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Bound to Move

White Middle-Class Women's Mobility in a Segregated City

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Abstract in English

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People's everyday movements across the urban space matter. Indeed, for city planners looking to counter urban segregation processes, the issue of physical mobility is of prime concern as it bears the potential of overcoming ethnic and socio-economic divisions in the city. Yet, there is a lack of academic research matching this interest. In examining the role of mobility and the white middle-class in opposing or reproducing urban socio-spatial divisions, this thesis investigates two traditionally overlooked aspects within studies on urban segregation. More precisely, it explores young, white, middle-class women's leisure mobility in the urban space. In so doing, this thesis provides insights that will help in planning for socially cohesive cities.

Based on qualitative research with a group of women living in Malmö, Sweden, this thesis uses cultural analysis in considering the underlying motivations the women have to initiate mobility, the setting in which they choose to undertake these practices and the cultural conceptions that shape and are shaped by these decisions. Furthermore, by scrutinising how the women's mobility in and outside of their own stigmatised neighbourhood shapes their relations to the area and its residents, a micro-perspective of segregation is developed.

The study observes that the women's mobility both influences and is influenced by segregation processes. While productive, social and aesthetic needs motivate the women to move, segregation happens as a consequence of the wish to tailor their own urban experience. This serves to bound the women's mobility to limited areas perceived to be their natural setting. However, understandings like these are affected by the already existing segregation of those spaces, which thus obscures large parts of the city to the women. Moreover, the women use their mobility to both distance and connect their neighbourhood to other urban areas. Journeying through the city, the women's class, gender and whiteness travel with them, shifting in importance and acting as sources of both privilege and oppression.

Keywords: gender; mobility; whiteness; class; public space; urban segregation; safety; social sustainability; feminist ethnography; cultural analysis.

Abstract in Swedish

Förbunden rörelse: Vita medelklasskvinnors mobilitet i en segregerad stad

Elisabet Holmgren

Hur människor rör sig genom staden till vardags spelar roll. Inte minst inom stadsplanering har fysisk mobilitet kommit att bli en viktig fråga, då denna sägs ha potential att motverka segregationsprocesser. Trots detta råder det brist på akademisk forskning inom området. Denna uppsats kombinerar ett intresse för hur mobilitet respektive den vita medelklassen påverkar städers socio-spatiala uppdelning och granskar på så sätt två aspekter som vanligtvis förbises inom urbana segregationsstudier. Mer specifikt studeras den mobilitet unga, vita kvinnor med medelklassbakgrund utför i stadsrummet på sin fritid. Därigenom tillhandahåller denna uppsats insikter som är av nytta i planläggningen för socialt sammanhållna städer.

Uppsatsen baseras på kvalitativ forskning och kretsar kring en grupp kvinnor boende i Malmö, Sverige. Genom ett kulturanalytiskt förhållningssätt utforskas de underliggande motivationer kvinnorna har för att initiera mobilitet, den miljö de väljer att röra sig i samt de kulturella idéer som är förbundna med dessa beslut. Därtill studeras hur kvinnornas rörelser inom och utom sin egen stigmatiserade stadsdel formar deras relationer till både sina grannar och grannskapet i stort. På så sätt utvecklar uppsatsen ett mikroperspektiv på segregation.

Studien visar att kvinnornas mobilitet både påverkar och påverkas av segregations-processer. Kvinnornas rörelser genom staden motiveras av produktiva, sociala och estetiska behov, dock är det viljan att skräddarsy sin egen urbana upplevelse som får kvinnorna att upprätthålla segregerade rum i staden. Denna strävan begränsar kvinnornas mobilitet till relativt få stadsdelar vilka kvinnorna upplever som naturliga för dem att vistas på. Denna upplevelse är dock påverkad av den redan existerande segregationen i dessa rum, vilken på så sätt syftar till att dölja stora delar av staden för dem. Vidare använder kvinnorna sin mobilitet till att både distansera och förbinda sitt område till andra grannskap i staden. På sin resa genom staden är det inte bara kvinnorna utan även deras klass, genus och etnicitet som rör sig; dessa skiftar i betydelser och ger upphov till situationer av både privilegier och förtryck.

Keywords: genus; mobilitet; vithet; klass; det offentliga rummet; urban segregation; trygghet; social hållbarhet; feministisk etnografi; kulturanalys.

