Gendered spatial realities

Exploring the complexity of gendered space and place in
Rosengård through a feminist application of GIS

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of the complexity of gendered spaces and places. Grounding in feminist geographical theory and an understanding of space and place as gendered, the experiences and emotions of six young women from Rosengård, Malmö, connected to space and place are problematized and contextualised. The thesis is also a call for a qualitative, critical and feminist usage of GIS and an exploration of how GIS can contribute to a feminist analysis of gendered structures in space and time. Through a thematic analysis, it has become evident that these young women's spatial realities in a high degree are gendered. In the public eye, Rosengård is mainly given attention for criminality, this is however not the main concern for the young women whose experiences of exclusion, unease and unsafety rather are connected to experiences of sexist harassment and abuse. Because of this, the young women have developed different forms of protective strategies such as avoiding certain spaces and places. These strategies clearly shows how gendered structures affect the way in which the young women claim and move through space and how they because of these structures are restricted in their everyday lives. Further, by implementing GIS in a participatory and feminist manner, and through methodological transparency and a critical examination of GIS as a positivist "power-tool", it is in the thesis concluded that feminist geographical theory and qualitative critical GIS can mutually strengthen each other.

Keywords: Feminist geographies, feminist GIS, critical GIS, gendered space and place, young women, Rosengård.

Acknowledgements

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1   Introduction

Feminist movements have for long struggled for the right to claim space and for asserting rights to the city. The need to take action for more equal cities has in recent years also gotten a broader political acknowledgement, and to integrate a gender equality perspective is since 2013 a national objective for Swedish city planning (Boverket, 2016; Boverket, 2017). The Swedish National Board for Housing, Building and Planning has in the last years granted financial support to several projects aiming to create more equal cities and there is a strong trend for "planning equally". However, the focus is almost exclusively on physical restructuring and these projects for equal planning seems to fail in addressing underlying power dimensions and the complexity of gendered places and spaces. According to feminist scholars, gender issues, women and women's fear of sexual violence has in a Western neoliberal context been depoliticised and used as an argument for urban renewal projects and increased control and security (Kern, 2010; Listerborn, 2015). While some groups in society might be empowered by these projects, other groups risk being further marginalised and stigmatised. Perspectives of individuals outside the privileged positions in society have not successfully been acknowledged and integrated, and there is a risk of certain power relations being ignored (Listerborn, 2015).

Grounding in feminist geographical theory, I want to point to the complexity of gendered spatial realities through the stories of young women from Rosengård, Malmö. Central for feminist geographical scholarship is to make visible and challenge the relationships between gender divisions and spatial divisions (McDowell, 1999:12). There is an emphasis on how power relations are manifested through space and how spaces and places are experienced differently by different people (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). In this thesis, the young women's spatial experiences are problematized and contextualised through a feminist understanding of class, ethnicity and gender as deeply implicated in the way in which we inhabit and experience space and place (Massey, 1994:164).

The young women's gendered experiences are also expressed and visualized through maps, and the view of GIS as a purely positivist and quantitative tool is in the thesis problematized. Geographical information systems (GIS) have, as feminism, had an increasingly important role within geography and feminism and GIS are, according to McLafferty (2006), two of the most dynamic fields within geography. Previous intersections of feminism and GIS are however, especially in a Scandinavian context, few. I find exploring their relationship further interesting and necessary and this thesis is, in part, a call for a qualitative, critical and feminist usage of GIS. Feminist GIS has a potential as a tool for empowerment of marginalised groups by creating new kinds of visualization and knowledge, and by describing socio-spatial contexts of marginalised groups' lives (McLafferty, 2002). The purpose

of feminist GIS is not to make generalizations of space but rather to understand power relations and individual experiences of space and place (Kwan, 2002).

1.1   Purpose and research questions

The overall purpose of this master thesis is to emphasise the complexity of gendered spaces and places. It is both to explore and problematize the complex gendered spaces of Rosengård, and to contextualise young women from Rosengård's experiences of these spaces through a feminist geographical understanding of space and place. It is also a call for a qualitative, critical and feminist usage of GIS, and an exploration of how GIS can contribute to a feminist analysis of gendered structures in space and time. The research questions leading the work are:

- How are gendered spaces and places experienced among young women from Rosengård?
- How are feminist geographies actualised in relation to these young women's experiences?
- How can a qualitative, critical and feminist usage of GIS contribute to a feminist analysis of gendered structures in space and time?

1.2   Delimitations

The thesis is geographically focused on the city area of Rosengård. A further description of the area and previous studies connected to Rosengård is presented at page 25. To write another depiction of Rosengård feels somewhat problematic. The area is repeatedly given much attention from both researchers and the media and is usually not described in positive terms but rather as a problem (Hallin et.al. 2010). However, I hope that this thesis, to some extent, can bring up new perspectives and problematize this public image. The interest for writing this thesis with a focus on gendered realities in Rosengård grew during an internship placement at the city district administration East, city of Malmö, where I carried out a project on identifying unequal spaces in the city district. Through dialogue with a wide range of Malmö citizens during the project, it became evident that Rosengård is perceived as particularly problematic from a gender perspective, and that these unequal power structures especially have negative effects on young women and girls (Lindeborg, 2016). This thesis is a way of taking the project on unequal spaces in city district East further, and for problematizing and exploring the complex gendered structures of these spaces.

Further, there is in the thesis a focus on young women living in or spending time in Rosengård. I understand both the category of "women" as well as the category of "young" as a social construction, these categorisations exist and are differentiated by structuring and restructuring power relationships in society. Throughout the thesis, a language that is built upon a binary gender dichotomy is used. This is in no way a denial of individuals who do not identify themselves within this binary divide. As Doan (2010:638) expresses, "Gender is not a dichotomy but a splendid array of diverse experiences and performances."

1.3 Thesis outline

Following this introductory chapter where I have presented the purpose and research questions of the thesis, the theoretical foundations of the thesis will be presented in chapter 2. Feminist geographies are used as the guiding theoretical approach, and feminist theoretical contributions to geography will be highlighted as well as theoretical approaches to the intersection of feminist theory and critical and qualitative GIS. In chapter 3, methodological reflections that have guided the research as well as the methods that have been used to collect and analyse the material are discussed. The thesis follows a feminist inspired methodological frame and the way in which feminist methodological approaches have affected the research is outlined in the chapter. Chapter 4 is a brief description of Rosengård which is the area of focus in the thesis. Chapter 5 is an analytical chapter that is centred on three themes that have evolved from the empirical material and theoretical framework of this thesis. The chapter is initially a discussion on senses of places and differing senses of Rosengård, further, gendered experiences of Rosengård and Malmö are discussed and the chapter is lastly a discussion on issues of safety and unsafety. Finally, in chapter 6 some concluding reflections are presented.

2 Theoretical framework

The objective of this chapter is to present the theoretical foundations of this study. Feminist geographies are used as the guiding theoretical approach of the study, and initially feminist theoretical contributions of space, place and gender, bodies and embodiment, the division of public/private space, geographies of fear and intersectionality are highlighted. Thereafter, theoretical approaches to the intersection of feminist theory and critical and qualitative GIS are highlighted as well as previous intersections of feminist geography and GIS.

2.1 Feminist geographies

Given the significant diversity and heterogeneity among feminist geographical theories and research, it is too simplistic to talk about feminist geography as one entity (Moss & Falconer Al-Hindi, 2008). However, a common concern for feminist geographical scholarship is to make visible and challenge the relationships between gender divisions and spatial divisions, to uncover their mutual constitution and problematize their apparent naturalness (McDowell, 1999:12). Feminist geographies emphasizes how power is manifested through space and how spaces and places are experienced differently by different people (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). The way in which we claim space is connected to how privileged we are socially and economically, and can according to feminist geographers be seen as an expression of our position in society (Listerborn, 2001; Rose, 1993).

2.1.1 Space, place and gender

"Place" has often been thought of as a bounded entity, containing a set of unique characteristics, and within which people produce identities. This definition links place to the "lived and experienced". In contrast to place, "space" has been thought of as abstract and defined by geometric and locational properties. Space is in this way understood as general while place is particular (Bondi & Davidson, 2005:16). These definitions of space and place have been criticized by feminist geographers due to the feminist suspicion against grand narratives that censor multiplicity and difference (Agnew, 2005:90). According to feminists, these conceptualisations of space and place ignore the ways in which social constructions such as gender, age, class and ethnicity shape people's lives and experiences, and they also fail to recognize how social relations shape geography (Bondi & Davidson, 2005:17).

According to Massey (1994:168), "a 'place' is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location", and is thus flexible, in process and constructed through power relations. Places can be understood as articulated moments in networks of social relations which stretch far beyond that place in space and time (Massey, 1994:154). These social relations of space are experienced differently and depend on subjective preferences related to a greater cultural and social context (Massey, 1994:2). Class, ethnicity and gender are some of the social relations which are deeply implicated in the way we inhabit and experience space and place (Massey, 1994:164). Central to Masseys understanding of space and place is also that space and place is gendered, and that this gendering both reflects and has effects upon the ways in which gender is constructed and understood in society (Massey, 1994:186). Gender relations are thus constructed in and through space and place and, similarly, space and place construct gender.

According to McDowell (1999), places are defined by social-spatial practices which results in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple boundaries, constituted and maintained by relations of power and exclusion. The boundaries are both social and spatial and define who belongs and who does not belong to a certain place. These boundaries may indeed exclude individuals, and as Rose (1993) argues, being defined as a woman might entail feeling confined in and constrained by space. According to Rose, geographical imagination is masculine in nature and privileges male subjects while women rarely claim space but are instead caught and confined by it. The gendered practices and power structures of everyday life constrain women's space and thus produce and reproduce space that is gendered (Rose, 1993).

The concept of "sense of place" refers to the experiences, emotions and identities that are connected to places and can be seen as a part of the system of meaning through which we make sense of the world (Rose, 1995:99). The way in which we relate to particular places is connected to our experiences but also to social relations of power. According to Rose (1995), senses of place can work to establish complex differences between groups of individuals that can be based on for instance class, gender or ethnicity. The same place can invoke different senses of place for different groups or individuals. These feelings or senses of place are in large part shaped by the social, cultural and economic circumstances in which individuals find themselves. Different senses of place can thus be understood as negotiations with social, cultural and economic positions in society that creates feelings of inclusion and exclusion (Rose, 1995). Important to the feminist understanding of sense of place is also that senses of places can exist on different spatial scales at the same time, the local is in this way also connected to the regional, national and global and can be understood as a site in a flow of social relations (Rose, 1995:90).

2.1.2   Bodies and embodiment

According to Nelson and Seager (2005:2) "The body is the touchstone in feminist theory." The body has for long been, and in many disciplines still is, ignored or naturalised. As a response to this absence, feminist theorists have reclaimed bodies as an object for theoretical explanation. McDowell (1999) argues that theorising bodies and embodiment and its significance, is close to feminist ideas about positionality and location (McDowell, 1999:68). "The body" does not have a fixed location or scale but is rather a concept for disrupting naturalised dichotomies and embraces a multiplicity of material and symbolic sites. Bodies are symbolic and cultural as well as physical and biological, they are an effect of discourse as well as foundational. "The body" is in the same way as "place" constantly present and taken for granted, and at the same time ever changing, in process and constructed through power relations. Everyone has a body but bodies are differentiated through for instance age, sex, sexuality, gender, health and colour (Listerborn, 2007; Longhurst, 2005). According to Longhurst (2005:337), bodies exists in places, and are at the same time places.

McDowell (1999) insists on the body's importance for an understanding of gender relations at every spatial scale. The body is according to McDowell (1999:34) the place of the individual. The way in which bodies are experienced vary depending on the spaces and places in which the bodies inhabit, and the way in which spaces and places are experienced vary depending on the bodies we inhabit. The relationship between body and place is according to Listerborn (2007) two inevitable components in our being, and the right to spaces and places varies according to our bodily differences. Women have always been differentiated and subordinated because of their bodies (Listerborn, 2007). With our bodies, we carry spatial experiences with us. Spatial events becomes embodied experiences, and thus we carry spaces with us in form of memories and knowledge. The spatial gendering becomes a gendering of the individual attending certain spaces. The behaviour that is expected of us is working self-fulfilling because of repeated behaviours, roles and norms (Forsberg, 2005). Attending certain spaces reminds us of who we are in relation to those spaces and the people in it, which affects the creation of norms and identities. The repeated patterns that occur is thus contributing to a creation and recreation of norms and roles (Högdahl, 2003). This also means that the body is of great importance in the process of breaking gendered spatial patterns. It is a political project to claim space with our bodies and thereby become a "talking" part of urban life, and also to break spatial orders through everyday activities (Listerborn, 2015:20).

2.1.3 Public/private space

One of the most important effects of feminist geography has been to challenge and unsettle assumptions about women's and men's "places" (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). According to Massey (1995:492), deeply internalized dualisms structure personal identities and daily lives through the structuring of social relations and dynamics, which derive their masculine/feminine coding from deep socio-philosophical underpinnings. This binary construction implicated in the social construction of space and assumptions about who should occupy certain spaces and who should not. Gender relations, McDowell (1999) argues, are of central concern for geographers because of the way spatial divisions, such as between the public and private, plays a central role in the social construction of gender divisions. McDowell further argues that the idea that women have a particular place is the basis of the social organization of institutions such as the family, workplace and political institutions, as well as an essential part of Western Enlightenment thought and the structure and division of knowledge (McDowell, 1999:12).

Public spaces have traditionally been understood as a masculine domain while the home and private spaces have been seen as female domains. Following an ideology and view of two binary genders that are essentially different and complementary, women as passive and caring and men as active, the western society has been structured around two complementary spheres: a public decision-making and producing sphere and a private reproducing sphere. This divide and understanding of private spaces as women's places and public spaces as men's places exists still today, and women who spend too much time or attend public spaces at the "wrong time" are questioned (Domosh & Seager, 2001; Friberg et.al, 2005). This spatial division has been and is still extensively challenged by feminists, and as McDowell argues, it is important to emphasize that the division between public and private is a socially constructed and gendered division, just like the distinction between geographical scales (McDowell, 1999:149).

