2005, 333) highlights how second-generation youth refuse to attend mother-tongue lessons, concerned of how their parents' language emerges as a negative marker of ethnic difference. In this case however, this does not only pertain to denying her ethnic identity but also her place-based identity, as alluded by her reticence to speak in Rinkeby- Svenska.

After spending several years at her new "Swedish" school, she reflects on the difficulties when making visits back to her childhood neighbourhood. During these visits, she was conscious of her increasing unfamiliarity with "immigrant" (Husby) residents as her friends and family moved away. At the same time, what once felt 'natural' became less familiar, *'Rinkeby-Svenska was no longer my mother tongue, I no longer listened to suburban music, and my friendship groups changed, I even got a Swedish boyfriend'.* Her new "Swedish" friends' descriptions and fears of the 'dangerous suburbs' slowly had an impact, leading her to question her perceived safety as a child, previously discussed with reference to Husby Torg and Kista's Bus Station (See: 6.4.1). In response, she explained that she neither no longer felt that she belonged to Husby due to her weaker social connections, nor was she always read as belonging due to her unfamiliarity with its norms and behaviour. This was proven by increasingly regular incidents of harassment that were markedly absent in her earlier years, as established in the previous chapter. Whilst she was grateful for her parents' middle-class background, Bibiana stopped at one point in the relief map interview to reflect on how her life may have played out differently if she had not moved away, or as she argued, *'Maybe Husby would still be my flag'* in response to Mia's assertion of place-based belonging (See: 6.2.3). This reflection highlighted how participants from Husby, relied on their place of residence as a spatial fix for their troubled sense of national identity, in other words, their self-identification as "Swedish" and external categorisation as "immigrants" (Pettersson 2013, 420; Runfors, 2016). For Bibiana, their coping mechanism was no longer an option, following her move to the 'city' due to her middle-classness, leaving her struggling to understand and locate her sense of 'in-betweenness', leading her to express a sense of alienation (Gray et al., 2018; Hallgren, 2005; Osanami-Torngren, 2020).

In her detailed recollection of her time at school, one encounter, in particular, was more powerful than the others due to its frequency and subsequent impact, *'I was constantly asked, where are you from?'.* This question of origin is well-known as a boundary-policing and disciplining device where bodies are recognised as being out-of-place (Antonsich, 2018, 455;

Eliassi, 2013, 103; Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019, 144; Koefoed & Simonsen, 2012; Krivonos, 2020; Osanami-Torngren, 2020). She continues, '*I used to always say Swedish at first, no matter who asked. But then I started saying Swedish to a Swede, and Persian if a Persian asked, and Husby if a neighbourhood friend asked'.* This question hence had an impact on the way in which she presented herself and on the type of positioning she adopted amongst peers (Mas Giralt, 2011). In this encounter, Bibiana changed her self-presentation depending on the 'audience' (Koskela, 2019). Her agency, demonstrated through her changing replies, is often not discussed when considering the impacts of this question in the broader literature where this question primarily treated as an 'othering' device. Only Halgren (2005, 332) and Runfors (2016, 1852) note how their participants give short response to questions about their identity to avoid being seen as different yet absent is any discussion of how their answers change across different contexts. In this case, it was Bibiana's varied responses to this question, which marked a shift away from the denial of her ethnicity and neighbourhood in order to pass as "Swedish", to her embracing of her chameleon identity. Whilst this question taught her how to adapt to different scenarios, she also acknowledges this moment as where '*I begun to lose myself',* explaining her earlier struggles to locate her sense of belonging.

I have outlined her encounters with the purpose to illustrate how her current performances in public space are shaped by a range of encounters over her life-time. The above narratives, elicited from Cristina, Irene, and Naaz, have not addressed long-term temporal perspectives, the details of which are key to understand women's current negotiations and navigations (Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019). Too often, women's negotiations and navigations in public are presented as 'pre-given' and hence, at risk at ignoring the vast amounts of labour invested to finesse their current negotiations of public space (Lennox, 2021). Following her time at school, Bibiana explains that she now no longer denies her ethnic or place-based identification but rather has learnt to adapt to different situations. Bibiana hence now feels able to blend-in within "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) spaces given she is familiar with their respective norms and values due to her attendance of "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) schools. Studying teenagers with migrant backgrounds in Sweden, Behtoui (2021) acknowledges how their identities were fluid, changing across different societal spheres, including family, friends, and school, yet absent is any detailed attention to how these identities are learnt and enacted. For Bibiana, being exposed to "Swedish", "immigrant" (Husby), and ethnic modes of belonging through previous encounters, cultivated her ability to simultaneously traverse different

structures, in ways not recognised in extant research (Sriskandarajah, 2019). Whilst others frame cultural knowledge' as passed across generations through learning, her narratives point to how she learns through encounters in different spaces over her life-time (Fileborn, 2016). Through this exposure, she is able to use the same identity markers by which she is categorised by members of "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) society as tools for strategies of boundary negotiations. Understanding the norms of a space and the 'right' ways to behave provides Bibiana with a sense of safety, enabling her to feel not that she belonged but rather she was recognised by others as belonging in that space (Fileborn, 2016, 90, 217). This, along with Mia's brief discussion of encounters in the workplace, responds to gaps identified in interactionist research that fail to consider the complex, uneven ways in which the language of identity strategies is learnt across different spatial and temporal contexts. Here, we have witnessed how Bibiana switches from embracing her ethnic and place-based roots, to denying them across all spaces, to then reaching a balance.

At the centre of her strategies is her physical appearance, as she describes, '*Persians are the whites of the Middle-East'.* Similar to Naaz, her pale complexion is at the root of her identity-switching as it enables her to seemingly pass as 'Swedish with European ancestry' in Swedish spaces yet as 'Middle-Eastern' in Husby (Bursell, 2012; Ghabrial, 2019; Haghverdian, 2009). Despite Bibiana's focus on the uniqueness of Persians, Ajrouch and Kusow (2007, 81) and Eliassi (2013, 105) note similar processes of acceptance amongst Lebanese and Kurdish migrants as their otherwise ambiguous racialised appearance resembles other Mediterranean individuals from Italy, Greece, or Spain, leading them to have what Waters (1999) refers to as 'identity options' (also Mas Giralt with reference to Latin-American). Vasquez (2010, 46) refers to this as "flexible ethnicity", that is the "ability to deftly and effectively navigate racial terrains and be considered an 'insider' in more than one racial or ethnic group". Similar to Naaz and in contrast to Mia, Bibiana takes advantage of the greater freedom to use her flexible ethnicity granted by her racialised embodiment. This reinforces ethnic assumptions elicited by her racialised physical appearance through her behaviour (Becker, 2015; Mas Giralt, 2011).

When moving through "Swedish" space for example, she adopts similar mannerisms to Naaz as she recounts '*acting with purpose and little eye contact, as the Swedes do'.* If walking past a lone Swedish man, she adds to these strategies due to her heightened gendered vulnerability by '*pretending to be on the phone, speaking in Swedish-Swedish and losing any parts of my Rinkeby-Svenska dialect'*. Through these strategies, she aims to blends into the

"Swedish" majority. When entering Husby however, she speaks in Persian in Husby Torg or uses Rinkeby-Svenska to greet passers-by in 'less Middle-Eastern' spaces, what may be referred to as 'boundary blurring'. Throughout these encounters, she ensures that she gives strong eye contact and appears not scared, adopting localised behaviours in the hope to blend in as an "immigrant" Husby woman. In other words, 'chameleonism' requires the altering of language and dialect, behaviours, and other mannerisms, to respond to different intersectional contexts (Gray et al., 2018, 1241). Greenberg-Raanan and Avni (2020) address similar processes of 'code-switching' yet through the specific lens of clothing, noting how women change their dress depending on where they hope to visit during the day. They show how women accommodate different socio-cultural norms by changing their dress as they travel to different neighbourhoods. This study, however, moves beyond their focus on clothing, recognising how 'chameleons' adapt their appearance and behaviour in a myriad of ways to 'blend in' across different settings within and beyond neighbourhood contexts (Frost, 2011; Gray et al., 2018). To solely focus on their clothing choices at the neighbourhood level, albeit important, would be to underestimate the intricacy of Bibiana and other women's 'safety work'. Through these adaptations, Bibiana emerges as the 'ultimate' chameleon, able to navigate local and national structures - boundaries and hierarchies of belonging - across and within "immigrant" (Husby) and "Swedish" neighbourhoods. Despite being read as part of the perceived majority in most spaces, she attests to a lack of belonging, in contrast to previous participants who express a strong sense of belonging to either "immigrant" (Husby) or "Swedish" spaces, or with mixed-race Swedes who overcome their confused self-identification through positioning themselves as 'multicultural' or 'cosmopolitan' (Hubinette & Arbouz, 2019).

Not all encounters are successful, however. '*There is one man who casually screamed racial slurs at me, even though I look like a hella white person. He was like, 'blatte, oh your hair is so black, it is disgusting, you are disgusting'. I was just like I'm casually walking around, you are so mean'.* Here, Bibiana describes a recent encounter where she was called a 'blatte' (blackhead), referring to her dark hair and eyes, subsequently revealing the rigidity of Swedish whiteness which is associated with a particular appearance (Eliassi, 2013; Lundström, 2017). This is a specific insult used by 'ethnic-Swedes' to "describe a person of visibly non-European background" (Pettersson, 2013, 424). Its usage is more broadly believed to reflect their nostalgia for pre-migration Sweden, what Probyn (1996, 5) broadly refers to as 'longing,

alluding to their yearnings for a lost place' (Antonsich, 2010; Dahltstedt et al., 2017; Garner, 2014; Leitner, 2012). In this precise moment, she feels vulnerable and visible compared to her usual ease at which she moves through public space. Furthering the notion of 'bright spaces', she explains that the space in question was homogenous dominated by 'white, blonde Swedes' and only had one use, not dissimilar to the courtyard in Hammarby Sjöstad. In keeping with our interactionist framework, conceptions of "immigrants" are not stable but contextual: she passes as Swedish in 'blurry spaces' yet seen as an "immigrant" in 'brighter' spaces (Leinonen, 2011). Despite her own conflicted feelings of belonging, she explains that for the most part, she normally passes as white but not always Swedish, hence, alluding to her consciousness of the hierarchies of whiteness discussed in chapter five. For Bibiana, she admits that *'Only Swedish women with blonde hair and blue eyes, will always be accepted, and be protected by Swedish men'.*