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1. A Call for Movement

Segregation is growing in Swedish cities. Indeed, over the last 20 years, the country that is often pointed out as a forerunner in terms of equality and egalitarianism has become increasingly ethnically and socio-economically divided (Örstadius, 2015, October 3). Findings like these are based on reporting people's places of residency, and thus, urban segregation is often taken to mean that people from different social groups live in disparate parts of the city (Lilja, 2015; Rodenstedt, 2014). However, in this thesis, segregation is understood not only as when urban inhabitants of dissimilar social characteristics reside in separate neighbourhoods but also when they move spatially separated from each other. Because in the quest of creating socially cohesive cities, the issue of physical mobility has gotten a central role since a steady flow of people throughout of the city might mitigate the effects of residential segregation by enabling new interactions between different social groups. Within contemporary Swedish city planning, this call for movement has been translated into building and linking together urban space through enhancing the physical connections between different neighbourhoods (Boverket, 2010; Malmö Stad, 2014; Grundström, 2014). But physical barriers are not the only obstacles to overcome in order to create mobility across the city. At the heart of this lies the fact that the urban space is not equally accessible to all, largely influenced by normative assumptions about who should move where, when and how in the city. These cultural preconceptions influence how people walk, bike and in other ways transport themselves through the urban space. However, rather than just being bound to reinforce these patterns, people have the power to counter and negotiate them through their movements. Within the framework of the divided city it is thus essential to ask questions like who is moving in what direction and with what motivation (Grundström, 2014).

Whereas people's movements through the city is a prime issue for practitioners, there is a need for academic research to match the growing interest in how everyday mobility practices affect and are affected by urban segregation processes. Admittedly, research tends to overlook rather than acknowledge today's importance of mobility, typically focusing their efforts purely on residential segregation (Baumann, 2016; Boterman & Musterd, 2016; Wissink, Schwanen & Kempen, 2016; Yip, Forrest & Xian, 2016). As people's movements are to a large extent still locally bounded, the role of the home neighbourhood has not been rendered obsolete (Ellegård & Vilhelmson, 2004; Gustafson, 2009). However, studies have to

broaden their outlook on the matter to also incorporate other sites of potential integration. In a similar vein, while the public discourse often classifies urban segregation as an "immigrant problem" where economically disadvantaged ethnic minority groups are accused of self-segregating, both academics and policy-makers agree on the necessity of shifting the perspective to explore the role of the white middle-class in driving the social and ethnic division of the city (Boverket, 2010; Lilja, 2015; Rodenstedt, 2014). This means that even though the white middle-class make up a large part of Sweden's inhabitants, and their behaviour therefore constitutes a norm that might be taken for granted, their movements through the city are hardly apolitical. As human geographer Tim Cresswell (2006) notes, all mobile practices, regardless of who undertakes them, are implicated in the production of power dynamics. Nevertheless, the makeup of these dynamics will inevitably vary, as mobility and its meaning operates differently depending on place, ethnicity, socio-economic status and stage in the life course (Boterman & Musterd, 2015; Cresswell, 2006; Yip et al., 2006).

The research of this thesis[1] is set in Malmö, Sweden's third-largest city, focusing on a group of young, white, middle-class women's movements across the urban space in order to understand their motivations behind engaging in mobility practices in the city, as well as their settings for undertaking these practices. As feminist research has revealed, women are often limited in their mobility due to feelings of unsafety arising from the gendered power relations acted out in encounters between citizens (Listerborn, 2016). On the other hand, it is also suggested that whiteness and middle-classness constitute privileges that allow for a greater sense of belonging in urban space (Kern, 2005). The ethnicity, socio-economic status and lifestyle of the women in this study thus form an interesting and complex background to their mobility practices in the city, corresponding the need to examine how interlocking systems of privilege and oppression condition women's experiences in urban space (Kern, 2005). Moreover, the women in this thesis live in the central and segregated neighbourhood of Seved, a part of Malmö that consequently acts as the opening and closing scene for their mobility. By the media, Seved is typically depicted in relation to crime, social problems and the clustering of ethnic minority groups (see Gad, 2016, June 29). The women that are of focus in this thesis thus comprise voices typically *not* associated with moving through the area. In addition to analysing the motivations and settings of the women's mobile practices, this thesis explores how the women relate to Seved through their mobility, thereby zooming in on the level of the neighbourhood to analyse how daily mobility may undermine or contribute to urban segregation processes on a micro-scale.