Because of the strong associations between women, the private and the home, feminist analyses of public spaces have often been focused on the problems and dangers that women experience in public, this compared with an assumption that men take their freedom and dominance in public spaces for granted (McDowell, 1999:148). But as McDowell argues (1999), the spatial divisions are much more complicated than a simple binary division between public and private that are respectively associated with women and men. Associations between gender, identity and place should be understood as complex and paradoxical. For both women and men, "the city and its public spaces are associated with both fear and with delight, with danger and heady freedoms" (McDowell, 1999:168). Further, defining private spaces as passive and family-oriented ignores the fact that the private also can be a space for political debates and mobilisation (Listerborn, 2015).

Whitzman (2007) argues that studies of gendered urban space often are trapped in an unhelpful public-private divide, and that this divide has had a negative impact on the development of a more inclusive urban space. This public-private divide is too simplistic, what is experienced in public cannot be separated from the private, and what is experienced in the private cannot be separated from the public. For unsettling this unhelpful divide between public and private, Massey's (1994) notion of space and place as articulated moments in networks of social relations which stretch far beyond that place in space and time might be helpful. With this notion of space and place, there is nothing that can be limited to "the public" or "the private", space and place are continually and mutually created and recreated.

2.1.4   Geographies of fear

One of the main contributions of feminist geography is the "geographies of fear". The concept of "geographies of fear" is often referred to Valentine (1989), who connected women's fear with their marginalised and subordinate position in society, and that this fear further compromises women's freedom and opportunities. Studies of fear and unsafety have consistently pointed towards women as a group as experiencing especially high levels of unsafety. Age, class, sexuality and ethnicity has also shown to have considerable effects on experienced safety, however, women's fear and unsafety has shown to be especially widespread. To cope with the feelings of fear and unsafety, many women tend to adjust their life and develop different types of protective strategies, both consciously but often subconsciously. A common strategy is to avoid certain spaces at certain times, which obviously confines women's freedom and opportunities (Andersson, 2005; Pain, 1997; Whitzman, 2007).

A contradiction that often is brought up regarding women's unsafety is that women experience more unsafety while women's risk of being exposed to violence is statistically smaller than men's. However, what is often overlooked in such studies is the large number of unreported cases of violence and abuse that many women are exposed to in the home, often by a partner or family member (Andersson, 2005). Within studies of fear and unsafety, including feminist studies of fear and unsafety, there has been an unhelpful divide between the public and the private and the focus has mainly been on fear and unsafety in public space. It is however important to unsettle this divide for a better understanding of the geographies of fear, what is experienced in the public cannot be separated from the private, and what happens in the private cannot be separated from the public (Whitzman, 2007). Further, as Doan (2014) argues, modern communication systems have also enabled "the tyranny of gender" to intrude on private space and violence, harassment and

intrusion can occur in the private space via for instance telephones and social media (Doan, 2010:647).

Another problem with the view of women as contradictory fearful and unsafe is the way in which violence and abuse is categorised. Often in safety studies, only physical violence is categorised as abuse while other forms of gender related abuse such as sexual harassment or sexist comments and glares are overlooked (Andersson, 2005). According to Koskela (2005:267), "the gaze" has a crucial role in the production and experience of space. On the city streets, women are often objectified by the gaze, which for many leads to feelings of repression and unsafety. This relates to the body and embodiment, women are because of their bodies differentiated and objectified. Gender related forms of abuse are part of many women's everyday experience, and these experiences is a reminder of who one is in relation to the city and the people in it. It is in other words a reminder of women's marginalisation and subordination.

It has however in feminist writing also become important to challenge the view on women as inherently fearful and vulnerable. As Listerborn (2015) argues, research on women's fear and unsafety might entail a confirmation and reproduction of gender stereotypes instead of emphasizing the complexity of social categories. Wilson (1992:10) criticizes much of feminist writings for being "hostile to the city" and argue that feminists could and should be both pro-cities and pro-women. The city is not only frightening, restrictive and risky, but it is also empowering and pleasurable. Women are both victims and active producers in urban life. Instead of describing women as fearful, it is important to point to the social construction of fear. We should also point to those women who are not fearful, and to the boldness of those who despite their fear are claiming space (Wilson, 1992). This boldness can be understood as a political project to break gendered spatial orders (Koskela, 1997:316). As Listerborn (2015:20) puts it, it is a political project to claim space and to break spatial orders through everyday activities, and thereby becoming a "talking" and producing part of the city.

Feminists have, according to Listerborn (2015), to repoliticise the geographies of fear since issues of fear and safety in a Western neoliberal context has become a commodity. Women's fear of sexual violence is in this sense used as an argument for increased control, surveillance, security and urban renewal projects (Kern, 2010; Listerborn, 2015:2). There is due to this depoliticising of women's fear a risk of hierarchical gender relationships being produced, and of certain power relations being ignored. Women and women's fear have become an argument for urban renewal projects, and gender is rather being used to create differences instead of working for radical equality. While some groups in society might be empowered, other groups risk being further marginalised and stigmatised. Being associated with certain spaces that are regarded as problematic or less important might entail not being listened to, and there is within the safety discourse an exclusively focus on

white middleclass women. Low-income, racialized, disabled and immigrant women do not belong to this privileged and profitable group (Listerborn, 2015).

2.1.5 An intersectional approach to feminist geographies

As mentioned in the previous section, there is within the safety discourse an exclusive focus on white middleclass women (Listerborn, 2015). This has also been a problematic and evident trend within western feminist geography, and there is a need for problematizing the view of women as a homogeneous group. One of the most important theoretical contributions of feminist theory is the notion of intersectionality as it has become a primary tool in feminist analyses for studying relations between various social dimensions and differences and their links to identity and relations of power (Davis, 2008). Intersectional theory emerged within postcolonial and antiracist feminism by scholars and activists calling for more inclusive modes of analysis. Women has by some been understood as a homogeneous group but there is a strong need for seeing how different power structures interconnect and for understanding that complex power hierarchies exists within the group of women. One should always be careful to talk about experiences or perspectives of women, or any other social group, as a homogeneous group. Different types of knowledge is produced by differences in multiple social structures (Mohanty, 1984; Mohanty, 2013).

Intersectionality is grounded in the feminist understanding of knowledge production and emphasizes how different power structures interact (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005; Davis, 2008). It brings notion to that power cannot be analysed as separate categories isolated from other social categorizations and is a tool for analysing how power structures based on gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality, nationality, age, functionality etc. interact and mutually construct each other. Intersectionality does not mean that different power structures are added on top of each other, but rather that the different dimensions of power is inseparable and function in a dynamic way (Hill Collins, 1998; Lykke, 2005). Making interconnections between dimensions of power structures can also be used to bring together theoretical and methodological projects that previously have seemed disconnected from each other, and thus integrate marginalised perspectives (Davis, 2008:74). In this thesis, I argue that one such intersection is the intersection of feminist geography and feminist GIS.

2.2   Feminist visualization - intersecting feminist geography and GIS

Feminism is a fast growing theoretical and empirical field within geography, and has produced a variety of work about identity, self, and subjectivity, as well as issues of power, society and science (Moss & Falconer Al-Hindi, 2008). As feminism, GIS has had an increasingly important role within geography the last decades and according to McLafferty (2006), these are two of the most dynamic fields within geography. The intersections of feminism and GIS are in a Scandinavian context few, which is one of the reasons why I find exploring their relationship further interesting and necessary. This thesis is, in part, a call for a qualitative, critical and feminist usage of GIS and I will in this section present the theoretical foundations for an intersection of feminist theory and GIS. I will also outline some previous studies that intersect feminism and GIS, from which I find inspiration for this study.

2.2.1   Critical and qualitative GIS

Geographical information systems is an important part of geographical research and entered geography without much discord (Longley et.al. 2011). However, in the early 1990's, GIS gained extensive criticism from human geographers (Schuurman, 2000; Schuurman, 2004). GIS has mainly been understood as a tool for quantitative and positivist spatial analysis and has been criticized for its inadequate representation of space and subjectivity. Some critics claim that GIS is rooted in geography's quantitative revolution and that it mainly is used for making universally applicable principles or generalisations of space (Kwan, 2002a:645-647). It has also been criticized for reproducing norms and supporting structures of power, surveillance practices and militarism (Pavlovskaya & Martin, 2007; Schuurman, 2000; Schuurman & Pratt, 2002). According to Kwan (2002b), it has for many critical geographers become difficult to envision GIS in other terms than those invoked in the 1990's. To some extent, many have understood science and GIS as binary where positivist or quantitative methods stands in contrast to critical and qualitative methods, and where GIS and spatial analysis stands in contrast to social and critical theory, which is a quite limited view.

As a response to the extensive critique of GIS as rooted in positivist epistemology, critical approaches to GIS has emerged (Cope & Elwood, 2009:1). Critical GIS has contributed with important questions regarding representation, ethics, power and privacy violence within GIS technology (Kwan, 2007). GIS and critical geography is according to Barnes (2009) not in opposition, though some might argue that they are, and that there are good reasons to join them together. To use GIS does not mean

that one cannot carry out critical research, and whether the data is numerical or not does not indicate whether GIS is quantitative or qualitative. A GIS can be rich on contextual details about social and material situations, which can make it both qualitative and critical. A GIS can also be critical and qualitative due to the way it is analysed, and by integrating other methods such as in-depth interviews (Cope & Elwood, 2009). Combining GIS with qualitative methods allows critical geographers to use the analytical and representational power of GIS, and get around its limitations with certain forms of analysis (Pavlovskaya, 2009:3).

2.2.2   Feminist GIS

Along with critical GIS, feminist GIS grew out of feminist critiques of knowledge production, geography, cartography and vision. GIS has usually been considered as a "masculine" technology, and the mapmaker has traditionally been a white male scientist in pursuit of objective knowledge. It is however not fair to discard GIS as masculinist, there is nothing essentially masculine with the technology itself, but it has like most sciences been male dominated and reflected experiences and ideas of white heterosexual middle- to upper class men (Pavlovskaya & Martin, 2007:586) According to Pavlovskaya (2009) these unequal power relations are very evident within GIS. She argues that there is a powerful narrative about what GIS is which creates definitions of what it can or cannot do and what it should and should not do, which silences certain practices and GIS practitioners. GIS has, as previously mentioned, by some traditional practitioners been understood as a tool to seek for universally applicable principles or to make generalisations of space, this disembodied master vision has been called "the male gaze". The world that is represented and mapped is often a world distant from marginalised group's experiences (Kwan, 2002a; Kwan 2002b; Pavlovskaya & Martin, 2007). Knowledge produced with this disembodied master vision denies partiality, erases subjectivities and ignores power relations (Kwan, 2007).

Feminist GIS is growing and women and other marginalised groups are increasingly using the technology. In this sense, alternative maps, visualizations and representations are developing (Pavlovskaya & Martin, 2007:584). A growing feminist influence on GIS is evident in the heightened awareness of how unequal power relations shape construction and use of GIS (McLafferty, 2006). Feminist GIS users challenges the dominant objectifying vision and old understandings of GIS as a tool to discover universal truth or make generalisations, and is instead trying to understand power relations and different individual's experiences of space (Kwan, 2002a). They are stressing the need for problematizing the relationship between research, the researcher and the researched to acknowledge partiality and make unequal power relations visible. Rather than taking a superior position and looking

from a disembodied master view, feminist GIS users are trying to understand and represent the object (Kwan, 2002b). According to Kwan (2007:24), with feminist GIS, we can "better articulate the complex realities of gendered, classed, raced, and sexualized spaces and experiences of individuals". Another contribution of feminist GIS is according to Schuurman & Pratt (2002) feminisms suspicion about binaries. Beginning as a critique of gender dichotomies, the feminist critique of binary thinking has evolved beyond gender to involve binaries of all sorts such as for instance heterosexual/homosexual, black/white, quantitative/qualitative. This deconstruction of binaries has contributed to new ways of seeing and thinking within GIS, geography and science.

2.2.3 Previous intersections of feminism and GIS

Intersections of feminism and GIS has resulted in alternative mapping practices that are aware of gender and other dimensions of power. This intersection has led to new research questions and new research methods being conducted and they have transformed the relationship between the researched object and the knowing subject (Pavlovskaya & Martin, 2007:592). Mei-Po Kwan has been one of the first and most successful in implementing feminist GIS, and has through much of her research challenged the status quo within GIS, geography and science. Kwan has challenged the disembodied master vision often associated with GIS through problematizing the relationship between research, the researcher and the researched and through visualizing the lives and experiences of marginalised groups in time and space (Kwan, 2002a; Kwan, 2002b).

In this thesis, I am inspired by Kwan's work on visualizing marginalised group's experiences and emotions in relation to space. In maps, bodies are often treated as dots, if they even exist, and the partiality and diversity of these knowing and feeling bodies are ignored. As an attempt to bring bodies, experiences and emotions into GIS, Kwan has applied Hägerstrand's (1970) space-time geography approach to the analysis of marginalised group's everyday lives (Kwan, 2002a; Kwan, 2008; Kwan & Kotsev, 2015). By combining qualitative material gained through travel diaries with GIS, Kwan has visualized the three-dimensional life paths of women from different ethnic and socio-economic groups (Kwan, 2002a). The lines representing women's life paths in space-time are not abstract lines in the transparent Cartesian space of GIS, but material expressions of women's corporeality and embodied subjectivities (Kwan, 2002a:653). In her project on the post-September 11 experiences of Muslim women in the USA (2008), Kwan also visualizes emotions in combination with the space-time paths. Through these maps, Kwan shows the everyday lives and struggles of these women in a visually striking way.

3   Methodology and method

In this chapter I will discuss methodological reflections that have guided this research, as well as the methods that have been used in order to collect and analyse the material. The thesis follows a feminist inspired methodological frame and in this chapter I will outline how feminist methodological approaches have affected the research.