Similar to Naaz however, she has learnt to overcome these situations. She recounts a recent incident on the metro where a "Swedish" man tried to sit close to her on the metro and begin a conversation (See: Mulari, 2020, for similar discussions of harassment on Helsinki metro). Given housing and schools are largely segregated across Stockholm, Kustermans (2016) highlights the importance of encounters on Stockholm's metro, given moving through the metro-system emerges as one of few times where residents may experience more diverse racialised and class-based encounters (Gray et al., 2018; Koefoed et al., 2017; Mulari, 2020; Nayak, 2017; Shaker et al., 2021; Wilson, 2011). Surrounded by '*blonde-haired, blue-eyed Swedes'*, she immediately judged the situation as threat and quickly responded, *'I initially spoke in English and told him to move. After this, he explained to me that he could help me to get to know the city. I then replied in perfect Swedish. I did it on purpose, it embarrassed him. He was shocked'.* Bibiana generates a similar 'crisis of reading' (Ahmed, 2000, 128) as Emma (5.4.2), yet in the opposite situation due to her simultaneous embodiment of somatic strangeness and linguistic sameness (Alba, 2005; Antonsich, 2018; Clarke, 2021; Dahltstedt et al., 2017; Hallgren, 2005; Hubinette & Tigervall, 2009; Philipson, 2016). Whilst Bibiana is only recognised as "Swedish" when she signals Swedishness through her accent in this 'bright spaces', I can compare how Emma and Cristina were assumed to be Swedish until demonstrated otherwise through their language and accent, respectively (Clarke, 2021; Ghabrial, 2019; Shaker, 2021). Unlike Emma however, this surprise was intentional given she purposely chose to quickly transition from English to Swedish. To a certain extent, she uses

her audible (in)visibility to overcome her physical (in)visibility which repositions her as at least partially belonging to Sweden (Toivanen, 2014, 197). Whilst the encounter may have begun from an unequal power position, this scenario demonstrates her ability to navigate and manipulate broader discriminatory structure, revealing how negotiations surrounding belonging can undergo several shifts during a given situation (Pettersson, 2013, 428).

Through the lens of women's safety, it is equally important to note how women rely on visibility and invisibility in their creative 'safety work' strategies. Although her safety work predominantly relies on her 'blending-in' to become less visible, this does not prevent her from relying on other non-chameleon strategies that temporarily render her hyper-visible. Goffman's (1963, 110) words once again resonates, "Problems cannot always be handled by past experience, since new contingencies always arise, making former concealing devices inadequate", underscoring the importance of addressing the spontaneity and creativity of their responses or 'safety work' when faced with diverse scenarios. At the time of writing, only Gray et al., (2018, 1243) explicitly acknowledges the creativity of individuals' response when negotiating diverse interactions, an important facet of women's safety work, which is often lost when focused on more conventional 'safety work' strategies including place-avoidance. Combined, Bibiana's strategies as a 'chameleon' can be reinforced with other 'safety work' strategies which help make her feel safe, encouraging us not to see them as exclusive, a criticism that has been levelled at previous typologies of interactionist strategies (Slooter, 2019; Wimmer, 2008a). Chameleonism should be understood as one overarching strategy – the ability to blend in – rather than as a fixed trait.

7.2.5. Final reflections:

Approaching 'chameleonism' through the lens of women's safety, has developed and finessed Brekhus' original contribution in a myriad of ways that shall be summarised in the conclusion of this chapter. Before proceeding to consider what have termed 'personality chameleons', I wish to underscore one key aspect of Brekhus' understanding of chameleonism that rests in tension with my conceptualisation and more importantly, the narratives elicited from participants throughout this chapter. Approaching 'chameleonism' through the lens of women's safety, led me to note the negative emotions, associated with their hyper-vigilance and subsequent quick adaptations, in contrast to the pride and more generalised strategies observed amongst gay men in Brekhus' (2003) study. It is not that I seek to emphasise that

these men are not chameleons but rather the notion of chameleonism appears to take on a more unique intensity when viewed through the lens of the women discussed above.

Expanding on this, Brekhus (2003, 96) places particular emphasis on the '*pride*' expressed by chameleons, arguing 'He is proud of his ability to move in and out of different identities to fit into multiple social contexts'. Ghabrial (2019, 197) too notes, 'She relishes her ability to change her exterior and takes pleasures in her fluency'. In this chapter, the narratives described point to many emotions – shame, confusion, paranoia to name a few, what is understood as code-switching stress. Absent in any of my interviews were any sense of pride that Brekhus (2003, 96) testifies to amongst his participants. In fact, Bibiana attests to the exact opposite, ashamed of her ability to switch between different environments, feeling that she has wrongly disowned her family's ethnic background, her neighbourhood's upbringing, and her Swedish university friends. Naaz also describes how she '*adopts an ultra-ego, that I don't even like',* a far cry from the pride discussed by Brekhus (2003). For these women however, this was seen as a necessary price to 'blend in' and feel safe. Whilst these women felt reassured that they were temporarily safe, misconstruing this temporary reassurance with pride would be to wrongly endorse chameleonism as a solution. I am hence concerned that Brekhus' (2003) emphasis on pride will continue to place pressure on the individual to conform rather than address the broader structures that perpetuate gendered and more broadly, intersectional harassment that women face on a regular basis. Rather than destabilising or transgressing the system that makes 'chameleonism' necessary, this encouragement secures and reproduces relations of power, as the criteria deployed to decide who 'blends in' and who fails, remains intact (Ahmed, 1999, cited in Krivonos, 2020, 391). Whilst I could call to avoid 'chameleonism', the blame should not fall on the shoulders of these women but rather those maintaining and reproducing structures from the 'majority' perspective and institutions. For the meantime, I detail these perspectives in order to reveal the extent of labour that goes into women's everyday negotiations of public space that go largely unrecognised. If their work is not rendered visible in the near future, along with its emotional tolls, then these structures will continue remain intact and women's safety will remain an issue.

7.2.6. Personality chameleon(s)

Before moving to the conclusion, this chapter will finish through briefly drawing attention to another group of self-proclaimed chameleons. Abigail and Barbara expressed sentiments of (internal and external) belonging across all spaces leading them to feel very safe to which they

later attributed to their adventurous personalities, *'It is like I am a chameleon, I can fit in anywhere'.* They compared this to the 'timid Swedish women' in white, privileged "Swedish" spaces and 'passive' "immigrants" in the suburbs. Watching a mother and daughter cross the road, Barbara reflects on the advice that she would give if she had a daughter, '*Don't be afraid to be yourself, make yourself stand out, and you will still fit in everywhere'.* Their understanding of chameleons required no reading of the environment through a range of cues nor any careful adaptations of their behaviour or appearance. In fact, it required no consciousness for their external environment. Instead, their perceived safety relied on '*being adventurous'* and '*putting yourself out there'* irrespective of the spatial context and whom you may encounter.

Without diminishing the importance of confidence and boldness, their narratives reflect a sense of entitlement, referring to their ability to ignore societal norms (Greenberg-Raanan & Avni, 2020, 7). Identifying similar parallels in Greenberg-Raanan and Avni's (2020) consideration of privileged women, being white, middle-class and Swedes places them in a position of privilege that enables them to resist said norms (ibid). As Kern (2005) argues, privilege enables to women to feel more secure and confident due to their assumed invisibility, even if this invisibility is sometimes imagined. Whilst these women undoubtedly face incidents of harassment and undertake taxing 'safety work', they remain relatively privileged in comparison to other differently-situated women in this study, needing not to negotiate their belonging across different settings, given it remains naturalised and hegemonic for the most part (Bennett, 2012; Fathi, 2017; Halse, 2018). This privilege enables them to frame their safety as a product of their 'adventurous' personality (Kern, 2005). For this reason, to refer to their behaviour as 'chameleon-like' would be to wrongly conflate the above experiences into one overarching category. This gesture would subsequently underestimate and undervalue the relentless efforts described above, seen as necessary to maintain their perceived safety. For this reason, being oneself is not an attribute held by chameleons in fear of attention and what may follow (Kelly, 1988). Their accounts have more semblance yet not identical to the traits described with regard to 'female flaneur' (Dreyer & McDowall, 2012), given their freedom to walk the streets with less concern on their reception. Whilst the possibility of a female flaneur is subject to much debate (Gleber, 1997), Abigail and Barbara's ability to 'be themselves' without any care for their surroundings resembles certain attributes of the flaneur, a more fitting description than their previous self-proclamation as

'chameleons' (Lewis, 2018). More broadly however, their accounts importantly challenge discourses that only express the fear and victimisation that women experience in public space (Koskela, 1997; Lewis, 2018).

7.3. Conclusion

Findings from chapters five and six, importantly underscored national and local boundaries and hierarchies of belonging within Hammarby Sjöstad and Husby, respectively. This chapter has built on these findings through drawing attention to how women move between these neighbourhoods, and respectively negotiate their structures of belonging. This subsequently responds to gaps in current interactionist research that fails to recognise the 'situational nature' of boundary-making strategies, recognising how women deploy (a combination) of different strategies within and between different neighbourhoods (For exception, see Kruse & Kroneberg, 2019). Focusing on their 'successful' mobility within different neighbourhoods, helps underscore the extent of women's safety work that would go unnoticed if our attention had remained within the perimeters of each neighbourhood. This simultaneously helps build on existing scholarship on segregation in Stockholm which fails to recognise the everyday transgression of otherwise sharp boundaries. These boundaries are no longer experienced as strictly bounded areas but are instead, more dynamic and unstable (Greenberg-Raanan & Avni, 2020; Lundström, 2010)

Alongside these broad contributions, this chapter focused on women who were able to 'successfully' negotiate national and local structures of belonging, to which were subsequently referred to as 'chameleons'. This concept was traced to Brekhus' (2003) ethnographic study of sexual minorities in American suburbs. Despite its origins, this chapter has sought to move beyond his conceptualisation whilst taking forward his broad emphasis on their ability to 'blend in' with the majority in different settings' in order to avoid discrimination. Addressing this concept through the lens of women's safety, informed by an interactionist and encounters framework, has complicated Brekhus' (2003) original understandings. Through this chapter, I have outlined how women learn to read passers-by and the environment, and accordingly respond through 'blending in'. Feeling safe in different spaces required an intimate knowledge of what safety and danger feels and looks like, the ability to sense whether the environment and its passers-by are a threat, relies on an embodied learnt knowledge of which sights, sounds, and multisensory cues, one needs to recognise in order to feel safe (Jaffe, 2020, 145). Regarding their subsequent response, the exact nature of their social identification strategies

was dependent on the situation, leading women to deploy a mix of 'passing' and 'boundary-blurring' in contrast to the implicit emphasis on 'passing' in Brekhus' study.