1.1 Aim of Study and Research Questions

This thesis analyses young, white, middle-class women's leisure mobility in the urban space of a segregated city. The aim is twofold. Firstly, to explore the underlying motivations the women have to engage in mobility practices, the setting in which this takes place and the cultural meanings impacting these decisions. Secondly, to investigate how the women relate to their own segregated neighbourhood and its residents through their mobility in and outside of the area. The aim of the thesis is channelled into the following research questions:

- What motivation(s) do women have for engaging in mobility practices in their leisure time?
- Where in the city do the women choose to engage in mobility practices?
- How do the women relate to Seved and its residents through their mobility in and outside of the neighbourhood?

By examining both the causes and consequences of the women's mobility practices in relation to urban space, this thesis contributes to research on gendered mobility by providing insight on how interlocking systems of privilege and oppression shape women's movements through the city. Moreover, this thesis flips the issue of urban segregation on its head by investigating how these processes might be influenced by, countered and reproduced through people's everyday mobility, as well as by analysing a group rarely associated with segregation processes. In taking the social and cultural conditions that shape white, middle-class women's mobility in urban space into consideration, this thesis provides insights that will help in planning for socially cohesive cities by arriving at a more holistic understanding of the processes behind Swedish cities' ethnic and social division.

1.2 Overview of the Thesis

To answer these questions, this thesis will begin by reviewing existing literature on women's mobility in urban space and urban socio-spatial segregation. Thereafter, I will provide the theoretical framework used in the analysis by outlining a theory of mobility as well as the agency of the citizens in shaping the urban environment. From there, a chapter on the practical procedures of the research presents the methods used and material generated in the research as well as ethical considerations made during the study. Then follows a cultural analysis of women's mobility in the urban space, divided into three chapters. The analysis begins with a chapter exploring the motivations the women had to engage in mobility

practices in their leisure time. In the ensuing chapter, I apply a perspective from above by focusing on the setting for the women's mobility patterns through the city as well as the cultural conceptions that shape and are shaped by these routes. The analysis ends by zooming in on how the women related to their home neighbourhood and its residents through their mobility in and outside of this area, thereby providing a close-up account of how everyday mobile practices both influence and are influenced by urban segregation processes. Throughout of the analytical chapters a discussion will be continuously held detailing what meaning is attributed to mobility under different circumstances. The thesis concludes with a summary and discussion of the main insights, thereafter suggesting potential applications of this study as well as implications for future research.

2. Previous Research

This chapter reviews existing literature on factors influencing female mobility and on the call for urban segregation studies to shift the perspective towards an emphasis on mobility and the role of the white middle-class in countering and reproducing segregation processes. By discussing the existing literature in the fields of women's mobility studies and urban segregation the chapter identifies the knowledge gaps that this thesis serves to fill.

2.1 Women's Mobility in Urban Space

At the core of research on women's mobility stands the understanding that the dichotomy of mobility/immobility constitutes a key concept in traditional gender ideologies (Hanson, 2010). Indeed, whereas femininity has long been equated with the private sphere and restricted mobility, masculinity is typically associated with public, urban spaces and expansive movement. Mobility for women, if voluntarily undertaken, is therefore generally interpreted as empowering (Cresswell, 2010; Hanson, 2010). In contrast, the lack of movement is taken as evidence of unequal opportunity and access. Consequently, much research has examined the conditions that facilitate or limit this access (see Kern, 2005; Koskela, 1997; Listerborn, 2016).

One of the major factors impacting female mobility are feelings of unsafety, which serve to restrict women's movements through the city (Koskela, 1997; Listerborn, 2016, Massey, 1994; Pickup, 1988; Valentine, 1989). As one the first researchers to investigate the relationship between women's fear and their perception and use of public space, geographer Gill Valentine (1989) coined the term *geography of women's fear* to elaborate on how

situations where women feel afraid affect their spatial expression. Valentine found that women's use of space is highly affected by their ambition to avoid these fearful situations, as they tend to omit perceived dangerous places at dangerous times. Many of the routine choices of routes and destinations are thus products of so-called *coping* or *adaptation strategies* that women use to perform safety (Andersson, 2005b; Valentine, 1989). Whether a product of actual threats or feelings of unsafety caused by gendered oppression on a systematic level, these feelings limit female mobility and experience (Koskela, 1997; Listerborn, 2016; Massey, 1994; Pickup, 1988; Valentine, 1989). Indeed, by being denied entry to certain locations in the public space at certain times, women are "literally kept in their place" (Hanson, 2010, p. 10).