3.1   Methodological reflections

The questioning of "authoritarian knowledge" has come to dominate the feminist methodological debate (Lykke, 2009:127). Feminist research follows a long tradition of emphasizing power in relation to knowledge production, and a central idea within feminist theory of science is that all knowledge is humanly produced and biased (Alcoff & Potter, 1993; Lykke, 2009). Knowledge is according to feminists a social construction, it is not simply "being" out there waiting to be discovered. Knowledge oozes of power and the production of knowledge is connected to positions of privilege and power. It is therefore significant to reflect on power dimensions throughout the whole research process (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002). Feminists also acknowledge that different individuals produce different kinds of knowledge, what traditionally has been considered as "the knowledge" has typically been the knowledge of those in positions of power. However, certain types of knowledge may not be available to those in positions of power and knowledge produced outside the privileged positions can contribute to new kinds of knowledge (Cope, 2002).

Haraway's (1988) concept of "situated knowledges" posits that all knowledge comes from a particular location and cannot claim to be objective truth. From this perspective, all knowledge is embodied and positioning is therefore a key practice for researchers. To position oneself means to acknowledge one's position and power in relation to others, to take responsibility for this position and the knowledge that is produced, and to acknowledge that the knowledge produced is the result of multiple social structures and circumstances. Knowledge is never produced "from nowhere", but from a complex, contradictory, structuring and structured body. Knowledge always comes from somewhere, and it matters who knows (Haraway, 1988). The notion of situated knowledges enables responsibility taking within research, and "it allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see" (Haraway, 1988:583). In this thesis, I am trying to get closer to the ideal of situated knowledges through transparent theoretical, methodological and analytical

standpoints and through reflecting on the relationship between research, the researcher and the researched. I understand research as a representation that is constructed and limited through context, power and discursive frames.

3.1.1   Intersecting feminism and GIS – a methodological clash?

GIS has, as already mentioned, by many, not least Marxists, poststructuralists and feminists, been criticized for being rooted in positivism (Schuurman & Pratt, 2002). It has been understood as a tool to seek for universally applicable principles or to make generalisations about space, and has been criticized for its inadequate representation of space and subjectivity (Kwan, 2002a). In GIS, space is represented with X- and Y-coordinates which Delaney and Van Niel (2007:50) calls "one way of converting the world into two dimensions". There is an obvious clash between the representation of space as Cartesian and absolute in GIS and multiple and flexible in feminist geography. This clash is rooted in the understanding of maps as representations of objective knowledge while feminist epistemology rests upon the assumption that there is no such thing as objective knowledge (Pavlovskaya, 2009:12).

However, another pillar that feminism rests upon is the suspicion about binaries of all sorts. This suspicion begins from a critique of gender dichotomies and extends to binaries such as heterosexual/homosexual, black/white, coloniser/colonised. The critique of binaries has been used by feminist GIS users to unravel dichotomies such as positivist/critical, quantitative/qualitative and spatial analysis/critical theory to form the hybrid that is feminist GIS (Schuurman & Pratt, 2002:295). Following Haraway (1991), the objective of feminist GIS users is not just to criticize science, but to transform it through situated and knowledgeable conversations about the coding and objectification about the world. The methodologies of feminist and qualitative GIS are grounded in a different understanding of the epistemologies and ontologies of maps in GIS. Maps are within feminist GIS understood as "cartographic texts" that can be part of an interpretive production of meaning rather than a representation of spatial knowledge (Elwood, 2006).

Schuurman (2002) uses Haraway's (1991) notion of the cyborg as an argument for feminist involvement with GIS. This involvement is according to Schuurman an important feminist strategy for writing the cyborg, and a more feminist cyborg will make GIS and geography a more equitable place. The cyborg is a fusion of computer technology and humans and refers to the symbolic relationship between humans and machines. Human activities are increasingly mediated through technology and the line between human and machine is hard to draw. This also reconstitutes power relations and can represent an opportunity for feminists to become more involved in science, technology and GIS (Schuurman, 2002:261). According to Haraway

(1991:181), "Cyborg imagery can suggest a way out of the maze of dualisms in which we have explained our bodies and our tools to ourselves. [...] It means both building and destroying machines, identities, categories, relationships, space stories." I find the notion of the cyborg to be helpful in merging GIS with feminist theory, it transgresses boundaries between binary divisions and produce something ontologically new. As Lykke (2009:174) puts it, the multi- trans- and post disciplinarity of feminist research motivates an openness and diversity regarding methodology and choice of methods.

3.2   Research design

In line with the overall purpose and in order to be able to answer the research questions of this thesis, I am using a qualitative approach with feminist ambitions. As Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002) argues, there is no universal definition of what makes research feminist or not. It is not the study of gender or gendered social lives as such that makes research feminist, but feminist approaches can largely be identified by their theories of gender and power, their normative frameworks, and their notions of transformation and accountability (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002:147).

Further, this is a single case study with the case being young women living and/or spending time in Rosengård. The case study model is well compatible with qualitative research in general and the fundamental characteristic of the case study is that a single case is studied in-depth. The case study can be considered as an investigation of a phenomena bound in space and time, the results are generally not generalizable but can lead to a detailed and comprehensive understanding of a specific phenomenon (Yin, 2009). To do a case study is not so much of a methodological choice, but rather a choice of what is to be studied (Flyvbjerg, 2011:301). The case of Rosengård can be defined as what Flyvbjerg (2011) calls an "extreme/deviant case". The extreme/deviant case can be suited for confirming existing theories and getting a point across in a dramatic way, but more interestingly, it can also be suited for understanding the limits of and developing existing theories (Flyvbjerg, 2011:307).

3.3 Intersecting semi-structured interviews and qualitative GIS

The main source of data for this study is in-depth semi-structured interviews. The use of in-depth interviews is a common and by some preferred method in feminist research as it can open up for lived experiences and voices of marginalized

individuals, and as it has a potential of preventing hierarchical relationships between the researcher and the participants to take place (Bryman, 2012:491). I am opposing myself to the idea of a research method as essentially feminist, however, I argue that semi-structured interviews is most suited for this particular thesis due to the interview's potential of producing knowledge regarding individuals' view of their being based on experiences and context. The interviews gives me the opportunity to explore and analyse experiences, strategies, sense of places and sense of selves (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002; Valentine, 2005).

The interviews have been carried out both individually and in group. The initial plan for the thesis was to only interview the participants individually, this was however changed as some of the participants insisted on being interviewed in group. Thus, only one interview was carried out individually, and the other interviews were carried out with two respectively three participants. Whether the interviews are carried out in group or individually can have important effects on the outcome of the interviews. Interviews in group can be more dynamic than individual interviews, and collective associations can lead to interesting reflections and topics that otherwise would be left unmentioned. However, with group interviews there is also always a risk of some participants being silenced or who are unwilling to challenge or contradict other participants in the interview (Conradson, 2005; Valentine, 2005). For this study, the different forms of in-depth interviews have complemented each other in a fruitful way. I found the group interviews to be more open and dynamic than the individual interview, while it during the individual interview was easier to stay to the themes of the thesis.

During the interviews, I have followed an in advance prepared interview guide that is presented in the Appendix on page 58. This guide has after each interview been slightly adjusted and improved. The strength of the semi-structured interview guide is that it covers a fixed set of questions and topics, while at the same time giving the freedom to explore new paths appearing during the course of the interview. An important advantage of the semi-structured interview is the possibility to open up for versatile and unexpected discussions as well as to follow up on questions and topics (Valentine, 2005). I have been open for a diversity in questions and answers and the way in which these have led the discussions in different directions, but have at the same time tried to create a consistency regarding topics and themes. The interview guide has helped me to balance between diversity and consistency.

The interviews have been conducted in collaboration with researchers at Malmö University. I was contacted by them in the starting phase of collecting empirical material and we decided to collaborate as our research purposes are similar and due to ethical considerations such as research fatigue among young individuals in Rosengård. Their aim is to research perceptions of safety among young individuals in Rosengård which obviously steered the interviews more towards issues of safety than what I had initially planned. The fact that we during the interviews were two

interviewers and that they have a more official role as professional researchers might have had an impact on the interviews. The interview may have been perceived as more formal and the participants might have had a harder time "opening up" for two researchers rather than one. My interpretation is however that the fact that we were two interviewers did not have a negative impact on the interview situation and in fact, it made the interviews more vivid and shaped them into more of discussions and less into interrogations.

An important element during the interviews has been maps. Paper maps in different scales, one representing Rosengård and one representing Rosengård and other parts of Malmö, have been used as geographical and spatial reminders during the interviews. These maps were created with data from the Swedish mapping, cadastral and land registration authority, *Lantmäteriet*, and much consideration has been taken regarding scale, colour and form to make these maps understandable and informative. Even though these reference maps might look simple and harmless to many, it is important to note that no map is impartial. Every map has got an author, a subject, a theme and a bias and should be understood as instruments for both visualization and communication as well as for persuasion and power (Wood, 1992). Maps are indeed powerful objects that have a way of drawing us in both imaginatively and emotionally (Aitken & Craine, 2009:139). I am aware that the maps might have had an impact on the participants and the discussions during the interviews. The participants have been encouraged to fill in information in the maps during the interviews. They have specifically been encouraged to fill in their everyday life patterns, but also to make notes and marks regarding feelings and experiences bound to specific spaces. The aim of producing the information of the maps in this participatory way is to increase the influence and power of the participants in the research process. GIS and maps has often been criticized for being a "power tool" that reproduces norms and power hierarchies. It is from this critique that a participatory usage of GIS has emerged. A goal of the Participatory GIS (PGIS) movement is the empowerment of citizens who traditionally have been excluded from planning processes (Elwood, 2006). PGIS gives marginalised groups the opportunity to take part in visualization, representation, planning and policy-related decision making. PGIS is also a means to make GIS more accessible, it democratises a tool and technology that for long only has been available to a powerful elite (Schuurman, 2009).

3.3.1 Sampling choices and gaining access

The initial contact with the participants in the study was gained through city district administration East, city of Malmö, where I have previously carried out an internship placement. Due to the privacy of the participants, I will not further specify

in which way they are connected to the administration. During my internship at the city district administration, I was given the task to identify unequal public spaces through conversations with Malmö citizens in city district East. In this study, it became evident that the public spaces of Rosengård are perceived as particularly problematic from a gender perspective and also that these unequal power structures first and foremost are affecting young women and girls. I have therefore chosen to focus on young women and girls who are living or spending time in Rosengård in this thesis, to problematize and dig deeper into the complex gendered structures of these spaces. I understand both the category of "women and girls" as well as the category of "young" as a social construction, these categorisations exist and are differentiated by structuring and restructuring power relationships in society. My ambition with this thesis is not to create generalizable results nor to achieve representative sampling, my sampling choices and delimitations are based on the purpose, research questions and theoretical framework of the thesis.

3.3.2   Participants

The participants of the study are six individuals who all define themselves as young women. The young women's ages are ranging from 16 to 19 years and all of them are currently engaged with high school studies. All of the participants have at some point lived in Rosengård, three of them are currently living in Rosengård while three of them live in other parts of Malmö but are still spending time in Rosengård several days a week. The duration of the interviews ranges between approximately 40 and 60 minutes and they were conducted in the end of March 2017. The interviews were held at a semi-public venue where all of the participants spend time at least once a week. The full list of the participants in the study is presented at page 57.

As a secondary source, I have also included material from interviews that I conducted with 188 individuals during September and October 2016 (Lindeborg, 2016). I conducted these interviews in my role as an intern at the department for district development in city district East, city of Malmö. I am aware of the impact that my role as a representative of city of Malmö might have had on these interviews. The role as an intern might be interpreted as more formal and official than the role as a student which might have contributed to a more hierarchical relationship between me and the participants.

3.3.3　　　　Handling and analysis of the material

I have carefully transcribed the recorded interviews shortly after they were conducted. Pauses, laughter and interruptions that might have an impact on the interpretation of the discussion have been included. I have also noted imitation of others, hesitation and humming. All of the interviews were conducted and transcribed in Swedish, the quotes presented is therefore a result of my own translation from Swedish to English. As Sohl (2014), I understand the transcribed interview as an attempt to capture the social situation that is the interview, without being the same. It can be understood as a translation from one language to another and I am aware of that meaning and context might get lost with the transcription. It is thus important to not treat the transcripts as reified static data (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). I have therefore continuously returned to both the transcribed as well as the recorded material and treated it as a continually ongoing dialogue.

The information that the participants have filled in the maps during the interviews has been digitalised in a GIS software. In these digitised maps I have also filled in information that the participants expressed verbally, but did not mark in the maps by themselves. Even though the mapping process to some extent has been participatory, the maps are, just like the transcriptions and the presentation of the material in the thesis overall, representations of my interpretation of the intersections during the interview situation. In the same way as the transcriptions, meaning and context might get lost in the mapping process and the maps should not be understood as reified static data. Maps are, as previously mentioned, powerful objects that can draw us in both imaginatively and emotionally (Aitken & Craine, 2009:139). I am aware of that the maps in this study may be interpreted as mediations of spatial knowledge, but I want to emphasise that they primarily should be read as cartographic texts that can be part of an interpretive production of meaning (Elwood, 2006).

The material has been analysed thematically and the analytical themes that the material has been organised into derives from my empirical material, purpose and research questions. However, the theoretical framework has also influenced the themes. In this abductive process, theory and empiricism have been intertwined and have mutually influenced each other (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2007). Through my theoretical framework, I have understood the complexity of my empirical material while the empirical material has exposed shortcomings in the theoretical framework. As Sohl (2014:67) argues, the empirical data collection and transcription of the material is closely related to the analytical work and should not be treated as separate processes. The analytical work for this thesis has been a continual process and while the organisation of the empirical material into analytical themes might be understood as the analytical work, the analytical process has also taken place during interviews, right after interviews and during

transcription. Finally, the material has been divided into three main themes that constitutes the disposition for the analysis. These themes are "*Living in Rosengård – senses of places*" where the connections between experiences, emotions, identities and places are central, "*Claiming space as young women in Rosengård*" where the participants' gendered experiences of Rosengård are central, and finally "*(Un)safety*" where the participants experiences and emotions connected to safety and unsafety are central.