More specifically, addressing interactionist processes through the lens of the encounter revealed the way in which women *gradually* learnt how to read and negotiate these structures. Above, I provided insights into Bibiana's process of learning to become a chameleon despite her initial denial of her Persian ethnicity and neighbourhood identification. I also sought to emphasise the limits of their 'safety work' despite their agency, either preventing them from being chameleons in Mia's case or meaning it was less successful in some spaces as in Naaz and Bibiana's case. These nuances were lacking in Brekhus' account where his participants' navigation of space is presented as pre-given, failing to recognise the gradual way in which they were exposed, and became attuned to the best ways to navigate space. Most importantly however, I finally complicated Brekhus' participants' representation of chameleonism as a positive self-identification, as I am wary that these representations may encourage and endorse this way of living as a solution to the issue of women's perceived (un)safety, rather than address the broader structures at work. Having developed Brekhus' concept through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety, I finish this chapter through underscoring the importance of future research that continues to explore the notion of 'chameleonism' through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety, in the hope to further finesse this conceptualisation and more importantly, draw attention to the perceptions and experiences of women who have otherwise been rendered invisible.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

8.1. Introduction

This thesis opened with Sarah Everard's murder in London in 2021, focused on how the subsequent advice urged women to judge danger in the name of being more 'streetwise'. The nature of women's encounters in public space – in other words, how women make judgments about the people they meet and the interactions they have - were key to these safety messages. Yet, as I outlined with a review of existing literature, the significance of encounters is predominantly ignored in academic research. Long before Sarah's encounter, critiques of previous guidance from the police and state, family, and friends, underscored how women are consistently encouraged to rapidly evaluate the potential threat of passers-by during their everyday encounters through a combination of embodied and non-verbal cues (Gardner, 1995; Roy & Bailey, 2021). The judgements reached through this process accordingly inform their response and 'safety work' in the seconds that follow. It was here that this thesis is situated, seeking to explore women's perceived (un)safety through their everyday encounters in public space across three neighbourhoods in Stockholm, Sweden.

To this end, I have developed a new conceptual framework that brought together two bodies of work, interactionist and encounters scholarship, that had never previously been used in tandem. Informed by an intersectional approach, this framework explored how differently-situated women negotiated their perceived (un)safety through making judgements about others and their own belonging during their daily encounters. The attention of this thesis was on encounters in neighbourhoods across Stockholm, where academic discussion regarding women's perceived (un)safety has gone mostly amiss owing to Sweden's international reputation as safe. The thesis findings problematised this façade by illustrating huge variations in women's perceived (un)safety within and between each neighbourhood, where their experiences and negotiations of daily encounters were both informed by and fed into overarching structures of belonging. Alongside these conceptual and empirical contributions, the thesis has developed a new remote methodological approach to explore women's encounters across Stockholm, consisting of a three-stage process of walking interviews, relief maps and focus groups. This study's methodological innovations are hence two-fold, first regarding the development of remote methodologies and second concerning their insights into women's perceived (un)safety. Drawing this together, then, the study is a theoretically,

empirically, and methodologically novel investigation into women's encounters in relation to their perceived (un)safety.

In this final chapter, the first half will further explore thesis' original contributions, centred around its conceptual, empirical, and methodological novelty, both within and beyond the field of women's perceived (un)safety. The second half of this chapter returns to the overarching research question and its three sub-questions with the aim to contribute to growing knowledge surrounding women's perceived (un)safety in Stockholm and further afield. Both sections shall simultaneously address the broader implications of this study and identify potential avenues for further research. This chapter closes with some concluding remarks where I envision a more hopeful future for women and their daily navigations of public space.

8.2. Original Contributions:

8.2.1. Original contributions: theoretical and conceptual

This section addresses this study's theoretical and conceptual contributions, summarising the new conceptual framework that has been developed in response to theoretical gaps in existing literature. In Chapter 1, existing scholarship surrounding women's safety was heavily criticised for overlooking the significance of women's everyday encounters. Through reviewing these studies, I underscored the progress made by some feminist scholars in exploring how women engage in boundary-making through attaching fear to specific places and people (Valentine, 1989). On the one hand, this scholarship importantly acknowledged the significance of themes of belonging and (in)visibility alongside group boundaries for women's perceived (un)safety. Yet on the other, it was shown to fall short in understanding how these boundary-making processes of judgement emerge during women's encounters. Notably lacking from these studies was any consideration of the complex ways in which differently-situated women understand and negotiate their perceived (un)safety through a series of judgements across different spaces.

In response to this theoretical gap, this study developed a novel conceptual approach, used to explore the nature of women's everyday encounters. The first part of this framework drew on interactionist theories, interested in how individuals construct and negotiate group boundaries of belonging whilst subsequently understanding their belonging through 'interactions' with others (Barth 1998; Duemmler et al., 2010; Jenkins 2000, 2008; Koskela

2020). To address the shortcomings of current interactionist scholarships, I brought interactionist theories into dialogue with intersectional perspectives. The former, interactionist theories, were used to address the negotiations surrounding the (re)production of boundaries of belonging whilst the latter, intersectional perspectives, were used to explore differences within overarching social identities, what were subsequently termed 'hierarchies of belonging' (Korteweg & Triadafilopoulos, 2013; Koskela 2020; Valentine, 2007). Turning to the second part of this framework, I used insights from the encounters literature to provide the conceptual lens to understand how interactionist processes emerge during 'interactions'. My focus on 'first impressions' (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018) drew attention to the significance of (in)visibility during women's "interactions" in public space where judgements on belonging were predominantly made through embodied cues carried on the bodies of passers-by's. I argued, that when informed by an intersectional framework, 'first impressions' can be positioned as the main site of interactionist boundary-making in women's navigations of public space, used to explore differently-situated women's perceptions and experiences across and within different neighbourhoods. Overall, then, this study's conceptual framework served to revitalise an otherwise stagnant theoretical field through underscoring how differently-situated women negotiated their perceived (un)safety during fleeting encounters, highlighting the dynamism of their evaluations of threat alongside the creativity of their subsequent 'safety work'. These key aspects have been myopically overlooked in previous studies, pointing to the importance of devising new conceptual frameworks to fully gauge the complexities of women's perceived (un)safety.

This conceptual framework not only furthered theoretical understandings of women's perceived (un)safety but, I suggest, equally have the potential to enhance interactionist and encounters scholarships as distinct bodies of work. Approaching interactionist scholarship through the lens of 'encounters' helps better understand what interactionist scholars had previously left as vague 'interactions'. Most empirical studies that drew upon interactionist theories tended to provide abstract insights into 'internal' and 'external' identifications and the concomitant "social identification strategies". Armed with the theoretical tools of the encounters scholarship, I have shown how we might understand the complex ways in which people were exposed to and undertook said interactionist processes. Focusing on 'first impressions' specifically helped enliven otherwise stagnant discussions through its engagement with the notion of (in)visibility, garnering more nuanced, grounded insights into

the everyday workings of interactionist processes. Drawing on interactionist scholarship provides a more structured approach to understand women's everyday encounters, informing debates surrounding encounters that have been critiqued as lacking conceptually clarity (Darling & Wilson, 2016; Wilson, 2017). In particular, Wimmers' boundary-making strategies were drawn upon when considering the 'management of first impressions', providing a systematic approach to understand the strategies used by 'othered' individuals during 'first impressions'. (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). Bringing these literatures together has not only furthered knowledge surrounding women's perceived (un)safety but, I suggest enhances their own development as separate bodies of work, compensating for their respective gaps and weaknesses, in light of and informed by broader feminist intersectional perspectives. Whilst this framework was used to explore women's perceived (un)safety, it is hoped that it might have utility beyond this realm in order to explore how one's belonging to social identities are experienced and negotiated during fleeting encounters that define our everyday navigations of public space.

I have also argued that interactionist, encounters, and women's safety scholarship all tend to lack an intersectional lens, underscoring the significance of this study's overarching intersectional framework which was used to explore differently-situated women's encounters within and between different neighbourhoods. Future research might extend this study's intersectional framework to explore the significance of issues such as sexual orientation, in order to build on my focus here on gendered, racialised and classed identities. Looking back, the final sample of participants showed considerable diversity in terms of their self-identified sexual orientation (See: 4.4.3) whilst issues surrounding sexual orientation were occasionally raised during the research process (See: 6.4.1). Future research could hence extend this conceptual framework to explore the significance of sexual orientation during women's 'first impressions'. These findings would be of particular interest given my engagement with Brekhus' (2003) 'chameleonism' which was originally devised to explore the experiences of gay men. Studying differently-situated women - along the lines of their racialised and classed identities, alongside their sexual orientation - would hence contribute to the development and refinement of this concept, particularly through engagement with sexualised (in)visibilities, which as previously argued, operates very different to racialised (in)visibilities (See: 7.2.2). With this in mind, this study's intersectional framework might frame how differently-situated

women negotiate their (in)visible sexual orientation during 'first impressions' through the lens of their perceived (un)safety.

8.2.2. Original contributions: empirical

This section addresses this thesis' empirical contributions, justifying its focus on women's everyday encounters in the Swedish context. Whilst Chapter 1 critiqued scholarship on women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden, Chapter two examined the social context of the research, focusing on race relations at the national, city and neighbourhood scales, in particular, problematising studies on divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes". Analysing these bodies of work provided key contextual depth to the research, yet simultaneously pointed to the urgent need for further study of women's perceived (un)safety across three neighbourhoods in Stockholm, Sweden.

Before presenting my own findings, I first summarised previous studies of women's safety in Sweden. Findings from recent quantitative studies have underscored troubling trends, showing variations in women's perceived (un)safety across Stockholm between the 'dangerous immigrant suburbs' and 'safe Swedish city' (Ceccato 2013; Johansson & Haandrikman, 2021). Despite their significance, neither quantitative nor qualitative studies have explored this dynamic any further, leaving the intersectional and spatial nature of women's perceived (un)safety unaddressed. My justification for siting this study in Stockholm was hence not that women's fears were worse than other European contexts but rather their perceptions of (un)safety had been left understudied, which I explained with reference to its international reputation. Against a background of Nordic exceptionalism, I suggested that Stockholm and Sweden's reputations - as safe and perceived as such by women residents - wrongly discouraged detailed study of women's perceived (un)safety in the Swedish context, leaving the aforementioned troubling dynamics undiscussed. In response, this research sought to fill this gap through exploring women's perceived (un)safety across three diverse neighbourhoods: Hammarby, a "Swedish" neighbourhood, Husby, an "immigrant" neighbourhood and finally, Kista, an 'in-between' neighbourhood, deemed neither "Swedish" nor "immigrant". My findings on the nature of women's perceived (un)safety across these neighbourhoods, have proved far more complex than Sweden's international reputation would imply, and previous limited quantitative research had suggested. They move us well beyond preliminary discussions of "Swedish" women's fears of "immigrant" men in the suburbs, and more broadly, point to the need for further research on women's perceived

(un)safety in Stockholm before continuing to place the city and country on a pedestal for societal lessons in women's safety.