Research on women's mobility is thus often framed by notions of safety and unsafety, rendering the motivations behind women's movements through urban space as well as their choice of routes a decision guided mainly by the principle of avoiding fear. However, while the urban environment has often been depicted as dangerous for women, it is important to keep in mind that cities have also acted as spaces where women can escape the limitations of normative expectations, thereby providing freedom and liberation (Wilson, 1991). The last 100 years have undoubtedly demonstrated plenty of proof of feminist movements appropriating space and advocating rights through strategic action as well as everyday practices (Listerborn, 2016). As cultural geographer Hille Koskela (1997) argues, women do not only passively experience space but are also actively producing and reclaiming it, for instance by routinising and taming space through repeated use of it.

It is here crucial to state that qualitative research on women's mobility in urban space is often focused on white, middle-class women living in urban areas, albeit implicitly, thereby claiming their experiences to be generalisable for all women (Listerborn, 2016). In so doing, researchers deprive these as well as other women of the specific conditions and circumstances of their mobility and how it is interwoven in different systems of power. As human geographer Linda McDowell (1993) states, there is no single female experience. Gender is perceived and performed in numerous ways, conditioned by the position of the gendered subject in relation to other social categories (Listerborn, 2016). It is thus important to highlight potential differences between women "to see what is actually negotiated and at stake, and to reveal how gender is used to create differences *among* women" (Listerborn, 2016, p. 258). There is hence a need to examine intertwined systems of privilege and oppression with regards to women's experiences of urban spaces (Kern, 2005), which this thesis answers to.

In a study on women's engagement with public space in Toronto, Canada, urban and feminist geographer Leslie Kern (2005) found that privileges such as being white and middle-class enabled women to feel in place in the city as it allowed them to move through its different neighbourhoods relatively free from frictions. Moreover, this ability operated in a reciprocal manner as it served to further reinforce privileged identities. Without diminishing the impact of gendered power relations acted out in the public space, findings like those of Kern (2005) suggest that there might be reasons for why and where (some) women choose to move that lie beyond omitting unsafe situations. This thesis uncovers some of these intentions in the context of the segregated city by looking at the motivations women have to engage in mobility practices as well as the logic behind choosing the setting wherein this is to be undertaken.

2.2 Urban Socio-Spatial Segregation

Urban segregation has traditionally been defined as when urban residents from different social groups live spatially separated from each other; consequently, studies have focused purely upon residential segregation. This research has typically revealed high concentrations of socially disadvantaged populations, understood as reflecting negatively upon those populations as it serves to aggravate parallel processes of exclusion (Baumann, 2016; Boterman & Musterd, 2016; Wissink et al., 2016; Yip et al., 2016). However, in focusing merely on residential segregation research overlooks the growing importance of mobility as a site of interaction, instead adopting a rather static approach where people's identities and social lives are restricted to the spaces of their residence (Wissink et al., 2016; Yip et al., 2016). It is true that people's mobility patterns are to a large extent locally bounded; the neighbourhood is thus not irrelevant as a site of study (Ellegård & Vilhelmson, 2004; Gustafson, 2009). However, people's home districts are only one possible location where potential interaction between different population categories can take place (Boterman & Musterd, 2016).

Urban segregation should thus be conceptualised not only as when residents of different social groups live in different parts of the city but also as when they move spatially separated from each other. Following this, there is a need for a more dynamic research stance towards segregation processes that takes into consideration how the everyday mobility of city dwellers can both weaken and reinforce ethnic and socio-economic divisions in cities. For instance, in a study on how Palestinians in Jerusalem move across the enclaves of the city, urban conflicts researcher Hanna Baumann (2016) shows how their mobility undermines the

meaning and efficacy of the Israeli-imposed boundaries within and around the city. As Baumann proves, attention to daily mobility patterns can certainly distort the classical narrative of socio-spatial exclusion by gaining new understanding of how people appropriate space across physical and symbolic boundaries. However, urban studies researchers Ngai Ming Yip, Ray Forrest and Shi Xian (2016) argue that while mobility might indeed propel people to explore new neighbourhoods it does not by default increase their exposure to people of different social status. In a quantitative study undertaken in Hong Kong, they reveal how for instance poorer groups tend to move between poorer neighbourhoods, indicating that different social groups also have different mobility patterns. Everyday mobility might thus also maintain segregation processes. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that simply moving in the same space will not guarantee meaningful contact with socially different groups (Boterman & Musterd, 2016; Valentine, 2008).