My interpretation of the empirical material needs to be problematized, there is a risk that I might be looking for meanings in the material that are not actually there because of my grounding in my theoretical framework (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It is also likely that my interpretation of the material differs from others because of diverse contextual positions, as Skeggs (1997:29) puts it, "knowing is always mediated through the discourses available to us to interpret and understand our experience". I acknowledge this and I am trying to take a reflexive and critical stance towards my own material and analysis. According to Ramazanoğlu & Holland (2002:116), interpretation is a key process in the exercise of power and the researcher cannot set aside one's own language, life and understandings when producing interpretations. However, the strength of the process of interpretation as feminist is the theoretical framework, the political and ethical concern with deconstructing power relations and making the researcher accountable for the knowledge that is produced (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002).

3.4   Ethical considerations

The ethical decisions and considerations for this thesis has been guided by the Swedish Research Council's Codex (2016) and the four principles of individual protection requirement; information, consent, confidentiality and utilization. The participants have been informed regarding the purpose and scope of the study prior to the interviews and it was made explicit that the interviews were completely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time. Verbal as well as written consent has been obtained from all participants and all participants have given me permission to record the interviews. The participants in the study are anonymous and have in the analysis been given pseudonyms, I have however chosen to not anonymise their approximate age and the city district of Rosengård and the fact that they all either live or spend much time there. My judgement is however that this will not threaten their privacy due to the size of the city area.

A strength of feminist research is the sensitivity to power relations, and to critically reflect on the power relation between the researcher and the participants is central. In all research, there is a risk of assigning the participants a role without agency or

power (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002). The representations of the interviews and the participants in this thesis is unarguably the result of my interpretation of them, I have however throughout the whole research process tried to let the participants' agenda come across and increase their influence over the research. My aim is not to "give voice" to the participants, making such a statement is quite paternalistic and also a way of exercising power. When the researcher attempts to speak for the participants, they are in a way depriving the participants of their right to speak for themselves (de los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005). The thesis includes quotes and words of individuals that are less often given subject positions, it is however my interpretation of these individuals that is represented and I am not trying to represent these individuals or give them "a voice". It is hard to take one's own privileges personally, and a student may not appear to exercise much power. It is however important to acknowledge, as Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002:113) points out, that all social researchers can exercise power by turning people's lives into authoritative texts, by including some things and excluding others, by constituting "others" as particular sorts of research subjects or dismissing particular issues as irrelevant to "proper" knowledge.

3.4.1   Positionality and reflexivity

Situated and embodied knowledges enables responsibility taking within research, and it makes us answerable and accountable for what we see and perceive (Haraway, 1988:583). All knowledge is embodied and positioning is therefore a key practice for researchers. To position oneself means to acknowledge one's position and power in relation to others, to take responsibility for this position and the knowledge that is produced, and to acknowledge that the knowledge produced is the result of multiple social structures and circumstances. Knowledge is never produced "from nowhere", but from a complex, contradictory, structuring and structured body (Haraway, 1988). Throughout the thesis, by formulating and focusing my research questions, by selecting the theoretical and methodological framework and throughout the analysis and empirical data collection, I am positioning and situating myself in relation to the research and to those whom I research. However, the situation becomes more complex when the researcher enters a social context with the research subject, such as an interview, which demands a reflexive approach (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002:156).

Reflexivity is central to feminist research and is generally to make explicit the power relations and the exercise of power between researcher and the participants in the research (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002:118). Reflexivity has been taken as a task for feminist researchers in coming to terms with one's own position among a web of power relations constituting the research process. However, it is also important to

note that these positionings are not transparent. Based on similarities, differences and coexisting power relations, the researcher and the participants are positioned in the research process. The intersections of these positions does not create fixed or transparent positions but rather hybrid identities that coexist in the process (Moss, 2005). It is necessary to reflect upon these intersecting identities, as it is based on these that the conditions for the research and the interviews are created.

Even though I am several years older than the participants in the study, we found a common ground and shared a lot of experiences as young women. I believe that this made it easier for the participants to open up and share experiences regarding sexual harassment and perceptions of safety in public spaces. These similarities did however not only play out in a positive way and the fact that we share experiences did during some parts of the interviews prevent the participants from elaborating further and instead claim that "you know how it is". However, as Ramazanoğlu & Holland (2002) argues, those who are materially and socially female do not necessarily share political interests or experience a common embodied existence, and interview situations between women does not necessarily lead to intimacy and understanding (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002:15). Power relations such as age and gender can both function as a possibility for intimacy and understanding but also for a hierarchal relationship between researcher and participant (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002).

As I see similarities between me and the participants, I also see differences. Even though I am relatively young, I am as mentioned several years older than the participants, I do however not believe that this created a distance between us. I am also a university student who lives in a middle class neighbourhood in Malmö, and is conform to the whiteness norm. I have the privilege of never having experienced discrimination because of my ethnical background or the neighbourhood that I have been brought up in, which also differentiates me from the participants. While sharing some experiences with the participants as a young woman, it was at the same time obvious that I was perceived as an outsider when talking about specific issues regarding Rosengård. Some of the participants even assumed that I had never before sat my foot in Rosengård. I have tried to position myself in a non-hierarchical way during the interviews, it has however been inevitable that I, in some aspects, have been perceived as an authority researcher. I do however believe that the participants have felt comfortable and been able to speak freely about their experiences.

In this feminist tradition of positionality and reflexivity, one's embodied place is used metaphorically to indicate a social, cultural and economic location in relation to the participants. Anderson and Jones (2009) argue that this metaphorical dimension has a risk of overshadowing the material influence that place has on methodology, and stress that the place of interaction between researcher and participants needs to be understood as an influencing factor of knowledge

production. The place of interaction can help to ensure participants feel comfortable about their involvement in the research and also, to some extent, have an impact on power relations between the researcher and participants (Anderson & Jones, 2009). The interviews for this thesis were conducted in a separate, private room at a semi-public venue where all of the participants spend time at least once a week. The venue is a space where they feel comfortable and safe, and in the private room they did not have to worry about being overheard by anyone. I argue that the location for the interviews had a positive impact on the participants, and since I was a visitor at "their territory", I also argue that the venue had a positive influence on the power balance between us.

The complex intersections between me and the participants have unarguably affected how we perceive each other, the discussions during the interviews and the outcome of this thesis. I am throughout the research process trying to be reflexive in order to make the intersections that have formed the interviews and the research outcome visible. A reflexive stance is however in an ideal situation not an individual reflection, reflexivity should be collective and contested due to the limits of individual visions and experiences (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002:119). This section is merely an individual and thus limited reflection. Also important to mention is that while positionality and reflexivity might shed light on power relations throughout the research process, it is however impossible to achieve a complete transparency on the power imbalances in the research process, and it does not make them disappear either (Rose, 1997).
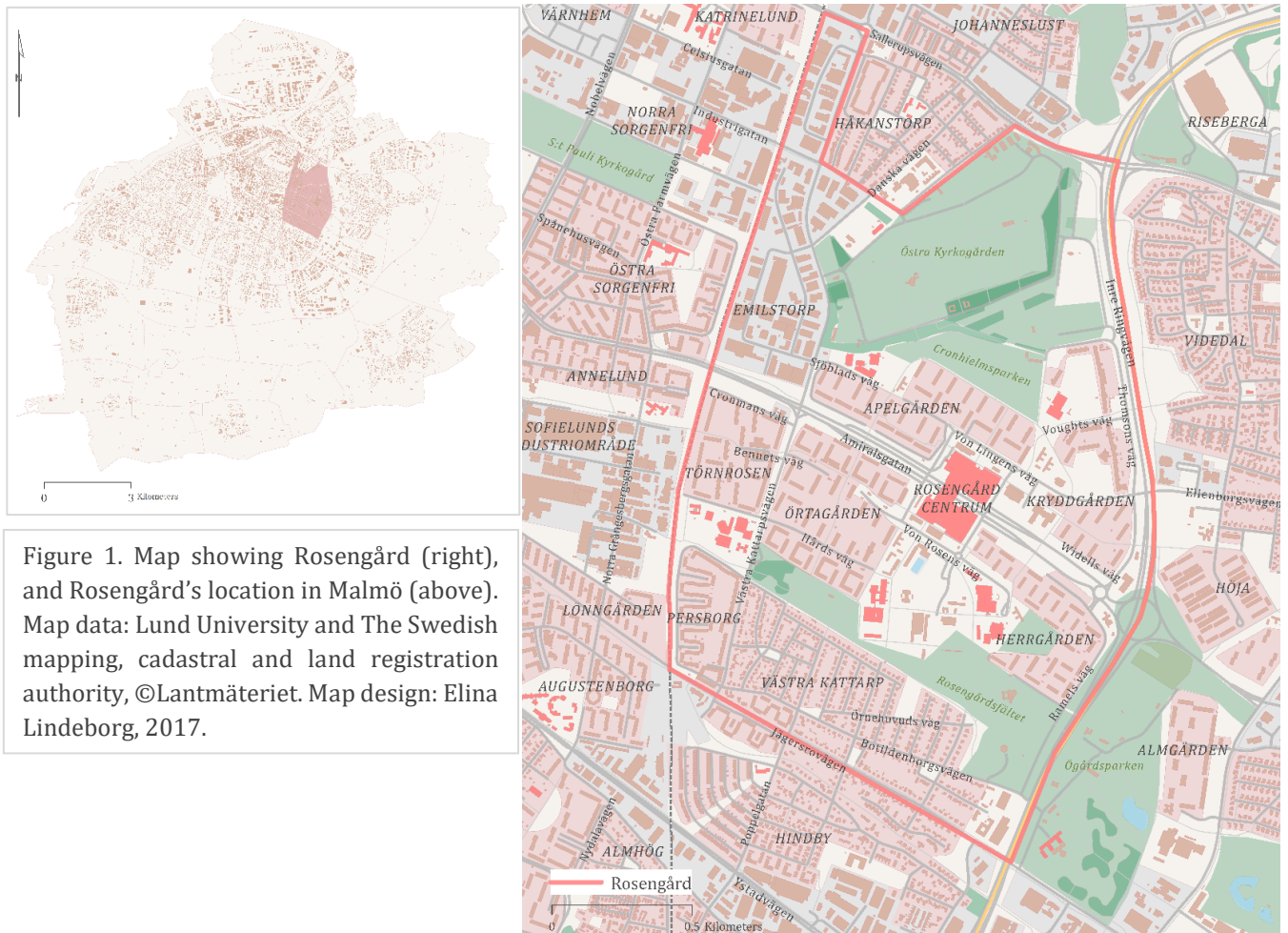
4   Rosengård

This chapter is a brief description of Rosengård which is the area of focus for this study. The area is an important component for the participants of this study's sense of places and sense of selves. A brief description of the area is thus important for analysing and problematizing the gendered spatial realities of these young women. Rosengård is a city area located in eastern Malmö that is repeatedly given much attention from both researchers and the media, and is usually not described in positive terms but rather as a problem. Rosengård is often portrayed as an area characterised by conflict and a strained population with social problems, and has been used as a symbol for the problematics of the Swedish society. However, this view of Rosengård is much of a result of the continual media attention and is by many, not least people who live and work in Rosengård, experienced as exaggerated and inaccurate (Hallin et.al. 2010).

4.1   Rosengård as city area and neighbourhood

Rosengård mainly consists of apartment houses built during the 1960's and -70's as a part of the Swedish million program, a strategy to meet the shortage of housing. The million program neighbourhoods was according to Hallin et.al. (2010) not only areas for new housing but also symbolic arenas for a modern functionalistic vision. Soon, these neighbourhoods also became a symbol for increased immigration, exoticism and social problems (Hallin et. al. 2010:13). Approximately 23 000 people are living in Rosengård and the area is according to the city of Malmö distinguished by its cultural diversity, over 100 nationalities are represented in the area and 88 percent of the inhabitants have a foreign background (Malmö stad, 2016a; Malmö stad, 2016b). The inhabitants are younger and the unemployment is higher than the Malmö average. Many of the apartments are overcrowded and the average income is low (Malmö stad, 2016b).

Rosengård is often described as a big homogeneous area, but it is in fact divided into ten subareas with varying socioeconomic, physical and ethnic characteristics. For instance, the subarea of Apelgården has a smaller need for economic assistance than the Malmö average with only 3%, while the same number for the subarea of Herrgården is 66%. The residents of Apelgården mainly have origin from European countries and own their flats while most of the residents in Herrgården are immigrants, recently emigrated from a non-European country and are likely to leave Herrgården as soon as they get more established in Swedish society (Hallin et.al. 2010; Listerborn, 2013). Herrgården is the poorest part of Rosengård and has the highest rate of child poverty in Sweden. It is most often in this area that arson attacks

and clashes with the police takes place, which impacts the reputation of Rosengård as a whole negatively (Listerborn, 2013). In Figure 1, a map of Rosengård and Rosengård's location in Malmö is presented.

Figure 1. Map showing Rosengård (right), and Rosengård's location in Malmö (above). Map data: Lund University and The Swedish mapping, cadastral and land registration authority, ©Lantmäteriet. Map design: Elina Lindeborg, 2017.

4.2   Previous studies connected to Rosengård

Rosengård is a marginalised area that continually is portrayed as different, both in socioeconomical, spatial and ethnical terms, and it is most often described as either dangerous and full of criminality or exotic and multicultural. The categorisation and stigmatisation of the area can also have a stigmatising effect for the people living in it (Hallin et.al. 2010). Individuals living in Rosengård are in a way forced to embody a particular identity formulated by the stigmatised view of Rosengård and as Listerborn (2015:19) puts it, being associated with certain spaces that are regarded

as problematic or less important might entail not being regarded as important to listen to. Lundström (2007) shows how perceptions of "the suburb" lead to a place-bound stigmatisation in which the residents are linked to the area and social marginalisation based on ethnicity and class. Through the discursive production of boundaries between places which can be linked to the production of boundaries between different social groups, a landscape of social and geographical divisions on different levels is created (Lundström, 2007).