Considering scholarship beyond the topic of women's safety, this study's focus on women's safety led me to engage with broader societal issues, most notably discrimination against "immigrants" by "Swedes". More specifically, focusing on women's everyday encounters underscored the racialised and classed nature of their fears, which simultaneously feeds into and is informed by overarching racialised and classed structures of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes". These findings respond to gaps in extant scholarship at international and domestic levels. Considering the former, academics from outside of Sweden have failed to address discrimination within its borders given its international reputation has operated as a façade, diverting academic attention to seemingly problematic European contexts in ways that reflect prior discussions around women's safety in Sweden. Whilst Swedish academics have crucially begun to acknowledge the prevalence of discrimination, their ethnic conception of divisions between "immigrants" and "Swedes" were at odds with its evident racialisation. In other words, people of colour were consistently referred to as 'immigrants' despite having lived in Sweden their entire lives, signalling at the ways in which bodily understandings of race and cultural understandings of ethnicity have collapsed (Hubinette & Lundstrom, 2011, 194; Gokieli, 2017). With this in mind, I suggest that my findings make significant progress in recognising the importance of processes of racialisation in the Swedish context. Through its engagement with broader societal issues in the Swedish context, then, this study's findings have repercussions beyond the focus on women's perceived (un)safety. Future research could fruitfully explore women's perceived (un)safety in other Swedish and Nordic cities, such as Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Malmo, and Oslo, all of which are protected by the façade of Nordic exceptionalism. Through this focus, deeper understandings of women's perceived (un)safety may be gained, alongside furthering perspectives on the broader racialised discrimination of "immigrants". Only then might discussions of research on women's safety or other societal issues in the Nordic context no longer be met with the questions or confusion I reported in Chapter 1, but be deemed necessary and important.

8.2.3. Original contributions: methodological

Alongside conceptual and empirical contributions, this thesis developed a new remote methodological approach to explore women's everyday encounters in relation to their

perceived (un)safety in Stockholm, Sweden. This study's methodological innovations were partly reinforced by the pandemic, and partly demand by the new questions being asked. Whilst the use of qualitative interviews enabled for more nuanced insights into women's perceived (un)safety, this study sought to offer a less conventional approach through its use of three unique qualitative methods: walking interviews, relief maps and focus groups, that sought to explore the spatial, intersectional and collective aspects of women's perceived (un)safety, respectively. Each of these shall be briefly revisited to clarify their contributions to the study of women's safety and more broadly, intersectionality scholarship.

The first stage of the research process involved the adaptation of Chang's (2017) walking interviews. Participants were asked to take the researcher to different spaces within their neighbourhood which were deemed important for their perceived (un)safety, providing a participant-driven yet simultaneously structured approach to explore the significance of space in relation to their perceived (un)safety. The second stage involved the production of Rodo-De-Zarate's (2014, 2015) relief maps alongside an accompanying interview. During this process, women were asked to use the 'screenshare' function on Zoom whilst answering questions on an online website about their perceived (un)safety in different spaces – identified during the walking tour – in relation to their intersectional identity. The resulting relief maps helped closely focus on the intersectional nature of women's perceived (un)safety through successfully relating three dimensions: social dimensions in relation to power structures, geographical dimensions in the form of neighbourhood spaces and the psychological dimensions referring to their perceived (un)safety. The final stage involved neighbourhood focus groups where women were asked to compare their relief maps and explain their perceived (un)safety across and within different public spaces. This provided the unique opportunity to witness group interactions, garnering valuable insights into processes of collective sense-making through the remote encounter of the focus group (Hennink, 2014; Morgan, 1997; Wilkinson, 1998). Whilst I have underscored their benefits as individual methods, the strength of these methods accumulated when used in combination, forming a unique, creative approach that helped gauge the intersectional complexities of women's perceived (un)safety during their everyday encounters (Kusenbach, 2003). Beyond the realm of women's safety, this approach responds to broader calls in intersectionality scholarship, a body of work that has in the past been heavily critiqued for its lack of a clear methodology (Bastia, 2014; Rodó-de-Zárate, M. & Jorba, 2012). In heed of Hopkins' (2018) earlier

commentary (See: 1.5), however, this study should not be seen to offer a 'specific methodology' but instead provides one of many potential intersectional methodologies that can better grasp the complexities within the context it is intended to address (Davis, 2008). It is hoped, nonetheless, that this methodological approach can be used or adapted to explore other societal issues from an intersectional, spatially-informed perspective beyond the field of women's perceived (un)safety.

The novelty of this study's methodological approach was further amplified by its remote nature as the ongoing pandemic shifted all aspects of the research process onto online platforms. What has been learnt from analysing the recruitment process through the means of Facebook groups, coupled with the remote operation of the data collection methods themselves, contributes to burgeoning albeit relatively new scholarship on feminist research in online spaces (Bonner-Thompson, 2018; Morrow et al., 2015). In particular, my discussion of researcher positionality emerged as one of the most unique methodological contributions, focusing on how my remote (in)visible body was subject to processes of judgement and stereotyping during the online recruitment and data collection process (See: 4.7). Key points of analysis within the overarching conceptual framework extend into the research process itself, addressing the nexus of interactionism, encounters and (in)visibility, challenging calls to separate the researcher and research process from the surrounding social world and reiterating the importance of considerations of researcher positionality on online platforms (Sjoqvist, 2017). Future research might similarly explore the significance of researcher's embodied encounters on online platforms, in light of its growing importance for research recruitment and data collection.

8.3. Revisiting Research Questions

The previous sections have sought to outline the theoretical, conceptual, empirical, and methodological novelty of this study, predominantly addressed from chapters two to four. Our attention shall now turn to the overarching research question and its sub-questions, outlined in the introduction and accordingly addressed in chapters five to seven. The overarching research question for this study was:

> Through the lens of the encounter, how do differently-situated women experience and negotiate structures of belonging – boundaries and hierarchies - within and between different neighbourhoods in relation to their perceived (un)safety in public space?

This question was addressed through three sub-questions that shall be 'answered' in the following sections:

1. How are boundaries of belonging (re)produced by the 'majority' population in each neighbourhood?
2. How are hierarchies of belonging experienced and navigated by women within each neighbourhood?
3. How do differently-situated women navigate structures of belonging, across and within different neighbourhoods?

The first two inter-connected questions were addressed throughout chapters five and six through the lens of Hammarby Sjöstad and Husby residents, respectively. Chapter seven addressed the final sub-question through its focus on 'chameleon' women. The phrase, 'structures of belonging' refers to both 'boundaries' and 'hierarchies' of belonging where the former gains pertinence with reference to this first research question whilst the latter emerges as the focus of the second question. Both however, are addressed within the third question under the overarching label of 'structures of belonging'.

8.3.1. How are boundaries of belonging (re)produced by the 'majority' population in each neighbourhood?

Insights into boundaries of belonging were elicited through the lens of the 'majority' population in each neighbourhood. This viewpoint was specifically addressed through the perspectives of "Swedish" women in Hammarby Sjöstad and "immigrant" (Husby) women in Husby respectively, both of which acted as the 'referent population' and were hence in the position to impose categorisations on others (Koskela, 2020, 21; Lewellen, 2002, 106). Addressing the 'majority' perspective through women's narratives extended current interactionist research which has hitherto adopted a gender-neutral lens, subsequently obliterating any gendered considerations (See: 3.2.6). Through this focus, I explored how the 'majority' population (re)produced overarching boundaries of belonging across two diverse neighbourhood contexts in relation to the question of women's perceived (un)safety.

In chapter five, I explored how national boundaries of belonging were (re)produced during women's 'first impressions' in Hammarby Sjöstad. Informed by an interactionist framework, participants sought solace in their self-identification and national belonging as "Swedes" and felt conversely threatened upon their external categorisation of "immigrant" men,

highlighting the importance of national boundaries of belonging for women's perceived (un)safety. Whilst previous studies had briefly acknowledged the significance of national boundaries of belonging for women's perceived (un)safety, they had simultaneously failed to consider how interactionist processes emerged during "Swedish" women's everyday encounters or more specifically, 'first impressions' (See: Hubinette & Lundström, 2011; Lundström, 2017; Runfors, 2016). Addressing these interactionist processes through the lens of participants' "first impressions" helped underscore how "immigrant" men were seen to be rendered hyper-visible due to racialised and classed cues carried on their bodies, leading them to be cast as threats within participants' white, middle-class "Swedish" neighbourhood (Erdal & Strømsø, 2018). Focusing on participants' 'first impressions' in Hammarby specifically, begun to highlight how racialised and classed boundaries of belonging played out in more extreme, exclusionary ways than previously discussed at the national scale. During women's 'first impressions' in Hammarby Sjöstad for example, "immigrant" men were not only seen to be rendered hyper-visible due to the neighbourhood's extreme racial and class-based homogeneity but were also easily policed and excluded due to its unique CPTED design, hence, underscoring the significance of exploring national boundaries of belonging within their local context (Chavez & Hill, 2021; Clarke, 2020).

Chapter six investigated how local boundaries of belonging were (re)produced during "immigrant" (Husby) women's encounters in Husby. Before proceeding, I will explain my decision to use the term, "immigrant" (Husby). The first part of chapter six explored how Husby participants responded to their perceived external categorisation and national unbelonging as "immigrant" women through their self-identification and local belonging as 'Husby' women. Whilst Husby participants were positioned as the "immigrant" minority in relation to national boundaries of belonging, they simultaneously formed part of the "immigrant" (Husby) majority when viewed through the lens of local boundaries of belonging. These findings subsequently underscored the entwinement of local and national structures of belonging, justifying my decision to refer to Husby participants as "immigrant" (Husby) women. Returning to the focus of this research question, I subsequently explored how Husby participants felt safe upon their self-identification and local belonging as 'Husby' residents, whilst they felt threatened upon their external categorisation of "Swedish" men and to a certain extent, "Swedish" women. Addressing these interactionist processes through the lens of participants' 'first impressions' underscored how "Swedes" were understood as hyper-

visible due to multi-sensorial racialised and classed cues carried on their bodies, alongside sets of local behaviours and norms, which cumulatively cast them as out-of-place in Husby's public space. Although Husby participants predominantly judged the belonging of passers-by through 'first impressions' in a similar manner to Hammarby residents, the belonging of some passers-by was occasionally already known due to Husby's stronger social connections and less individualistic community. These findings underscore the importance of studying women's encounters across diverse settings, given this study's focus on "Swedish" and "immigrant" (Husby) neighbourhoods provided very different insights into the nature of women's everyday encounters (Ahmed 2000; Erdal & Stromso, 2018). Drawing this together, as discussed earlier in this chapter, previous research paid limited attention to the significance of local boundaries of belonging in relation to the question of women's perceived (un)safety in Sweden, owing to scholarly preoccupation with national boundaries of belonging and the subsequent presumed threat of "immigrant" men (See: Bredstrom, 2003; Christensen, 2009). Focusing on "immigrant" women's encounters hence importantly underscored the significance of local and national boundaries of belonging for the question of women's perceived (un)safety, paying particular attention to how these processes materialise during their 'first impressions' and 'known encounters'.