Although this study is delimited to the geographical area of Rosengård, it is important to note that the seemingly local expressions and events are intertwined with wider socio-spatial, political and economic patterns on both a national and a global level. This study focuses on young women in Rosengård and as earlier mentioned, women has traditionally been associated with the private sphere which has also led to women being perceived as local-bound and place-bound. These assumptions need to be understood as socially constructed and gendered divisions (McDowell, 1999:149), and as Listerborn (2013) argues, many women in areas such as Rosengård are both closely attached to their locality while at the same time establishing strong global networks outside of Sweden (Listerborn, 2013). Their citizenship is a multi-layered construct that needs to be understood as both local, ethnic, national, cross- or trans-state and supra-state (Listerborn, 2013:294). Further, this also means that the inhabitants' sense of place and self are highly affected by events outside of Rosengård, Malmö and Sweden.

5 Analysis

This chapter is centred on three themes that have evolved from the empirical material and theoretical framework of this thesis. The first section is initially based on a discussion on senses of places and how senses of Rosengård differs. The second section centres on the participant's experiences of living in and attending the spaces of Rosengård as young women and focuses on the gendered experiences of these young women. The third and concluding section explores issues of safety and unsafety in Rosengård and Malmö.

5.1 Living in Rosengård - senses of places

In this section, the connections between experiences, emotions, identities and places are central, and also how different senses and perceptions of places are created. It has during the discussions with the participants become evident that there is a strong connection between their senses of places and senses of selves and that their sense of place and self in many aspects differ from the dominating perceptions. In this section I want to highlight how senses of places differ and are produced on multiple different scales at the same time, but also highlight the fluidity of spaces and how the participant's everyday lives and movements challenges spatial divides.

5.1.1 Perceptions of Rosengård

The young women participating in the study are well aware of the public image of Rosengård. The area has for long been connected to criminality and social problems and has been described as a dangerous "no-go zone". There is among the participants an awareness of the perception of Rosengård as less desirable. *Vada*, who was born and raised in Rosengård and then moved to another area in Malmö got strong reactions from her classmates when she was about to move back to Rosengård. They claimed that Rosengård is an extremely criminal area, not meant for living in. *Laila* who has been living in Rosengård her whole life says that it is common for her to get similar reactions.

> *"People really believe that there is a war here!"* (Laila)

All of the participants have encountered similar perceptions of the area and it is according to them common to get strong reactions when telling someone that they come from Rosengård. Several of them have friends or classmates that do not want or are not allowed by their parents to enter the area because of worries of

criminality and gangs. Many of the participants also experience that the perception of the area is having an effect on the perception of them as individuals and that they are expected to embody a certain identity as Rosengård residents. *Laila* experiences that people expect her to be less intelligent, based on that she is from Rosengård.

> *"People think that you are stupid just because you come from these suburb areas. Maybe not stupid, but that you know less."* (Laila)

According to *Vada*, people expect her, her family and friends to be criminally involved since they are from Rosengård.

> *"And there are many people who believe that just because I live in Rosengård, my dad is, yeah, is the heaviest, like, own guns and have hash plants at home and such."* (Vada)

In her study, Lundström (2007) shows how perceptions of "the suburb" lead to a place-bound stigmatisation in which the residents are linked to the area and social marginalisation based on ethnicity and class. The discursive production of boundaries between places can be linked to the production of boundaries between social groups (Lundström, 2007). The perceptions of Rosengård that the participants have encountered shows how Rosengård for many is linked to "the different", "the dangerous" or "the exotic". This stigmatising discourse of Rosengård can be understood as a boundary production between places that is connected to the boundary making between social groups.

The participants' view of Rosengård differs from the public image of the area. To some extent they agree and recognise the public image, however, they claim this image to be exaggerated and inaccurate. The participants recognises that there is a lot of criminal activity in the area, but also that it is worse in other parts of Malmö and that the public and media exaggerates the image of the area as dangerous and full of criminality. They are tired of this depiction and especially of the expectation of them to embody a certain identity as criminally involved. Most people living in Rosengård are not criminally involved and according to some participants, much of the criminal action in the area is executed by individuals from other areas.

All of the participants claim Rosengård to be a place where they feel safe, at home and at peace. Rosengård is the place where they feel most safe and the ones who have moved to other areas still come to Rosengård almost daily since it is the area where they feel most comfortable. *Nada* tells of how she since she moved out from Rosengård has started to lock her door, something that she never felt that she had to do while living in Rosengård.

> *"I feel so safe here in Rosengård. When I lived here, I could sleep with the door unlocked. But now when I have moved, I lock the door all the time. I panic if it's not."* (Nada)

Regarding what the participants appreciate they are rather unanimous. They all highlight that "everyone knows everyone", they refer to it as a sense of community and belonging and that Rosengård in a way feels like a big family. The fact that "everyone knows everyone" also has its negative side effects which I will come back to later. However, it becomes evident that the participants' sense of Rosengård differs from the public image of the area. Here, the concept of "sense of place" is actualised. Different senses of places can exist at the same time where different perceptions of reality stands in conflict (Rose, 1995). The way in which we relate to places depend on personal experiences, but also subjective preferences related to a greater cultural and social context based on for instance class, ethnicity and gender (Massey, 1994; Rose, 1995). The participants feel a sense of community and belonging in Rosengård and can relate to both the area and the people.

> *"Here in Rosengård, we are like, everyone knows everyone, it is like a family [...] We have grown up with each other, when you went out you played with everyone in the whole neighbourhood, and like, everyone knows my mom, I know everyone's mom, or like, know who it is."* (Nada)

The participant's descriptions of Rosengård as an inclusive community of belonging might be understood as a way of challenging the dominating stigmatised view of the area that they are well aware of. As Massey (1994) and Rose (1995) argue, the experience of places depend on positions in relation to intersecting power hierarchies. The participants' positions can be understood as marginalised positions and their sense of Rosengård as differing from the dominating perception. There has in the discussions been a strong will to reformulate the image of the area, themselves and the other residents, giving the area a positive sense of meaning and reformulating the place bound stigmatisation of Rosengård can also be a way of creating a positive sense of self and challenging the stigmatised view of Rosengård residents.

The participants are however not a homogeneous group, and just as their sense of Rosengård in large differs from the dominating perception of Rosengård, the senses of different places in Rosengård and Malmö differs. In Figure 2, the participants' everyday movement patterns are visualised. The participants have been asked to line out their movement paths on a normal weekday and then discuss feelings and experiences towards the places that they attend. This method has mainly been used as a spatial reminder during the interviews and as a way to start discussions of feelings and experiences towards spaces and places, but these paths can also visualise how differing the participants' feelings towards particular places are. The everyday paths are colour-coded to reflect the participants' senses of different places. Colour red indicates that a place is experienced as "dangerous", none of the participants experiences a particular place as explicitly dangerous. Colour orange indicates "not safe/comfortable", yellow "moderately safe/comfortable", green "quite safe/comfortable", and blue "very safe/comfortable". As indicated in Figure

2, the participants' senses of places differs quite a lot. For instance, Rosengård centrum is a place that everyone passes by or spends time in daily, and is a favourite place of one participant that feels "very safe/comfortable" here. It is at the same time a place where other participants does not feel safe/comfortable, and would rather avoid if possible.
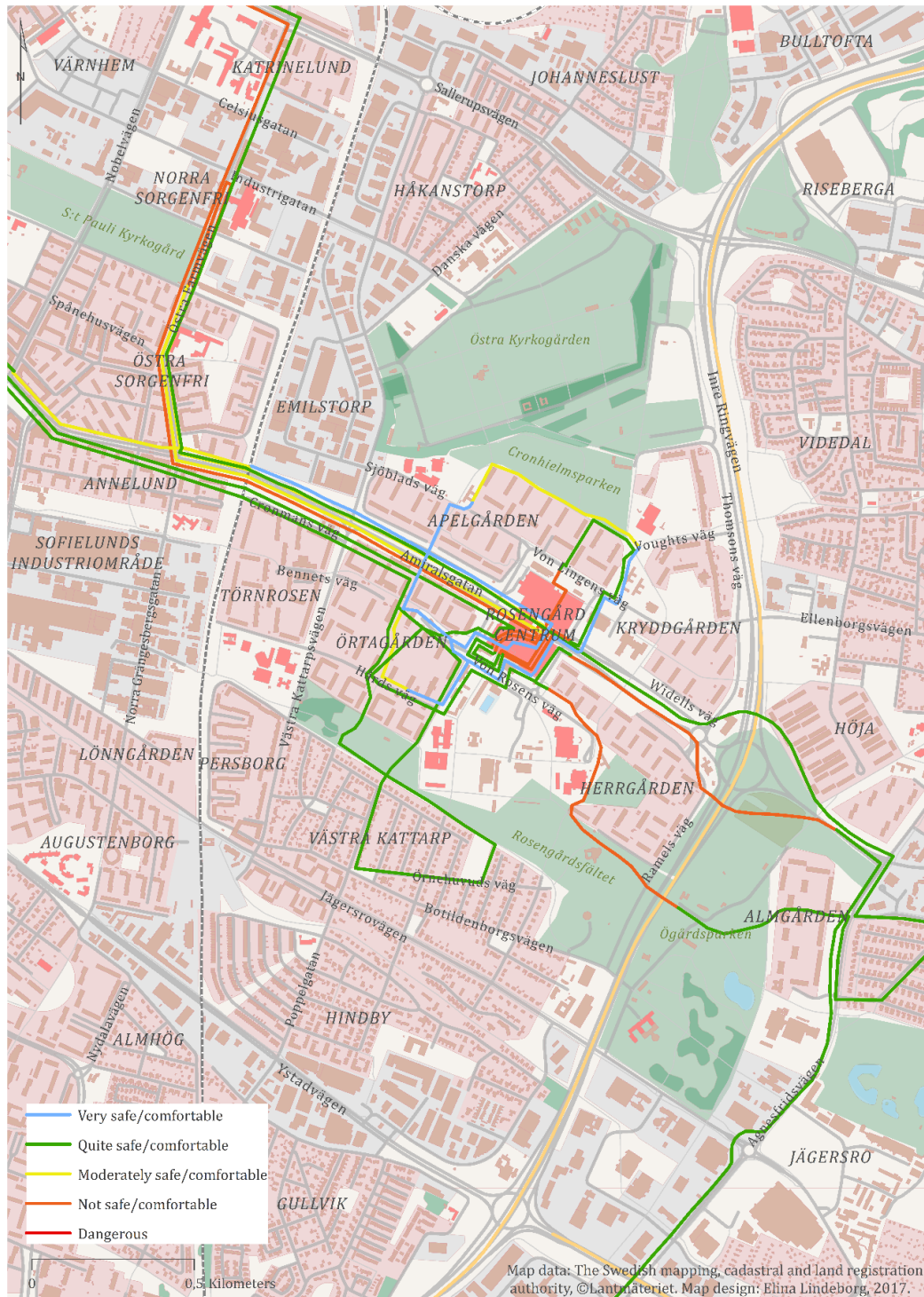

Figure 2. Map representing the participants' everyday movement patterns and emotions and experiences toward the places that they attend. The map indicates that the participants' senses of different places differs quite a lot.

The participants' differing senses of places indicated in Figure 2 actualises Rose's (1995) argument that different senses of places exists at the same time where different perceptions of reality stands in conflict. The way in which we relate to places depend on personal experiences, but also subjective preferences related to a greater cultural and social context (Massey, 1994; Rose, 1995).

5.1.2   "Rosengård is my home" – unsettling the public/private divide

An important implication for feminist geography has been to challenge and unsettle assumptions about women's and men's "places" (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). Following an ideology and understanding of two binary genders that are essentially different and complementary, public spaces have traditionally been understood as masculine domains while the home and the private has been interpreted as a female domain (Domosh & Seager, 2001; Friberg et.al. 2005). This divide between public and private spaces is however challenged in the participants' stories of their everyday lives and movements. Several of the participants refer to the area of Rosengård as "the home" rather than the private household. This sense of Rosengård as a home is also connected to the sense of community, belonging and "knowing everyone" in Rosengård. *Seynab*, who has lived in Rosengård her whole life is talking warmly about Rosengård as her home.

> *"As soon as we get here it is, like, we feel at home. I don't need to be, like open the door and be home. It can just be that I am in my neighbourhood, and it is the same with everyone who I hang out with. So like, as soon as I am in Rosengård it is such a feeling, I feel at home instantly."* (Seynab)

This illustrates that, as McDowell (1999) argues, the traditional binary divide between public and private spaces that are respectively associated with women and men is too simplistic and that the spatial divisions are much more complicated. The participants show that the space of a home does not necessarily need to be connected to "the private" space, but it can be extended to the public sphere as well. As Massey (1994) argues, there is nothing that can be limited to "the public" or "the private", but space and place are continually and mutually created and recreated. What is experienced in public cannot be separated from the private, and what is experienced in the private cannot be separated from the public (Massey, 1994; Whitzman, 2007). All of the participants feel safe and have positive experiences about the home, as in both private household and the home-area of Rosengård, which might have a crucial role regarding their experiences of other spaces. Even though the participants do not feel as safe or comfortable in other spaces in Malmö, the feeling of home and community that they have built up in Rosengård seems to have given them confidence to claim other spaces as well.

5.2   Claiming space as young women in Rosengård

Central in this section are the participants' experiences of being young women in Rosengård, and particularly the participants' gendered experiences of Rosengård. It has during the discussions become evident that many of the public spaces in both Rosengård and Malmö are experienced as dominated by men which is creating social-spatial boundaries that are restricting the participants' everyday lives. All of the participants have been exposed to different forms of sexual harassments and violations which is also the main reason why many of the male-dominated spaces are experienced as restricting and excluding. Highlighted in this section are the participants' gendered experiences of attending certain spaces as young women, but also that these gendered experiences cannot be separated from other power structures such as class, age, ethnicity and sexuality.

5.2.1   Public spaces – masculine spaces?

As the discussion in the previous section shows, the participants feel safe and comfortable in Rosengård. They feel comfortable in attending most spaces in both Rosengård and Malmö. However, at the same time, they are experiencing many of the public spaces as dominated by men which confines their opportunities to move through the city freely. The participants feel that all spaces are male dominated and that men overall claim more time and space than women, but also that this can be especially evident in certain public spaces in Rosengård. According to the participants, certain places in Rosengård have been claimed by groups or "gangs" of young men, every subarea has its own gang and there is a sort of rivalry between some of the gangs. According to *Yasmin*, this way of claiming certain places is a way for these young men to "guard" "their spaces" and "their subareas". As expressed by *Seynab*, these groups of young men can be intimidating and prevent her and her friends from attending certain places.