Chapters five and six predominantly explored how 'boundaries of belonging' were reproduced through women's everyday encounters, however, the role of neighbourhood social control was also considered. Whilst chapter five highlighted the importance of hybrid networks of social control through the lens of Hammarby's Facebook Group, discussions in chapter six centred on more traditional in-person networks where Husby residents solely relied on the neighbourhood's urban planning to oversee and intervene in public space. Despite their differences, the issue of women's safety was seen to justify ongoing neighbourhood surveillance in Hammarby and Husby, encouraging the policing and subsequent exclusion of "immigrant" men and "Swedes" respectively. Through this discussion, I underscored connections between women's individual encounters and their neighbourhood social control, both informed by overarching national and local boundaries of belonging. Owing to this study's predominant focus on individual encounters, future research might usefully explore the role of neighbourhood-level surveillance in relation to the question of women's perceived (un)safety, particularly focused on the role of neighbourhood Facebook Groups in light of the

rising importance of social media as a new mode of surveillance (Ceccato & Dolmen, 2013; Ivasuic, 2018).

Through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety, chapters five and six cumulatively explored how national and local boundaries of belonging were reproduced by the 'majority' population during their everyday encounters and broader neighbourhood social control in Hammarby and Husby, respectively. Addressing these interactionist processes through the lens of women's 'first impressions' helped understand how participants made rapid judgements on others' belonging to overarching boundaries through the racialised and classed cues carried on their bodies, subsequently used to cast judgements on the level of threat they were presumed to present (Barth, 1998; Duemmler et al., 2010; Jenkins, 2000, 2008; Williams, 2018). Despite these overarching similarities, the specificities of findings in each neighbourhood simultaneously point to the importance of analysing these processes in their specific context, paving the way for future research that might further explore women's encounters across diverse "immigrant" and "Swedish" neighbourhoods in relation to their perceived (un)safety.

8.3.2. How are hierarchies of belonging experienced and navigated by women in each neighbourhood?

Whilst the first research question addressed overarching boundaries of belonging, the attention of my second research question focused on their internal hierarchies. Thinking about hierarchies within and across boundaries helped better understand how participants were predominantly labelled as either "Swedes" or "immigrants" (Husby) yet simultaneously held different positions within overarching homogenising categorisations, affecting women's perceived (un)safety within their neighbourhood (Clarke, 2020). Similarly to the previous section, the response to this question shall be structured through separate discussions of findings from Hammarby Sjöstad and Husby respectively. Before doing so however, one overarching observation shall be made.

Findings across chapters five and six underscored how participants were read as less in-place than their male counterparts, whether it was during "Swedish" women's online encounters with "Swedish" men or during "immigrant" (Husby) women's in-person encounters with "immigrant" (Husby) men. On the one hand, participants' racialised and classed identities enabled them to feel safe in their neighbourhood in relation to overarching national boundaries of belonging, yet on the other hand, their encounters and ensuing safety work

served as telling reminders of their positioning at the margins, owing to their gendered identities and subsequent subordination (Kern, 2005). In this vein, participants held what Back et al., (2012) termed "double perspectives" due to their role as 'majority' categorisers in overarching boundaries of belonging alongside their simultaneous position as the 'minority' categorised in hierarchies of belonging. Adopting a gendered perspective begun to provide preliminary insights into internal hierarchies of belonging within "Swedishness" and "immigrant" (Husby-ness) respectively, underscoring the importance of gendered considerations in this study's interactionist framework. Despite this initial focus on gender, my focus on "Swedishness" and "immigrant" identities emerged as part of my broader impetus to consider intersectional perspectives, with the aim to better understand how boundaries of belonging are differentiated by social location, what I subsequently referred to as 'hierarchies of belonging'.

Beginning with Hammarby Sjöstad, insights into national hierarchies of belonging were mostly elicited through Cristina's narrative. Earlier in chapter five, Cristina assumed the role of the 'majority categoriser' where she is shown to sort through passers-by in relation to national boundaries of belonging, leading to the external categorisation of threatening "immigrant" men. Later on, however, Cristina relays a recent encounter with a neighbour in the courtyard where her Eastern European accent is understood to incite her presumed categorisation as 'not quite Swedish'. Following this encounter, she recounted feeling less safe due to her presumed exclusion from neighbourhood surveillance networks that protect ethnic "Swedish" women from "immigrant" men. Motivated by her desire to feel more included and safer, Cristina described undertaking various boundary-making strategies in order to maximise her chances of 'passing' as more "Swedish" during future encounters. These strategies can be grouped into two overarching categories: those that attempt to reduce the distance with ethnic "Swedes" and those that seek to increase boundaries with 'Romanians' alongside the "Roma" and "immigrants" more generally. The former was achieved through her adoption of particular behaviours deemed 'typically Swedish', where she described dressing and acting in accordance with "Swedish" norms during everyday 'first impressions'. In contrast, the latter involved hiding her Romanian ethnicity during everyday conversation whilst simultaneously criticising the Roma and "immigrants" with the aim to draw attention away from internal hierarchies of belonging to more pressing national boundaries of belonging. The significance of Cristina's encounter rests in its ability to render visible hierarchies of belonging within

Swedishness. Contributing to emerging critical whiteness studies in Sweden, these discussions more broadly point to how Swedish norms promote not only 'materialised Swedishness whiteness' but also 'performative Swedish whiteness', emerging as an important area for further research (Hubinette and Lundström, 2011; Runfors, 2021, 73).

Chapter six turned to consider local hierarchies of belonging within Husby. Earlier discussions similarly underscored how "immigrant" (Husby) women assumed the role of 'categorisers' where they sorted passers-by in relation to overarching local boundaries of belonging, leading to the external categorisation of threatening "Swedish" men and women. Using vignettes of participants' experiences within Husby Torg, I explored how differently-situated "immigrant" (Husby) participants were simultaneously read as less in-place depending on their ethnic background, rendering visible internal hierarchies of belonging. Before outlining Mia's encounters, it is pivotal to highlight that different public spaces across Husby were accordingly coded as either 'Middle-Eastern' or 'African' in women's relief maps, depending on the ethnic background of those gathering. Focused on Husby Torg, Mia recounted feeling 'less-in-place' due to her African ethnicity and gender constructed in relation to the gatherings of Middle-Eastern men, leading her to feel less safe and included. Against this background, Mia described undertaking various strategies in order to be read as belonging to the perceived majority, avoiding any unwanted attention prompted by her greater visibility. Whilst Cristina aimed to 'pass as Swedish' through boundary-crossing strategies, Mia resorted to boundary-blurring where she accordingly emphasised her broader overarching belonging as an "immigrant" (Husby) resident, diverting attention away from her ethnic unbelonging. In 'African spaces' however, she discusses emphasising her ethnic belonging, revealing the complexity of her boundary-blurring strategies. The significance of Mia's encounter hence stems from its ability to elucidate local hierarchies of belonging that play out across women's everyday encounters through the lens of their perceived (un)safety. Drawing this together, future research should further explore hierarchies of belonging across specific neighbourhood contexts, the likes of which have been wrongly ignored in favour of homogenous representation of "Swedish" and "immigrant" spaces. The importance of these insights gains further pertinence when viewed through the lens of women's perceived (un)safety, whereby the consequences of these hierarchies are firmly gendered, further restricting women's everyday movements and subsequent 'safety work'.

Key for this study, the spatial dimensions of national and local structures of belonging were also considered throughout chapters five and six. Using McKay's typology of 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces, each neighbourhood was cast as a 'bright' space through the lens of national and local boundaries of belonging, given "immigrants" and "Swedes" were largely rendered hyper-visible during their everyday encounters throughout Hammarby Sjöstad and Husby, respectively (Alba, 2005; McKay, 2021). The picture, however, became vastly different, when approached through the lens of hierarchies of belonging, leading us to reflect on the range of 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces within each neighbourhood. Whilst Cristina was seen as 'less Swedish' in the courtyard, she conversely passed as "Swedish" in other spaces, notably what was known as the 'salmon steps'. In a similar vein, Mia was seen as an 'Afro-Swede' in Husby Torg, yet as an "immigrant" (Husby) resident in Husby Gard where the latter required no active negotiations. Across both neighbourhoods, monofunctional 'brighter' spaces including the courtyard and Husby Torg drew attention to hierarchies of belonging. Conversely, multifunctional 'blurrier' spaces, namely the salmon steps and Husby Gard, temporarily eased and rendered less visible hierarchies of belonging, owing to the diversity of individuals and activities on offer. Whilst cautious of environmentally deterministic tones, this section underscored the significance of spatial dimensions in this study's interactionist-encounters framework, where the type and nature of space affected women's subsequent negotiations (or lack) of national and local hierarchies of belonging. The previous two research questions have demonstrated the significance of boundaries and hierarchies of belonging for the question of women's perceived (un)safety which are seen to play out in different ways during their everyday encounters within their place of residence.

8.3.3. How do differently-situated women navigate structures of belonging across and within different neighbourhoods?

The final research question casts our attention to women's navigations of public space across and within different neighbourhoods. The focus of this question rests in contrast to the first and second research question whose attention was confined to women's perceived (un)safety within their neighbourhood. Against the backdrop of chapters five and six, chapter seven addressed the perspectives of participants who successfully navigate national and local structures of belonging during their everyday encounters, leading to their self-identification as 'chameleons'. This study's understanding of 'chameleonism' drew from Brekhus' (2003) conceptualisation in his ground-breaking study of gay men's navigations of public space.

Starting from his initial premise, Brekhus (2003, 51, italics) argued, "Commuters *blend in* like a chameleon, taking care to match the presentation of self with his surroundings", interested in how gay men 'do heterosexuality' when confronted with the demands of heterosexualised environment to avoid stigmatisation. Over the course of chapter seven, Brekhus' notion of 'chameleons' was gradually adapted in line with this study's focus in order to explore how differently-situated 'chameleon' women negotiated their perceived (un)safety during their encounters *across* and *within* different neighbourhoods. The use of the term 'across' refers to women's ability to negotiate national and local boundaries of belonging across different 'bright' neighbourhood, Hammarby and Husby, respectively. Conversely, the focus on 'within' simultaneously drew attention to their skills in navigating national and local hierarchies of belonging within each neighbourhood's 'bright' and 'blurry' spaces. Combined, chapter seven hence focused on the perspectives of differently-situated 'chameleon' women who were able to 'blend-in' within and between different neighbourhood spaces, owing to their understandings and negotiations of its respective boundaries and hierarchies of belonging.

Before proceeding to explore women's everyday encounters, a quick note of clarification is needed. In section 7.2.2, Mia described being permanently assigned the identification as an "immigrant" woman due to her dark skin, despite demonstrating clear awareness of national and local structures of belonging along with their respective norms. I underscore Mia's narratives to caution against representations of 'chameleonism' as a matter of choice and instead, emphasise its entanglement with overarching structures, which in Mia's case refers to the racialisation of national boundaries of belonging between "immigrants" and "Swedes". In this study, all participants who identified as 'chameleons' were able to 'blend-in' across "immigrant" (Husby) and "Swedish" spaces due to their ambiguous physical appearance. What hence emerged of particular interest was how individuals learnt to reinforce assumptions elicited by their physical racialised appearance through enacting particular norms and behaviours, which were informed by the space in question and its corresponding national or local structures of belonging.

Addressing these processes through the lens of women's everyday encounters, first, revealed how women became familiar with the norms associated with national and local structures, and second, provided detailed insights into the ways in which women adjusted their self-presentation during their navigations of public space. Considering the first, Bibiana's narratives underscored how she became gradually familiar with the norms associated with

national and local structures of belonging through diverse encounters across different spaces and times. For her, being exposed to national, local, and ethnic modes of belonging during her past encounters subsequently cultivated her ability to subsequently successfully traverse these diverse structures. Whilst others frame cultural knowledge as passed across generations through learning, Bibiana's narratives point to how she learns the norms and behaviours associated with different structures of belonging through her encounters across different spaces over the course of her life-time (Fileborn, 2016). These essential nuances were otherwise lacking in Brekhus' (2003) account where gay men's navigation of space as 'chameleon' is myopically presented as pre-given, failing to address how these men became gradually attuned to the norms associated with heterosexual space.

Addressing the second, detailed analysis of women's everyday encounters revealed the ways in which women adjusted their self-presentation with the aim to blend-in with the perceived majority. In Brekhus' (2003) study, chameleons' ability to 'blend in' within heterosexual environments were predominantly implicitly explored through the lens of 'passing'. In this thesis however, participants' attempts to blend-in with the perceived majority occurred through other social identification strategies beyond boundary-crossing. With reference to Husby's hierarchies of belonging for example, participants did not seek to hide their ethnic identification but instead, occasionally blurred these boundaries through emphasising their place-based belonging as "immigrant" (Husby) residents. For this reason, chameleonism is reconceptualised as an umbrella term that incorporates boundary-crossing and boundary-blurring in order to better reflect their navigations of national and local boundaries and hierarchies of belonging. Delving deeper, the speed at which different strategies were undertaken came to the fore during Naaz's discussion of Kista, where she enacts boundary-blurring strategies when encountering Afro-Swedes in Kista's bus station, before passing as "Swedish" when encountering "Swedes" on the escalator up to Kista Galleria. Her navigations of Kista starkly illuminate the extent of her chameleonism, broadly indicative of her remarkable ability to read and respond to her environment. Whilst answers to my research questions have predominantly focused on Hammarby and Husby, it is important to reiterate that Kista is a crucial case-study due to its diverse mosaic of spaces, subject to national and local norms of belonging, and hence, an interesting backdrop for our study of women's encounters.

Drawing this together, this last research question engaged with the notion of chameleonism where I sought to explore how certain women successfully negotiated local and national structures of belonging during their everyday encounters in order to maintain their perceived (un)safety. Future research might further explore the notion of 'chameleonism', pertaining to those whose perspectives are rendered invisible in academic and public discourse due to their perceived safety yet demonstrate an impressive skillset regarding their ability to adapt and negotiate diverse environments. Before proceeding to the concluding remarks, I wish to caution that this emphasis should not promote chameleonism as a solution due to its inaccessibility for many women – including Mia, for example – coupled with the fact that overarching patriarchal, intersectional structures remain unchallenged.

8.4. Concluding Remarks – Where next?

I finish this chapter by redrawing our attention to Sarah Everard's murder in London in 2021 with the aim to broadly reflect upon the long-term future of the issues surrounding women's perceived (un)safety. I first wish to explain my focus on Sarah Everard in the introduction and conclusion of this thesis. Her murder as a white, middle-class woman, captured media and public attention in ways not witnessed with the killings of ethnically minoritized women. Her murder hence starkly illuminated how the issue of women's safety is discussed and received by the public, police, and state. I would like to reiterate however, that my focus on her death does not and should not, be seen to divert attention away from the murders of other women, killed at a similar time and in a similar place and hence, who I would also like to name, including Sabina Nessa, Bibaa Henry, Nichola Smallman and Zara Aleena. With this in mind, this conclusion shall broadly reflect on individual and societal responses to women's safety.

Too often, our automatic responses to violence against women at both individual and societal level, are to look to women's actions. I need no further look than my everyday life to provide examples of this, "Don't come back too late", "Make sure you wear the right clothing" or perhaps the most well-known trope of all, "Text me when you get home". Inherent in all of these everyday cautions is the underlying notion that the responsibility to stay safe falls on the shoulders of women who are socialised from a young age to change their behaviour and remain alert when moving through public space. The narratives of women in this thesis continue to point to the individual responsibilisation of women through which they respond through adjustments to their appearance and behaviour in their everyday navigations of public space. The conceptual and methodological framework developed in this study were

able to elicit details and complexities surrounding women's everyday navigations of public space that have been previously ignored in extant research on women's perceived (un)safety which is otherwise fixated with dichotomising categorisations of dangerous persons and spaces. Informed by this framework, the past chapters have hence provided glimpses into the sheer variety of this safety work, to the extent that drawing any generalised conclusion from these findings would be somewhat redundant, particularly in light of this study's intersectional framework where depth and complexity are to be encouraged. Instead, I seek to conclude with a simpler point by underscoring the time and energy invested by women to feel safe across diverse contexts.

I make this emphasis with the intention neither to encourage nor endorse their processes of judgement as a solution but rather to problematise our contemporary landscape and point to the need for change. Whilst some may dismiss this conclusion as optimistic, it is clear that a switch is needed in our individual mentality and broader societal discourse. The response to Sarah Everard should never have prompted calls for women to be 'more streetwise' and for women in Clapham to stop going out into their neighbourhood. Instead, our response should have been to address the behaviour of the perpetrator, Wayne Couzens, and more broadly, address the societal mechanisms that reproduce patriarchal structures that enable violence against women, which elicits our fears that constrain us on a daily basis. When and not if another woman is brutally murdered despite 'doing everything right', the attention must turn away from us - hyper-visible women - to invisible perpetrators and broader society. In the short-term, I am hopeful that this thesis will contribute to this changing discourse and in the long-term, I am hopeful of a future where women will no longer have to judge impending threat and we can finally occupy space with little thought or reflection.

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Appendices:

Appendix A: Consent Form:

Title of study: <u>Female fear, urban design and neighbourhood segregation in Stockholm, Sweden.</u>

Thank you for your interest in participating in *online individual interviews* for this study. Please complete this form after you have read the participant information sheet.

	Please tick box to confirm consent	
1.	I confirm that I have been given the opportunity to consider the information on the study and ask questions which have since been answered satisfactorily.	
2.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time with no adverse consequences. I also understand that if I choose to withdraw, I can request that any data I have provided can be erased from the study.	
3.	I understand that my research data may be published as a report and shared with students and colleagues at University of Newcastle.	
4.	I consent to being recorded and understand that the recording will be stored as an encrypted file until it is transcribed.	
5.	I understand that my transcription will be anonymised and used for research purposes only. I also consent that anonymised quotes may be used in the dissertation discussion.	
6.	I consent to participating in this project.	

Participant

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   *Signature*   *Date*

Researcher

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   *Signature*   *Date*

Title of study: <u>Female fear, urban design and neighbourhood segregation in Stockholm, Sweden.</u>

Thank you for your interest in participating in *online focus groups* for this study. Please complete this form after you have read the participant information sheet.

Please tick box to confirm consent		
1.	I confirm that I have been given the opportunity to consider the information on the study and ask questions which have since been answered satisfactorily.	
2.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time [with no adverse consequences]. I also understand that if I choose to withdraw, I can request that any data I have provided can be erased from the study. .	
3.	I understand that my research data may be published as a report and shared with students and colleagues at University of Newcastle.	

4.	I consent to being recorded and understand that the recording will be stored as an encrypted file until it is transcribed.	
5.	I understand that my transcription will be anonymised and used for research purposes only. I also consent that anonymised quotes may be used in the dissertation discussion.	
6.	I understand that I cannot disclose any information shared by other participants in the focus groups.	
7.	I consent to participating in this project.	

Participant

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   *Signature*   *Date*

Researcher

_____   _____   _____

Name of researcher   *Signature*   *Date*

Appendix B: Information Sheet:

Research Title: Female fear, urban design and neighbourhood segregation in Stockholm, Sweden.

Invitation:

You have been invited to take part in this research but before making this decision, it is important that you are aware what the research will involve and how it is being done.

Please take time to read the information below carefully and ask the researcher (Anna Yates) if any details are unclear and you want anything explained or would like more information.

Thank you.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you whether you would like to participate. If you do take part, you will be able to keep a copy of this information sheet and your consent.

You can withdraw at any time without providing a reason.

However, once the project has been completed, and the data has been published and shared, this cannot be undone.

The aim of this research is to:

1. Establish the nature of women's perceived safety in three neighbourhoods in Stockholm, Sweden.

2. Explore the reasons behind women's perceived safety in three neighbourhoods in Stockholm, Sweden.

What do I need to do?

You will be invited to take part in all of the following activities. These will be conducted online* and recorded. I will send you more details on each methods before it takes place.