> *"I feel safe and so on, but like, the only thing that might be a problem is that like, here in our area, Rosengård is one of the biggest so, it is big, and it is divided. We have Ramels väg, Bennets väg, Rosens väg and so on, and in every subarea, all of this is Rosengård, but it is still divided. Like you know who, I can go to Babylon every day, there by Ramels väg, I see the same people every day. So if I go to Ica, I already know who will be there. So it is classic, I, I don't know, I cannot go and, like by the Bazaar by Sina here in the middle of Rosengård, I cannot go there and sit down with my friends*

and so on, because I know that there will be like, certain people there. Like, older boys and so on." (Seynab)

Central to feminist geographies is the idea of space and place as gendered (Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1999; Rose, 1993). As McDowell (1999) argues, places are defined by social-spatial practices which results in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple boundaries, constituted and maintained by relations of power and exclusion. These boundaries are both social and spatial and define who belongs and who does not belong to certain places (McDowell, 1999). In the discussions with the participants, it becomes evident that there are multiple social-spatial boundaries in Rosengård and that, for the participants, these boundaries are almost exclusively constituted by groups of men. The participants adapt their everyday movements depending on these men and their everyday lives and spatial freedom is thus compromised. This actualises Rose's (1993) argument that gendered practices and power structures of everyday life constrain women's space and thus produce and reproduce space that is gendered. As a response to the question of what could make Rosengård to a better place, *Aida's* response is:

"It should be the other way around, the boys should be at home, the girls should be outside." (Aida)

The response confirms that the public spaces are experienced as male domains and that there is an expectation of young women to stay at home. That certain public spaces in Rosengård are experienced as dominated by men was also very evident during the project on identifying unequal spaces in city district East. The citizens expressed that all spaces are unequal and that men claim most time and space in public, but also that there are places where this is especially evident (Lindeborg, 2016). In Figure 3, places that Malmö citizens during this project expressed as unequal, male-dominated and excluding are presented. The places are marked in red and the nuance of red indicates if the place has been mentioned few or several times, the darker the colour, the more occasions has the place been mentioned. These places correlates well with the places that have been mentioned as claimed by groups of men by the participants of this study.
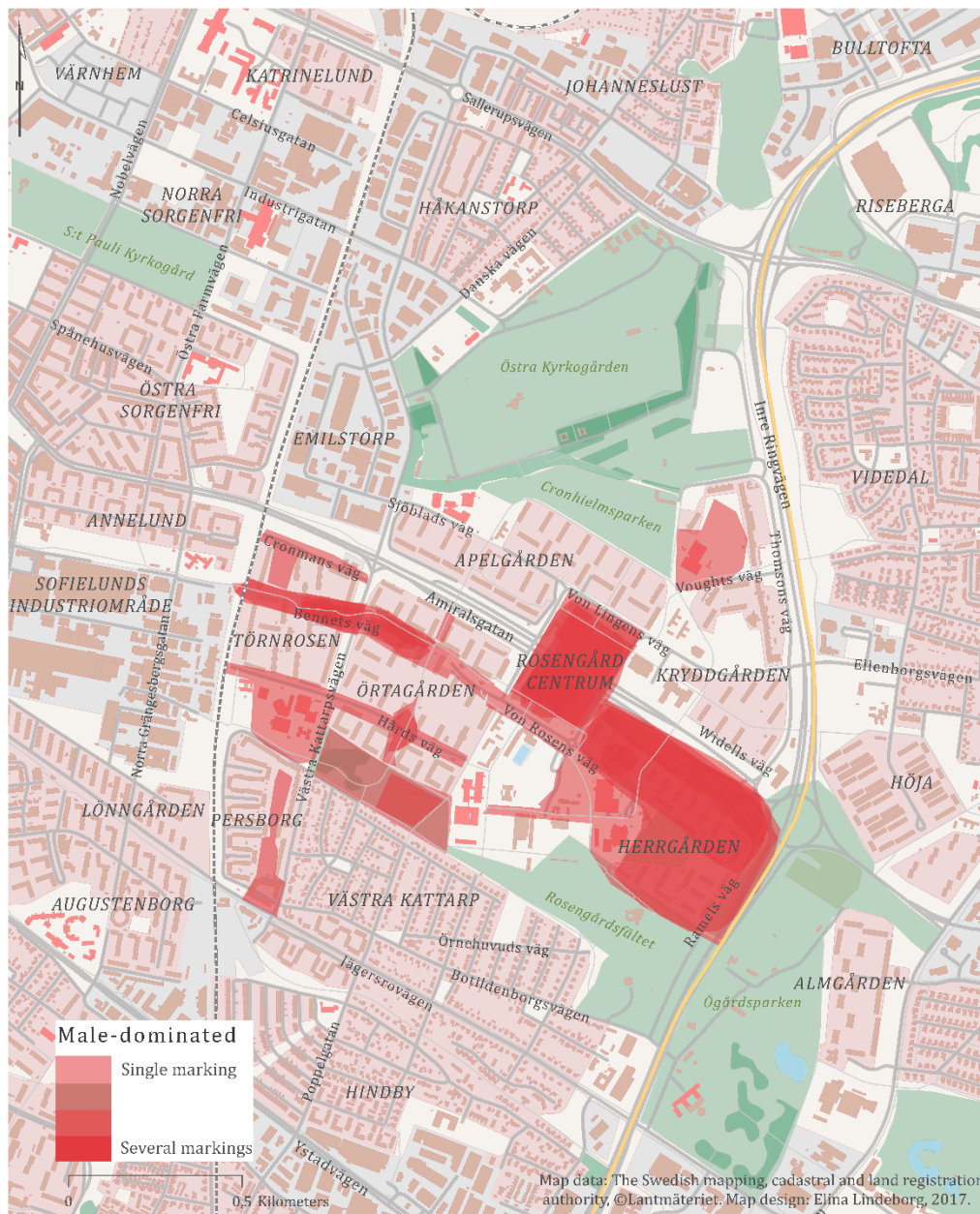
Figure 3. Map representing places in Rosengård that during the project on identifying unequal public spaces in city district East have been mentioned as male-dominated, unequal and excluding.

As indicated in Figure 3, the participants in the project on identifying unequal public spaces as well as the participants for this study experience several of Rosengårds public spaces as unequal, male-dominated and excluding. This indicates that spatial norms regarding what is male and what is female space is very evident still today. And also that, in accordance with feminist geography, space and place is gendered which both reflects and has effects upon the ways in which gender is constructed and understood in society (Massey, 1994:186).

5.2.2   Bodies and embodiment – public sexualisation

The main reason why the participants find the male-dominated spaces excluding and sometimes even intimidating is that they often are sexualised in these spaces. They report being exposed to different forms of sexual harassment such as offensive comments and glares. The participants experience that there always, especially when attending public spaces, is a risk for being exposed to these types of sexual harassments, but that it is almost inevitable when attending the male-dominated spaces marked out in Figure 3. The perpetrators are most often young men in group, but sometimes older men as well. *Vada* tells of how she often is exposed to glares from older men in central Rosengård.

> *"They are hitting on you a lot, you cannot go there as you like, you have to go in a way so that no one is looking at you."* (Vada)

All of the participants are bothered by these types of harassment and it generates feelings of unease and unsafety. *Yasmin* tells of how she and her friends often get unwanted attention from groups of young men.

> *"They are yelling after you and so on […] It is annoying, like, it is intimidating."* (Yasmin)

To be exposed to offensive comments or glares with sexual insinuations is a part of the participants' everyday lives and it has a confining effect on their movement through the city. When exposed to sexual harassment, the participants become especially aware of the own body's vulnerability and they unanimously believe that they are exposed to public sexualisation because of being young women. This actualises feminist theory of bodies and embodiment. As Listerborn (2007) argues, the relationship between body and place is two inevitable components in our being, and the right to spaces and places varies according to our bodily differences. Women are differentiated and subordinated because of their bodies, and attending certain spaces can be a reminder of who one is in relation to those spaces and the people in it, it is a reminder of women's marginalisation and subordination (Högdal, 2003; Listerborn, 2007). According to McDowell (1999:34), the way in which bodies are experienced vary depending on the spaces and places in which the bodies inhabit, and the way in which spaces and places are experienced vary depending on the bodies we inhabit. It seems like when the participants' bodies are inhabiting public spaces and places, they are experienced as a "public property", allowed to comment, judge and stare at. This might be understood as an effect of assumptions about who should occupy public spaces and who should not, and that female bodies in public still today are questioned and seen as challenging. Also following McDowell's (1999) argument, the way in which the participants experience public spaces depends on their bodies. Because of their bodies, they are reminded of their marginalisation which leads to feelings of unease and unsafety towards certain spaces and places.

The participants also experience that the sexual harassments, to some extent, can occur in the home and private space as well in the form of offensive text messages or over social media. As Doan (2014:647) argues, modern communication systems can enable "the tyranny of gender" to intrude on private space. In this way, it becomes hard to separate private and public space.

Another type of confinement that the participants experience in public spaces is the social control that takes place in Rosengård, which is also the downside to that "everyone knows everyone". Many of the participants often feel judged when attending public spaces in Rosengård, and feel that it is easy to get a bad reputation and for rumours to start circulating. They believe that this is the case for all individuals in Rosengård, both women and men, young and old, and for people just visiting Rosengård as well. However, some of them are experiencing that they as young women are particularly exposed to getting a bad reputation and being controlled. *Laila* experience that she is always judged when attending public spaces in Rosengård, which sometimes makes her feel that she does not want to go out. She further explains that she is not the only one getting judged, but that this is the case for everyone coming to Rosengård.

> *"In Rosengård, you simply cannot be yourself and I am not kidding, it is like that. Like, you cannot walk around as you would like. And if like, if you have high hopes of not getting judged by anybody, you have already failed."*
> (Laila)

The participants experience that they, as young women, are judged by for instance what they wear, who they are spending time with, where they are spending time and for how long they are staying out in the evenings. They experience that they can get a bad reputation for simply spending "too much time" outside, and that this is not the case for men or boys to the same extent. This type of social control and confinement also relates to bodies and deeply rooted assumptions about which bodies should occupy certain spaces and which bodies should not. Unfortunately, both the sexual harassment as well as the judgmental control that the participants experience confirms the statement of Friberg et.al. (2005), that the spatial divide and understanding of public spaces as men's places exists still today, and that women who spend too much time or attend public spaces at the "wrong time" are questioned.

5.2.3 Racist threats and violations

The harassments and violations that the participants are experiencing are not only gendered, but need to be understood as a consequence of intersecting power structures based on for instance ethnicity, class, sexuality and age as well. The

participants are experiencing different forms of violations and are expressing a fear of being exposed to racist threats and violence. *Nada* says that she has never been exposed to situations where she has felt threatened, but explain how easy racist comments and violations also can turn into violence.

> *"When you see how others are treating certain individuals, then you think like, how can you treat a person that way? And now I am talking about racism. It is awful because if you can violate a person in that way it can also turn into violence."* (Nada)

Yasmin express that because of the strained situation in Malmö, Sweden and the world, with the progression of right-wing parties and a worldwide racist, sexist and islamophobic rhetoric where Arabs and Muslims are depicted as terrorists, she has become more worried about being exposed to racist violence. Here it becomes evident how the participants' senses of place and self are affected by global events which also actualises Listerborn's (2013) argument that women in areas like Rosengård live both local and global lives. Our senses of places exists on different spatial scales at the same time, and the local is in this way also connected to the global and can be understood as a site in a flow of social relations (Rose, 1995;90).

> *"You never know what could happen. And now this with ISIS and so on, and what the fuck do I know about what is going on. So a lot about racism and such can be a fear."* (Yasmin)

Vada tells of how people approaching her out on the street have assumed that she does not speak Swedish. However, she does not believe that this depends on her "wearing a veil or having dark eyebrows", but rather on the fact that she is from Rosengård, and experience that the prejudice against Rosengård as an area is one of the worst and toughest prejudices that she has to face. The participants' experiences highlights how different power structures interact and that the participants' gendered experiences cannot be separated from other social categorizations. The participants' complex gendered realities are also classed and raced, these dimensions interact and mutually construct each other (Hill Collins, 1998; Lykke, 2005). They are living with a constant risk of being exposed to sexist and racist harassments. As previously discussed, this confines the participants' everyday lives and movement through the city and provokes feelings of unease and unsafety.

5.3   (Un)safety

The participants' experiences and emotions connected to safety and unsafety are central in this section, and also the way in which they are coping with and are positioning themselves in relation to these. As discussed in previous sections, the participants feel safe in general and Rosengård is where they feel the safest.

However, it has during the discussions become evident that feelings of unsafety also is a part of the participants' everyday lives and that these feelings often are connected to particular spaces and places. Highlighted in this section are the participants' experiences and emotions connected to safety and unsafety, but also the way in which they are refusing to be constrained by these.

5.3.1 Rosengård is safe!

As previously mentioned, all of the participants generally feel safe, especially in Rosengård. What generates this sense of safety is mainly the sense of Rosengård as home and the sense of community and belonging. When discussing safety-issues, the participants instinctively think of violence and crime, maybe because of the public image of Rosengård as full of criminality and violence that they are so aware of. All of the participants recognises that there is a lot of criminal activity in the area and are aware of that especially drugs, and sometimes weapons, are circulating here. Many of them have been witnesses to shootings, fights and public use of narcotics. However, most of them claim to not be profoundly affected by this and it almost seems like it has become such an usual event that they do not care anymore. *Aida* tells of how she and her friends witnessed a shooting, she refers to shootings as scary events but that it does not take much time to get over it. Further, she emphasises that shootings happens everywhere, but that for some reason, the shootings in Rosengård seems to get the most attention.