1. A preliminary sit-down interview which asks questions about your positionality and carefully explains each of the methods to be used.
2. A walking interview where you can lead the researcher through your neighbourhood around the theme of safety.
3. A final sit-down interview where you discuss the walking interview and use this to construct a map.
4. A focus group with 4 other women to discuss the overall process and maps drawn.

If you have any accessibility requirements for example, hearing or reading issues, please contact me so we can discuss how these remote methods can be used and adapted.

Benefits:

This is an opportunity for you to participate in *exciting research* which uses a range of diverse methods.

This research centres on women's fear of crime which is a topic which is rarely discussed and is *not* addressed by policy-makers. Therefore, there is a possibility that this research can influence policy-making and contribute to better understanding of women's safety which can reduce women's fear of crime.

After I have finished the thesis, I guarantee to keep you updated about the results and its impact.

Risks:

Sensitive topics may be discussed during the interview which can cause some discomfort. I can signpost you to the relevant institutions that can offer support.

However, I would like to emphasise that at any point during the interview, you can say that you do not want to talk about this and/or if you wish to completely withdraw from the research.

Confidentiality:

You will be required to give permission for the level of confidentiality you wish to have in this research, and this will be respected. I must emphasise that any confidential information will be kept securely.

The only time that I will share any information, is when it is *absolutely needed*, for example, in the case that that you have indicated that you are in danger or going to cause yourself or someone else harm.

I will always ask for consent for any unnecessary sharing of data and I will only obtain consent when an individual is capable of providing consent.

Data provided will be used in line to how you have consented on the consent form that was filled out at the start of this research.

Please see the copy of the sheet that you were able to keep, or if this is lost, ask Anna Yates for another copy.

What happens with the results?

The final thesis will be published and available on request. It will be used for research purposes and shown to policy-makers, NGOs and services to improve awareness of the issue of women's safety.

If you would like further information about the study, or to see the findings when the data has been collected and analysed then please contact me on A.F.Yates2@newcastle.ac.uk. However, I cannot provide you with your individual results.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

The primary researcher is Anna Yates and the project is supervised by Rachel Pain and Georgiana Varna who are all researchers at Newcastle University.

Ethical Approval:

This project has been ethically approved by Newcastle University.

Seeking support:

If taking part in this study has raised any specific concerns about your safety, mental health, or any other issue and then please contact the relevant organisations below:

Stockholm Police
Call 112 for urgent help from the police. Call 114 14 for other matters pertaining to police reports, tip-offs and information.

Husby and Kista Community Centre: (Welfare needs)
Mårtensdalsgatan 2-8, Stockholm 120 30 · +46 8 691 76 00

Hammarby Sjöstad Community Centre: (Welfare needs)
Mårtensdalsgatan 2-8, Stockholm 120 30 · +46 8 691 76 00

The Safer Sweden Foundation:

112 69 Stockholm

Tel: 08-29 20 00

E-post: info@tryggaresverige.org

If you are unsure about who you should speak to about your issue and then raise this concern with the researcher.

Contacts for further information:

If you have any further questions or concerns, please contact Anna Yates as the primary researcher.

Anna Yates: PhD Student of Human Geography, Newcastle University: A.F.Yates2@newcastle.ac.uk

Rachel Pain: Lecturer in Human Geography, Newcastle University: rachel.pain@newcastle.ac.uk

Georgiarna Varna: Lecturer in Urban Planning: Newcastle University: Georgiana.Varna@newcastle.ac.uk

Thank you for taking part.

Appendix C: Call for Participants

CALL FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS!

INVESTIGATING WOMEN'S PERCEIVED (UN)SAFETY IN STOCKHOLM

I am a Human Geography PhD Student from Newcastle University in the UK. I have worked and lived in Stockholm before and am returning to research women's safety in three different neighbourhoods.

Participants must:

✓ Be above the age of 18
✓ Self-identify as a woman
✓ Live in either Kista, Husby or Hammarby Sjöstad.

Participants will be invited to take part in a range of activities including walking interviews, focus groups and mapping.

All methods will be conducted in **English**, on **online** platforms and **no prior experience** is needed.

Participation is ensured to be an exciting, new experience!

For more information, please email Anna Yates at A.F.Yates2@newcastle.ac.uk

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This research is funded by ERSC / NINEDTP.

Appendix D: Information Sheet on Walking Interviews:

<u>**Walking Tour:**</u>

<u>**What?**</u>

I would like you to take me on a **walking** tour around your **neighbourhood**.

This will be around the theme of **your 'perceived (un)safety**, in other words, '**women's perceived (un)safety**, and *where*, *how*, and *why* your perception of safety and unsafety changes across your neighbourhood.

This interview is open – what we talk about and where we visit, is your choice.

However, it <u>must</u> be relevant to your individual and personal opinions, perspectives, and experiences on 'women's fear of crime'.

<u>**How?**</u>

I will ask you to **download Zoom as an app** on your smart phone/ table. I will ask you to use Zoom to video-call me as you walk around your neighbourhood.

This will be recorded so we can watch and reflect on the walking interview at a later date.

Throughout the interview:

1. Please describe to me where you are. For example, provide the street name, or visual description of the area. I cannot be there in person so need these descriptors to help me identify where you are.
2. Please describe your emotions and the noises, tastes, touch that you experience.

<u>**Preparation:**</u>

When you are preparing for the walking tour, you are encouraged to reflect on these questions.

1. In general, do you feel safe or unsafe in your neighbourhood?
2. How does your fear of crime change across your neighbourhood?
3. Are there any spaces you feel more or less safe?
4. Why does your fear of crime change across your neighbourhood?
    a. Does this relate to:
        i. Community spirit?

ii. Demographics of the local population?

iii. Type of buildings? Design of public space?

iv. Media? Local gossip?

v. Segregation?

vi. What other factors can you think of?

b. Which are the most important/least important to your fear of crime?

5. How does this relate to your identity?

a. For example, in relation to your gender, your age, your ethnicity, your class or any other elements of your identity?

b. How do you see your safety (and the above factors – community spirit/ demographics and etc.) differently compared to other women with other identities? Why is this?

During the walking tour, you can use notes produced during the preparation period and use these questions for guidance.

Please send me a list of specific places that you plan to visit in your neighbourhood during the walking tour. This should be sent via email two days before we conduct the walking tour. Please also let me know if/how you would like the process to be altered in line with your needs. Thank you for your time.

Appendix E: Information Sheet on Relief Maps:

Relief Map Interview:

This interview will be conducted over **Zoom**. I can send you a link before the interview begins.

In the **first part** of this interview, I would like to ask you some follow-up questions about the **'walking interview'**. In the **second part** of the interview, I would like you to answer several questions online which will automatically produce 'a relief map'. The instructions provided on the website are clear and you do not need any prior knowledge. It will build on what we have discussed in the walking interview. Please also let me know if/how you would like the process to be altered in line with your needs. Once again, thank you for your time.

Guidance:

This activity will be completed <u>during the Zoom session</u> so please do not start this process before the meeting. I have included this guidance so that it is possible to familiarise yourself with the process and format.

1. To first access the relief map, write in the Project Code on this website: https://reliefmaps.cat/en/
   a. <u>I will give you a personal project code before the meeting.</u>

   After this, you can register an account by creating a username and password. You can then follow the instructions provided on the screen.
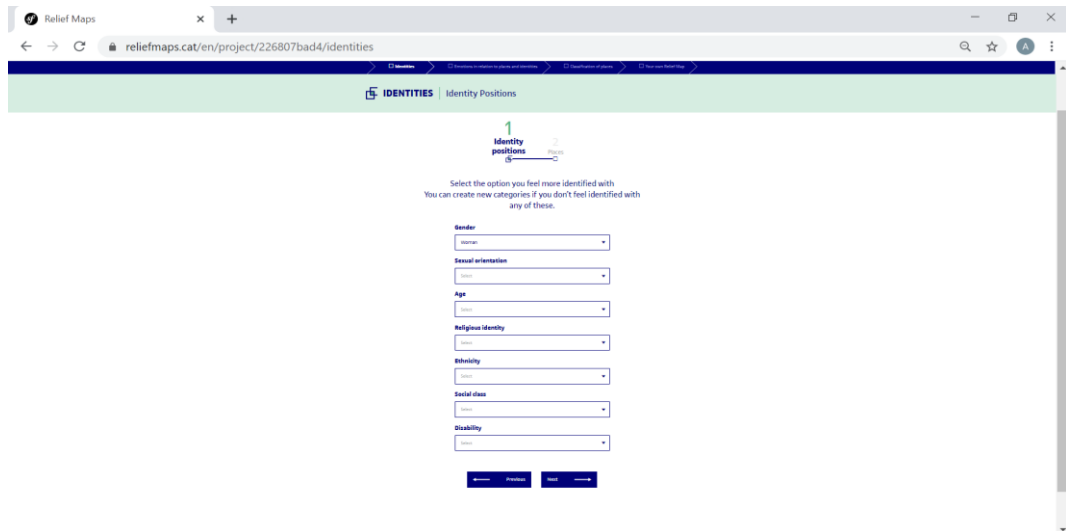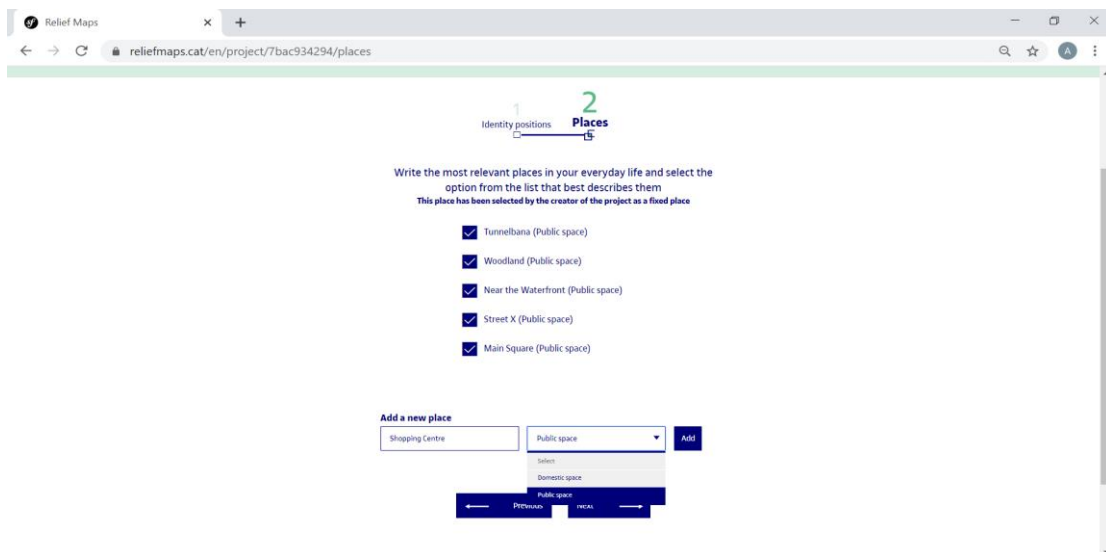
2. On the first page, you can select the options that you identify with, in each identity category (Gender/ Sexual orientation/ Age/ Religious identity /Ethnicity/ Social class/ Disability).

For example, I highlighted woman in the 'gender' category.

If you do not feel comfortable disclosing this information, there is an option: 'I do not want to answer this question'. I will not see these answers, this data is confidential

3. Next, select the places that are **important for your perceived (un)safety** (either you feel safe or unsafe). You can choose up to 6 places out of the available options. These will be places that were **visited during the walking tour**.

4. In the next stage, you will be asked to explain how you feel in each particular space according to different parts of your identity (for example, being a woman, being young or being heterosexual).

There are three parts to this:

a. First, please write a few sentences on how that identity affects how safe/unsafe you feel in this space. In this case, the participant has explained how their gender affects how safe they feel in the main square.

b. Second, please select the emotions that are most relevant.

c. Third, please move the dot upwards (unsafe) or downwards (safe) in relation to how safe you feel in the space according to your gender. Please repeat the following steps for every space.

5. In the last step, you will be asked to label* each place as:

Places of oppression: <u>Where you feel unsafe – even if only caused by one identity.</u>

Places of controversial intersections: <u>Where you feel unsafe due to one specific identity (for example, gender) but feel safe due to another identity (ethnicity)</u>

Neutral places: <u>Where you feel neither unsafe or safe due to any identity.</u>

Places of relief: Places where you feel safe – even if only caused by one identity.

These are the terms used by the software. I have underlined the explanations.

You will finally be asked to send any comments or suggestions. Please feel free to give any feedback on how you think the process could be improved or if any aspect should be removed or added. Your help is hugely appreciated.

On the last page, please press the download relief map button in the bottom left-hand corner. Please save the PDF to your computer and send to me at A.F.Yates2@newcastle.ac.uk with your first name and neighbourhood. Thank you!

Appendix F: Information Sheet on Focus Groups

<u>**Focus Groups:**</u>

As part of the final stage of this research, you will be invited to participate in a focus group.

<u>What?</u>

The aim of this focus group is to discuss the relief maps produced in the previous session.

The agenda for the focus group session is as follows:

1. Introduce yourself:
2. Take turns to explain and reflect on your relief map:
   a. The <u>types of spaces</u> included or excluded from your map.
   b. The <u>identities</u> included or excluded from your map.
   c. How does each identity <u>separately</u> affect how safe/unsafe you feel in each space?
   d. What are the tensions between different parts of your identity?
3. At the same time, I encourage all other participants to contribute to the discussion.
4. We will finish with a reflection on the general research process.

<u>How?</u>

Each focus group will consist of 5 women (including you) and will be conducted on Zoom. I will send you a link before the interview begins.

Appendix G: Example of Data Analysis

<u>**Extract from Handbook: Participant 3 (Husby):**</u>

1. <u>**Profile of Participant:**</u>

Gender:

Sexual orientation:

Age:

Religious Identity:

Ethnicity:

Social-Class:

Disability:

Children:

Nationality:

1. <u>**Spaces and Identity:**</u>

This font shall be used to information discussed in the relief map and *this font will be used to refer to information discussed in the walking tour.*

2a. Husby Swimming Pool:

<u>Gender: (Safe)</u>

- She becomes <u>conscious</u> of her gender in the swimming pool as there are very few women present and hence, it is a <u>male-dominated</u> space. Yet this consciousness does not translate into feelings of unsafety.

- She argues however, that other women may express feelings of <u>unsafety</u> in a male-dominated environment. To better explain this, she comments on the number of <u>older, Muslim women</u> who watch their children from the pool-side rather than enter the water supposedly 'due to the presence of Muslim men'.

- For her, <u>freedom </u>and<u> liberation</u> are key concepts related to women's perception of safety and she interprets their restricted movement and practice in the swimming pool

as evidence of their unsafety - in the same way that others have used accounts of women's restricted movement through public space as evidence of their unsafety.

- o For her, <u>swimming</u> is an everyday sport or activity leading her to feel emotions such as 'tranquillity, peace, happiness or calm', whereas for Muslim women, she frames it as a task that requires constant negotiation and consideration.

- Drawing this together, she assumes that their <u>religious identities</u>, as atheists and Muslims, respectively, change the way in which their gender is performed and understood, and hence, their concomitant sense of (un)safety in the swimming pool context. In light of this, she feels safe in Husby Badet as she constructs and compares her sense of safety and freedom, in relation to the perceived unsafety and restrictions, of other Muslim women.

- I can detect a sense of <u>pity</u> in her tone which is later confirmed by her comment, 'That makes me feel sad for them'. This is similar to participant 7's discussion of women's restricted movement in Husby Torg and Centrum. Both women clearly <u>sympathise</u> for <u>Muslim women</u> living in Husby and implicitly understand their movement and activities in public space as a 'constraint' stemming from their patriarchal cultures. For them, they understand their restricted movement as an example of <u>social control</u> (similar to discussions of social control in Husby Torg/Centrum by Muslim men, albeit different to the forms witnessed in Hammarby Sjöstad over Facebook).

- Whilst she implicitly frames the situation as a 'constraint', she later explicitly corrects herself and emphasises that their abstention is their 'choice'.

- *Gym-owners have introduced a <u>'women's only hour'</u> at the gym and pool. However, the participant explains that women have to walk through male-dominated spaces in order to access these facilities. The nature of this scheme not only frames the absence of women in the pool as a 'constraint' rather than 'choice' (which is a point of debate between Muslim and non-Muslim communities) but has also failed to consider that if the presence of men is an issue and indeed, a 'constraint' then the same women will not use the male-dominated gym as a thoroughfare to the pool. Whilst the introduction of 'women-only hours' is clearly underlain by good intentions -namely to rectify the gender-imbalance, it has failed in its intentions due to a lack of clear, logical thought and consideration. This intervention is reminiscent of the 'Feminist Design Project' (and*

other similar projects including the Alarm System at the Pre-school). These <u>projects</u> are imposed and designed by 'outsiders', who do not consult or approach those who are 'directly affected' by this change. We can therefore link this debate to critiques of top-down projects and the concept of '<u>participation</u>'.

<u>Sexual Orientation: (Safe)</u>

- At first glance, sexual orientation does <u>not</u> affect her perception of safety as she has never experienced any issues related to her sexuality (bisexual) in Husby Badet. She explains that this is presumably due to the fact that she is normally accompanied by her partner and child and hence, her sexual orientation is <u>invisible</u> as she appears to be in a heterosexual relationship. This type of relationship is understood as the 'norm' in Husby Torg and Centrum and hence, would not attract any attention or cause any issues.
- However, she later notes that she has never dated a woman or brought a woman to Husby Badet, due to the lack of 'services and events' (discussed later in the section on: Sexual Orientation in Stockholm City Centre).

<u>Age: (Safe)</u>

- According to her, age is <u>not relevant</u> to her perception of safety. Similar to Sara, age is constantly dismissed as an important social identity – it seems to occupy the role of a secondary social difference which amplifies or alleviates fear in relation to other social identities.

- She later recounts how she has recently observed <u>young Muslim girls</u> wearing full leggings or body-suits in the swimming pool. From this, she explains that younger Muslim girls have more freedom and hence, feel safer than older Muslim women. Notwithstanding, they still have to negotiate the restrictions, stemming from their gender and religion, through wearing full body-suits.
- From this participant's perspective, <u>age</u> seems to change the way in which their <u>gender and religion</u> is understood and enacted in Husby Badet. We hence must avoid sweeping statements that all Muslim women are 'restricted' in their use of Husby Badet.

<u>Religious Identity: (Safe)</u>

- She is aware that she is in the <u>minority</u> in a largely Muslim community, yet this does not make her feel unsafe. Instead, she builds on what was discussed in the section on 'Gender in Husby Badet' and argues that being a Christian woman makes her aware of the privileges and freedom accrued to her religious identity, in comparison to Muslim women in the same space.

- She argues that her favourable reception may also be mediated by her <u>appearance </u>and <u>her personality, </u>alongside her religious identity. In regard to her <u>appearance</u>, she notes how she dresses 'modestly' in a one-piece swimming costume - considered 'less provocative' than a bikini and hence, attracts less attention from said men.

Ethnicity: (Safe)

- Similar to her gender, she becomes conscious of her ethnicity in the swimming pool as there are very few white people present and hence, it is a <u>non-white </u>space. Yet in her case, this consciousness <u>does not</u> translate into feelings of unsafety (due to the greater onus placed on religion and gender, as she perceives Muslim women as being restricted and more fearful than her).

Class: (Safe)

- She deems social class as <u>not relevant</u> to her perception of safety.

Nationality: (Safe)

- *Throughout the interview, she discusses her nationality through the lens of <u>languages</u>. This is less about the physical environment per se but feeds into a broader conceptualisation of a multi-sensory environment which includes soundscapes (discussed throughout the walking tour). The sound of Swedish and English is unusual in the suburbs whilst it is commonplace in neighbourhoods such as Kista and Hammarby Sjöstad - further proof of the extent of segregation.*

Children: (Safe/Unsafe)

- She first interprets the question as her sense of safety in relation to the presence of <u>groups of teenagers</u> in Husby Badet. <u>Groups</u> of teenagers are commonly identified as a problem in public space. They are seen as unpredictable and vulnerable to peer-pressure in groups, whereas they appear less dangerous and unpredictable when

alone. However, she argues that the presence of teenagers in the swimming pool does not affect her sense of safety as her <u>age</u> provides a sense of protection and security as she is conscious that they will not approach her – this is further reiterated by her discussion of teenagers in Lofoten Park.

- She later notes that teenagers 'get a bit out of hand in the pool' and her partner often has to intervene and discipline them, in the absence of any support from the lifeguards – something which participant 5 also notes. He provides a figure of authority and guardianships and enacts a form of informal social control in comparison to the formal social control supposedly enacted by the lifeguards (<u>Social control</u> is a constant theme throughout each transcript).

- Later in the interview, she expresses <u>altruistic fear </u>in relation to her son. She is concerned that he may not fit in with these groups when he reaches their age. This is less about fear per se but more general anxiety about acceptance and rejection in social situations - somewhat typical anxiety for most mothers rather than specific safety concerns.