> *"It has happened several times here out on the street by Ica and the Bazaar, it was a shooting and then the police, I remember that day. Then the next day, everything was as usual again. Or the stabbing, but it happens everywhere. I don't think that it's only here in Rosengård, but everyone is taking Rosengård as 'wow'."* (Aida)

A main reason for why the participants are not experiencing these events as unsafe or threatening is knowing that these events of violence are "showdowns" between gangs connected to criminal networks that will not affect them. Some of the participants suggest that there is a certain safety in being a young woman in Rosengård since there is less of a risk of being involved with the criminal gangs. *Yasmin* says that she feels safe because she knows that she is not the target for shootings, and that it is worse for men. However, she also points out that there always is a risk of being at the wrong place at the wrong time.

> *"For girls in Rosengård, like it happens almost nothing. It is not like a guy will come forward and shoot you. But for boys, for us who have brothers and such, […] for boys though it happens a lot. But if we as girls are close to*

a shooting, they may hit us instead, but it is not meant against us."
(Yasmin)

The participants do not feel personally threatened by the violent events, however, many of them have altruistic worries for brothers or male friends. They mean that as a young man, it is easy to get into "wrong company" and to be tempted by the money available, which is the fast lane to getting criminally involved. What also becomes evident during the discussions is that family members of the participants have altruistic worries for them. Because of the shootings and the violence, some of the participants are not allowed to go out after a certain time in the evening. However, some of the participants reject their family members' worries and states that as long as they are not in the wrong company, no harm will happen to them.

5.3.2   Rosengård is safe, but...

Even though the participants generally feel safe, it has during the discussions also been evident that they are experiencing feelings of unsafety. This unsafety is not mainly connected to criminality and violence as one might initially assume. The participants do not feel exposed to the shootings, violence and drug related crime that has given the area so much public attention, but is rather worried about being exposed to different forms of sexual harassment and abuse. Many of the participants also feel that they are objects for sexual harassment and abuse, while other forms of violence does not feel threatening to them personally.

> *"I am not afraid of shootings or such, the only thing that I am afraid of is that some man or guy will rape me. That is the only thing."* (Nada)

Rape is the ultimate fear for several of the participants, however, other forms of sexual abuse that does not take physical form is also leading to feelings of unsafety among them. A common problem within the safety discourse is the way in which violence and abuse is categorised. Often, only physical violence is categorised as abuse while other forms of abuse such as sexual harassment or sexist comments and glares are overlooked (Andersson, 2005). As earlier mentioned, to be exposed to sexual harassments such as offensive comments or glares with sexual insinuations is part of the participants' everyday lives. When being exposed to these forms of harassment, the participants become especially aware of the own body's vulnerability. It is also a reminder of their marginalisation which leads to feelings of unease and unsafety towards certain spaces and places. The participants' experiences actualises Koskela's (2005:267) argument, that "the gaze" has a crucial role in the production and experience of space. On the city streets, women are often objectified by the gaze, which for many leads to feelings of repression and unsafety. To be objectified by "the gaze" is to be sexualised, which is also to be reminded of

one's continual subordination because of one's own body (Koskela, 2005; Listerborn, 2007). The participants' experiences of sexual harassment and abuse make them cautious towards certain spaces where they believe that there is a risk of being exposed to violations. As earlier discussed, this is a reason why some of the spaces and places that are perceived as especially male-dominated are experienced as intimidating or unsafe by some participants. *Aida* is telling of how earlier experiences of being exposed to sexual harassments can make her cautious towards all spaces that she experience as dominated by men.

> *"There are some paths that I avoid when I am walking by myself, because then I know exactly where all the guys hang out. Then I avoid these paths, and take another path."* (Aida)

The participants' experiences actualises feminist theories of bodies and embodiment. With our bodies, we carry spatial experiences with us. Spatial events becomes embodied experiences, and thus we carry spaces with us in form of memories and knowledge (Forsberg, 2005). The participants are carrying spatial experiences of, among other things, sexual harassment which, to an extent, is affecting the way they claim and move through the city. They are carrying with them a kind of mental map over spaces and places where they experience unsafety and where they are especially cautious. In Figure 4, spaces and places where the participants experience unsafety is represented. The spaces and places are marked in blue and the nuance of blue indicates if the place has been marked out/mentioned few or several times, the darker the colour, the more participants are experiencing it as unsafe. The map does not capture the complexity of the mental maps and experiences that the participants are carrying with them, however, it visualises some of the boundaries that they are experiencing in the Rosengård area.

The spaces marked out in Figure 4 is mainly spaces that are experienced as male-dominated and where there is criminal gangs, but also spaces that are experienced as dark, empty and abandoned. Time has a crucial role for the participants' sense of safety. While most of them claim to feel safe in most spaces and places, few of them feel comfortable with going out in the evening or night. As the map indicates, the place that most participants experience as unsafe is Herrgården, and this is also a place that many of them avoid if possible. *Nada* considers Herrgården as especially unsafe because she feels that the comments and glares that she gets from men and boys here are the most offensive.

> *"They do not have a lot of respect. They can say anything, anyhow. They are pretty disgusting."* (Nada)
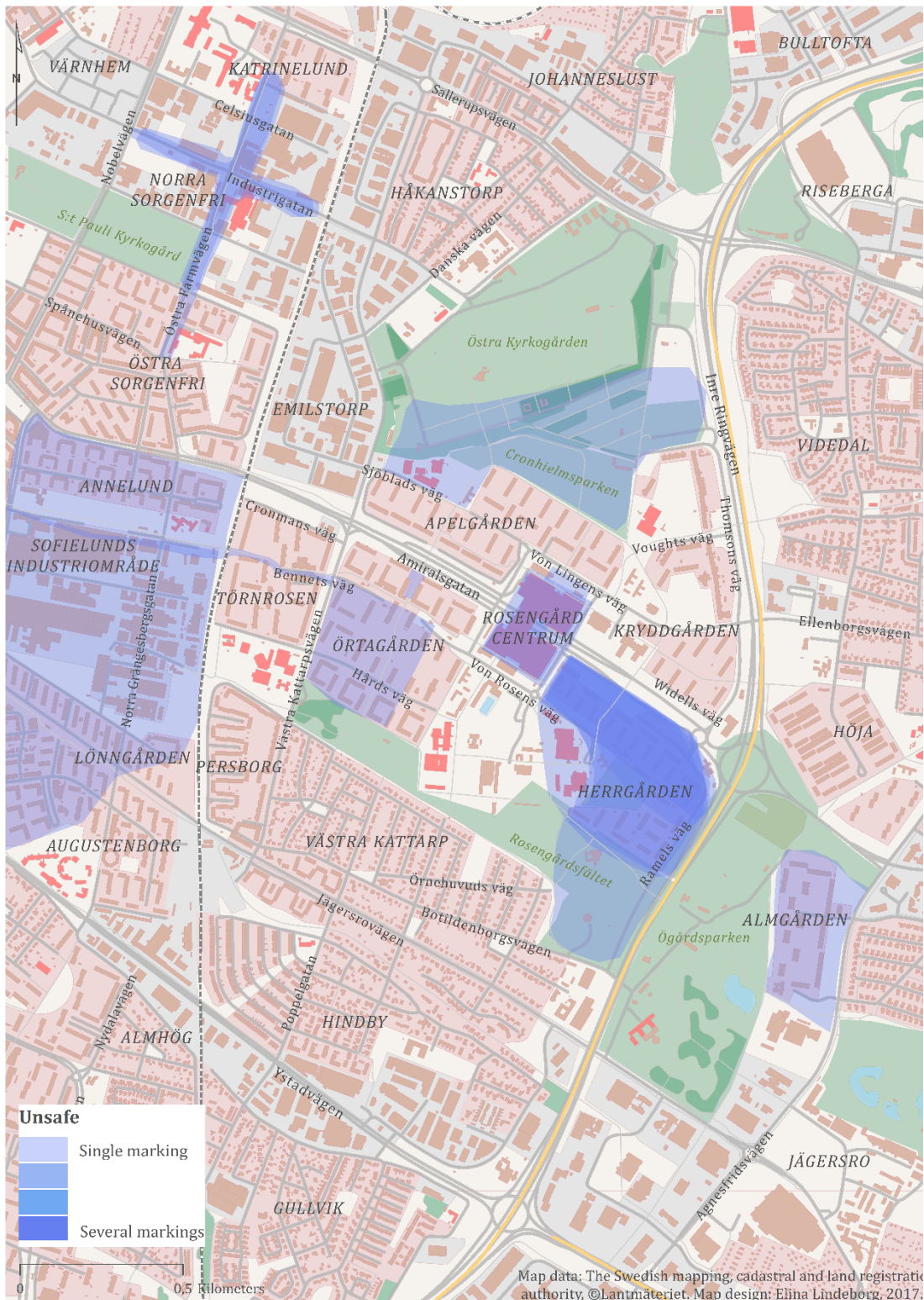
Figure 4. Map representing spaces and places in the Rosengård area that the participants experience as unsafe.

Vada refers to Herrgården as an unsafe area due to much criminality and thinks that the negative public image that has been assigned to Rosengård is because of Herrgården.

> *"When someone says for instance 'Rosengård is Malmö's most dangerous' and such, they mean Ramels väg [Herrgården]. They do not mean all of Rosengård."* (Vada)

This shows that Rosengård is anything but a homogeneous city area, and also that when the participants are talking about Rosengård as the place where they feel most safe, Herrgården apparently does not count as a part of Rosengård for them.

5.3.3   Protective strategies

As a way to cope with feelings and experiences of unsafety, all of the participants have developed different types of strategies, both consciously and subconsciously. The most common strategy is to avoid certain spaces and places. For many of the participants, this is a subconscious act. Initially, most of them claim to not avoid any particular places, but during the progression of the discussions, it has become more and more evident that all participants avoid certain places. As discussed in the previous section, the participants are carrying mental maps over spaces and places where they experience unsafety with them. According to the boundaries of these mental maps, they are almost automatically avoiding certain spaces that are perceived as particularly problematic and unsafe. For many of the participants, time is crucial for the sense of safety and the spatial boundaries expands during evenings and nights. *Vada* tells of how she almost never goes out after dark.

> *"No I do not like to go out in the evening. One cannot go out by oneself, you have to have someone with you."* (Vada)

The participants' avoiding strategies are not always to avoid certain spaces and places, but it can also be to avoid certain situations. *Seynab* is telling of how she usually knows which places to avoid, but also how threatening situations can emerge suddenly. Then she has to act fast, and this is usually by changing path.

> *"I turn around, there is not much else to do. It has happened like, I have been on my way home, and it is late, and then some man, he is doped or something, I don't know he like… But I see him coming against me, and I see that he is doped, then of course I don't continue. I have in my mind, my intention was to take that path, but then I turn around."* (Seynab)

Another form of protective strategy that some of the participants are adapting is to carry weapons for self-defence with them. Some of them are always carrying pepper

spray with them while a few are carrying heavier weapons like knives. *Nada* thinks that it is important for all women and girls to carry some kind of weapon with them, and thinks that weapons should be legalised for women due to their vulnerability.

> *"I think that all girls, like, everyone should carry something with them. You never know what could happen."* (Nada)

The different forms of protective strategies that the participants and many other women adapt clearly shows how women's freedoms and opportunities are restricted (Andersson, 2005). As Rose (1993) argues, being defined as a woman might entail feeling confined and constrained by space, the gendered practices and power structures of everyday life constrain women's space and thus produce and reproduce space that is gendered (Rose, 1993). Unfortunately, to adapt protective strategies similar to the participants' is in many cases expected of women who traditionally, and still today, are seen as vulnerable and simply non-belonging in public spaces. These expected behaviours are working self-fulfilling because of repeated behaviours and roles. The repeated patterns that occur is thus contributing to both the creation and recreation of norms and roles (Forsberg, 2005; Högdahl, 2003). Another strategy that all of the participants have adapted is to always stay together, or to keep constant contact through calls or texts when not together. It has during the discussions become evident that staying together is a precondition for the safety that the participants experience, and they are not experiencing the same sense of safety when alone.

> *"Like, of course if you are out in a group, it is safer."* (Laila)

Some of the participants also find protection and safety in the sense of community in Rosengård. According to *Seynab*, people in Rosengård are always backing up each other and she is certain that people would help out if something happened to her.

> *"Like, it is classic here, you have to back up your friends, that is how it is. That is how it becomes. If someone gets into a conflict or something, we, everyone will back up."* (Seynab)

The participants' protective strategies are many and diverse. As Andersson (2005) argues, the individuals who adapt these kinds of protective strategies are taking personal responsibility for their unsafety, something that is a social and structural problem and thereby should be a societal and collective responsibility (Andersson, 2005). The participants express a disbelief towards the society, police and legal system, and experience that they have to protect themselves and each other, since no one else will. They point to the lack of initiatives for getting young men off the streets, out of criminality and back into school but also to the police's incapacity to deal with the criminality in Rosengård and protect those who are exposed to crime. According to Listerborn (2015), safety has in a Western neoliberal context become a commodity and gender is merely cosmetic within safety work. While the participants' disbelief towards society's capability to deal with their unsafety might

be shared with individuals all over Malmö, it can also be understood as a consequence of them living in a marginalised neighbourhood. As Listerborn (2015) further argues, being associated with certain spaces that are regarded as problematic or less important might entail not being listened to. While some groups in society might be empowered by the neoliberal safety discourse, other groups risk being further marginalised and stigmatised.

5.3.4 Claiming space despite fear and unsafety

As McDowell (1999:168) states, "the city and its public spaces are associated with both fear and with delight, with danger and heady freedoms". While the participants associate many public spaces with feelings of unsafety, public spaces are at the same time where they most often meet up with friends and spend a lot of their free time. Many of the participants chooses to attend and claim public space despite their experienced unsafety, and they are refusing to be further restrained.

"I have the right to be at places, wherever I want to go." (Vada)

Wilson (1992:10) points out that women are both victims and active producers in urban life. While it is important to point to the geographies of fear, it is also important to point to those women who are not fearful, and to the boldness of those who despite their fear are claiming space. The participants of this study are truly bold, and they are despite experiences of sexual harassment and abuse and constant reminders of their marginalisation taking on the city. As Listerborn (2015:20) puts it, it is a political project to claim space and to break spatial orders through everyday activities, and thereby becoming a producing and "talking" part of the city. Through the act of attending and claiming spaces, the participants are challenging spatial orders and social dynamics of these spaces. It is however important to mention that it is not mainly the participants' or other women's responsibility to refuse their unsafety and claim space. It should rather be seen as a collective and societal responsibility to repoliticise safety issues, to point to the social construction of fear and to *give* space to women and other marginalised groups.

5.4 Summary of analysis

As what has become evident in the analysis, the participants of this study's experiences and perceptions of Rosengård differ from the public and dominating perceptions. The public and dominating image of Rosengård is an image of an area characterised by criminality and social problematics while the participants claim it to be the area where they feel the safest. The participants find the public image of

Rosengård to be exaggerated and inaccurate, and also experience that the stigmatisation of the area has a stigmatising effect for them as individuals from Rosengård. They have experienced an expectation of them to embody a certain identity as individuals from Rosengård, which according to Lundström (2007) can be understood as a place-bound stigmatisation in which the residents are linked to the area and social marginalisation based on ethnicity and class. The differing perceptions of Rosengård, both between the dominating image and the participants as well as among the participants, actualises the concept of "sense of place". The way in which we relate to places depend on personal experiences, but also subjective preferences related to a greater cultural and social context based on for instance class, ethnicity and gender (Massey, 1994; Rose, 1995). An interesting aspect of the participants sense of Rosengård as "safe" and "home" is also the way in which it challenges traditional spatial divides and assumptions about women's and men's "places". Feminist geographers argue that the traditional binary divide between public and private spaces that are respectively associated with women and men are too simplistic, nothing can be limited to "the public" or "the private", but space and place are continually and mutually created and recreated (Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1999). The participants show how the space of a home does not necessarily need to be restricted to "the private" space, but that all spaces and places are constantly in flux.

In the public eye, Rosengård is mainly given attention for criminality, this is however not the main concern for the participants. Even though they feel safe and comfortable in attending most spaces, they also experience exclusion, unease and unsafety in the city. They are experiencing spaces to be dominated by men which confines their movement and everyday lives. The participants express that all spaces are dominated by men and that men overall claim more time and space than women, but also that this can be especially evident in certain public spaces. McDowell (1999) argues that places are defined by social-spatial practices which results in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple boundaries, constituted and maintained by power and exclusion. These boundaries are both social and spatial and define who belongs and who does not belong to certain places (McDowell, 1999). The participants are experiencing multiple social-spatial boundaries which are, almost exclusively, constituted by groups of men which actualises the feminist geographical idea of space and place as gendered (Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1999; Rose, 1993). The participants find male-dominated spaces excluding and sometimes even intimidating mainly due to the sexualisation they experience in these spaces. Different forms of sexual harassment such as offensive comments and glares is a common element in their everyday lives. The harassments reminds them of the own body's vulnerability and have a confining effect on them. The participants experiences actualises feminist theories of bodies and embodiment, women are differentiated and subordinated because of their bodies, and attending certain spaces can be a reminder of who one is in relation to those spaces and the people in

it, it is a reminder of one's marginalisation and subordination (Högdal, 2003; Listerborn, 2007). The harassments and violations that the participants are experiencing are not only sexist but also racist and need to be understood as a consequence of intersecting power structures based on for instance ethnicity, class, sexuality and age as well. These dimensions interact and mutually construct each other (Hill Collins, 1998; Lykke, 2005).

Even though the participants feel safe overall, the experiences of sexist and racist harassments and violations also provokes feelings of unsafety. The participants do not feel exposed to the shootings, violence and drug related crime that has given Rosengård attention in public, but is rather worried about being exposed to different forms of harassment and abuse. The participants' experiences of sexual harassment and abuse make them cautious towards certain spaces where they believe that there is a risk of being exposed to violations. According to Forsberg (2005), spatial events becomes embodied experiences, and thus we carry spaces with us in form of memories and knowledge (Forsberg, 2005). The participants are carrying spatial experiences of, among other things, sexual harassment which is affecting the way they claim and move through the city. As a way to cope with emotions and experiences of unsafety, all of the participants have developed different forms of protective strategies, both consciously and subconsciously. Common strategies are for instance to avoid certain spaces and places, to carry weapons and to not be alone. These strategies clearly shows how the participants' freedoms and opportunities are restricted (Andersson, 2005). As Rose (1993) argues, being defined as a woman might entail feeling confined and constrained by space, the gendered practices and power structures of everyday life constrain women's space and thus produce and reproduce space that is gendered (Rose, 1993). As Andersson (2005) argues, through adopting different kinds of protective strategies, the individuals are taking a personal responsibility for something that is a social and structural problem and thereby should be a societal and collective responsibility (Andersson, 2005). What has also been striking during the discussions has been the boldness of the participants and the way in which they claim space despite their experienced unsafety. As Wilson (1992:10) points out, women are both victims and active producers in urban life. According to Listerborn (2015:20), it is a political project to claim space and to break spatial orders through everyday activities and thereby becoming a "talking" part of the city. It is however important to stress that it is not the participants responsibility to refuse their unsafety and claim space, but it is rather a collective and societal responsibility to *give* space.

6   Concluding reflections

In this concluding chapter I will reflect on and conclude the reasoning brought up in the analysis, and connect to the purpose and research questions of the thesis. The purpose of this master thesis is to emphasise the complexity of gendered spaces and places. It is both to explore and problematize the complex gendered spaces of Rosengård, and to contextualise young women from Rosengård's experiences of these spaces through a feminist geographical understanding of space and place. It is also a call for a qualitative, critical and feminist usage of GIS, and an exploration of how GIS can contribute to a feminist analysis of gendered structures in space and time. To draw general conclusions about the gendered spatial realities of young women in Rosengård from the empirical sample of this thesis is neither possible nor the aim of this thesis. However, I believe that the experiences and reflections of the participants of this study can point to the complexity of gendered spaces and places and make it possible to draw on some concluding remarks.

6.1   The complexity of gendered spaces and places

As indicated in the analysis, the spatial realities of the young women in this study are indeed gendered. Even though they feel safe and comfortable in attending most spaces, they also experience exclusion, unease and unsafety in Rosengård and Malmö. The participants express that these experiences mainly are connected to that men overall claim more time and space than women, but also that certain spaces are experienced as particularly male dominated. They experience these spaces and places as excluding and sometimes even intimidating due to the sexualisation that they experience in these spaces, and different forms of sexual harassment such as offensive comments and glares is a common element in their everyday lives. The harassments reminds them of their own body's subordination and marginalisation which has a confining effect on them. Their experiences of sexual harassment and abuse provokes feelings of unease and unsafety and make them cautious towards certain spaces where they believe that there is a risk of being exposed to violations. As a way to cope with feelings of unease and unsafety, all of the participants have developed different forms of protective strategies such as avoiding certain spaces and places or carrying weapons. These strategies clearly shows how their opportunities to move freely through the city are restricted.

The participants' experiences of gendered spaces and places and their strategies to cope with the social-spatial boundaries in their everyday lives shows how complex and problematic gendered space and place is. Their subjective and qualitative experiences are shared by many other young women and can tell something about

gendered spatial realities overall. However, what makes these young women's spatial realities even more complex is that they are not only gendered but are also constituted by multiple intersecting power structures that mutually interact and construct each other. The harassments and violations that the participants are experiencing are not only sexist but also racist which is in the same way generating feelings of exclusion, unease and unsafety. The participants also experience that the stigmatisation of Rosengård as an area is having a stigmatising effect on them as individuals from Rosengård, and feel that they are expected to embody a certain identity because of this.

One of the things that has stuck me the most during the work on this thesis is the boldness of the participating young women. Despite sexual and racist harassments and violations, prejudices against them as individuals from Rosengård and their experiences of unease and unsafety because of these, they are claiming space and taking on the city. However, this is typically at certain times during the day and when they are together with friends, and unequal structures are still preventing them from claiming more space and time. As McDowell (1999:168) argues, "the city and its public spaces are associated with both fear and with delight, with danger and heady freedoms". For the participants, public spaces are both associated with unsafety and a heightened risk of being exposed to sexist and racist harassment, and with delights such as meeting up with friends. Many of them choose to attend and claim public space despite their experienced unsafety and refuse to be further restrained. As mentioned in the analysis, it is however not the responsibility of the participants to refuse their unsafety and claim space, but it is rather a collective and societal responsibility to *give* space.

The analysis points to the complexity of gendered space and place and actualises feminist geographies. Massey (1994) argues that places can be understood as articulated moments in networks of social relations which stretch far beyond that place in space and time (Massey, 1994:154). These social relations of space are experienced differently and depend on subjective preferences related to a greater cultural and social context (Massey, 1994:2). This view of place and space as flexible, in process and constructed through power relations insists on the complexity of space and place and is well suited for describing the participants' spatial realities. The participants' bodily experiences of sexual harassment and the way in which feelings of unease and unsafety are connected to these experiences actualises feminist theories of bodies and embodiment and geographies of fear. Also, the way in which the participants experience and move through the city highlights the fluidity of space and place and challenges spatial divides, such as the traditional divide between public and private space, which actualises feminist geographical theory of space and place as constantly in flux.

6.2   GIS as a tool for feminist analysis

This thesis is also a call for a qualitative, critical and feminist usage of GIS. In this thesis, GIS has first and foremost worked as a useful tool for bringing a geographical and spatial dimension to the discussions. The maps used during the interviews facilitated discussions of space-bound experiences and emotions among the participants and made it possible for them to in a distinct way express social boundaries in the city. However, by using maps, it has also become evident how many experiences and emotions are not space-bound and thereby hard to express through maps. There is an obvious clash between the representation of space as Cartesian and absolute in GIS and multiple and flexible in feminist geography (Pavlovskaya, 2009:12). However, feminist GIS users challenges the understanding of maps as representations of objective knowledge, and feminist GIS is grounded in a different understanding of the epistemologies and ontologies of maps in GIS. Maps are within feminist GIS understood as "cartographic texts" that can be part of an interpretive production of meaning (Elwood, 2006). In this thesis, I have been inspired by previous intersections of feminist theory and GIS in order to challenge and problematize old understandings of GIS as an essentially positivist tool that denies partiality, erases subjectivities and ignores power relations (Kwan, 2007). Through the maps, the participants' experiences and emotions in relation to space and place are visualized. These maps are in a visually striking way showing space-bound emotions and experiences, and are at the same time challenging narratives about what GIS is and can or cannot do and should or should not do.

In the thesis, GIS has also worked as a practical tool that has strengthened the connection between theory and empirical material. With a feminist application of GIS, abstract feminist theory can in a graspable way be actualised into practice. Also, implementing a participatory GIS-practice has increased the participants influence in the research process (Schuurman, 2009). In this way, I argue that feminist geographical theory and qualitative critical GIS can mutually strengthen each other. However, it should also be stressed that GIS and the spatial patterns need to be understood as a part of an interpretive construction of meaning and are not end results or representations of spatial knowledge (Elwood, 2006). Much is left unsaid in a map and maps can have a way of simplifying emotions and experiences. There is a risk of reducing social processes to spatial patterns and to leave out the individuals and bodies who are part of the social construction of space and place. It is therefore favourable to combine GIS with other qualitative forms of methods and analyses. It is also important with methodological transparency and to critically examine the power dimension of GIS and maps. This methodological transparency and awareness of how unequal power relations shape the construction, use and understanding of GIS is, I want to conclude, what makes GIS feminist.

6.3   Suggestions for further research

This study has problematized the complex gendered realities of young women from Rosengård and explored how GIS can contribute to a feminist analysis of gendered structures in space and time. Further, it would be interesting to in a larger extent use time geography in addition to feminist geography since time has shown to have a significant effect on the way in which the participants of this study experience and claim space. This can favourably be combined with feminist GIS in order to visualize space-time paths combined with feelings and emotions. To implement space-time and space-time paths can be a fruitful way of connecting more to the private space of the home. This is something that I have tried to do in this thesis, but wish to develop further.

Further, it would be interesting to in a greater extent include other social categorisations that shape the way in which we experience space and place such as class, sexuality, gender expression, functionality and religion. The thesis is a continual reminder of the multiplicity and fluidity of spaces and places and how our experiences and emotions connected to space and place differ depending on who we are and are connected to networks of multiple power relations. To connect space and place to other social categorisations than gender and age is necessary.

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Interviewee no. 2. Pseudonym Yasmin. 2017-03-22. Interviewed in group of three.

Interviewee no. 3. Pseudonym Aida. 2017-03-22. Interviewed in group of three.

Interviewee no. 4. Pseudonym Seynab. 2017-03-22. Interviewed individually.

Interviewee no. 5. Pseudonym Laila. 2017-03-24. Interviewed in group of two.

Interviewee no. 6. Pseudonym Vada. 2017-03-24. Interviewed in group of two.

Appendix   Interview guide

Introduction

Information, consent, recording

- Tell me a bit about yourself: Living situation, family, occupation etc.
- Tell me a bit about Rosengård and your connection to Rosengård!

Orientation in maps. Information about making marks and notes in maps.

Experiences and emotions connected to spaces and places

- Tell me about a regular day, which places do you visit, how do you move through the city? Start with the morning and tell me how you move through the day, illustrate by drawing in the map if you can!
- If we go through your day once again, can you tell me about your experiences and what you are feeling when you pass by or spend time at these places?
    o How do you choose which way to go?
    o Can certain circumstances affect your choice of path?
    o Are there places that you would like to pass by/spend time in but can't? Why?

Safety/Unsafety

- Where do you feel comfortable/safe in Rosengård and in Malmö? Why?
- Are there places or situations where you do not feel comfortable in Rosengård or Malmö? Why?
- Are there places or situations where you do not feel safe in Rosengård or Malmö? Why?
- Are there situations, places or areas that you actively avoid?
    o How does the time of the day affect you?

Gendered experiences of spaces and places

- Are there ever places or situations where you do not feel welcome? Why?
- Do you ever feel that you are treated in a certain way because you attend spaces as a young woman? Because of anything else?
- Have you ever been exposed to or worried about being exposed to some form of harassment?
    o Do you have any strategies to cope with harassment/experienced unsafety?
- Have you ever worried about a friend or family member being exposed to some form of harassment or violence?

Conclusion

Summary of the discussion. Do you want to add something?