Moreover, while research on urban segregation tends to focus on ethnic minority groups, there is little awareness of how population categories reflecting the native norm are part of segregation processes (Lilja, 2015; Rodenstedt, 2014). The few existing studies undertaken in Sweden with this approach focus only on residential segregation rather than including segregation by way of everyday mobility. For instance, cultural geographer Ann Rodenstedt (2014) investigates residential segregation in Malmö, Sweden from the perspective of socio-economically privileged groups who possess the resources to choose where to live in the city. The study explores how these residents represent Malmö and its different neighbourhoods from a dwelling perspective, showing how they self-segregate in the western areas of the city, thus reproducing the idea of these areas as exclusive. Moreover, sociologist Maja Lilja (2015) explores middle-class Swedes role in processes of residential segregation through studying how newly fledged middle-class mothers relate to their neighbourhood and their children’s upbringing in relation to ethnicity, class and gender. Lilja found that while the women emphasised the importance of growing up in a multicultural environment, they distanced themselves from these environments for the sake of their children. Although not reflecting this thesis’ focus on how everyday mobility might influence the socio-economic division of cities, these two studies have provided valuable insights on the impact of the white middle-class in processes of segregation.

Last but not least, this thesis is in great debt to ethnologist Elisabeth Högdahl’s (2003) dissertation Göra Gata (translated into English as Doing the Street) which first opened my eyes to how urban environments are in part the result of the dynamic relation between physical reality, ideas and media images, which all serve to produce and reproduce people’s

practices in the public space. Delving into three places in Malmö and Cape Town, Högdahl makes a compelling argument around that a walk through the city, where and how it takes place and under what circumstances, is as important for that city as its planned infrastructure. This thesis will leave aside how media representations shape people's movements through the city. Nonetheless, Göra gata has acted as an inspiration for the study in describing how social and cultural preconceptions form the basis of how people engage with and produce the ever-changing urban space through their mobility.

3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework that guides the analysis of this thesis, providing a point of reference for the empirical material of the research project. First, a theory of mobility is presented, introducing mobility as meaningful movement implicated in processes of power dynamics. Second, the agency of individuals in shaping the urban environment is discussed by using the concepts of strategy and tactics.

3.1 A Theory of Mobility

Recent years have seen the rise of a growing corpus of academic research under the name of the *new mobilities paradigm*, invested in exploring the importance of different forms of mobility in understanding contemporary life and societies. One of the researchers involved in developing mobility studies is human geographer Tim Cresswell (2006), whose interpretative framework is well suited to exploring the women's movements through the city and the premises under which these operate. According to Cresswell, mobility involves more than just getting from point A to point B. In order to understand this, he proposes an analytical distinction between *movement* and *mobility*. Movement, Cresswell states, is the mere act of displacement that happens as people move between locations; it thus appears as natural and does not consider the type, strategies and social implications involved in the movement. As a contrast, mobility looks at how movement is imbued with notions of power and social value; how it is made meaningful. Movement is thus mobility stripped of its social implications, abstracted from contexts of power. Comparing the relationship between movement and mobility, Cresswell (2006) argues that "[i]f movement is the dynamic equivalent of location, then mobility is the dynamic equivalent of *place*" (p. 3).

Mobility is thus motion that is both productive of social relations and produced by them (Cresswell, 2006, 2010). This implies that there is a *politics* of mobility, as the journey

from A to B will most certainly be differently experienced depending on the traveller's class, gender, ethnicity, age and other conditions. Indeed, mobility is a resource that cannot be accessed in the same way by everyone. In order to understand how mobility is socially produced and thereby involved in the production of power dynamics, Cresswell proposes to look at mobility as comprised of three relational aspects: *the empirical reality*, *representations of mobility* and *practiced mobility*.

First, the observable and empirical reality is that which is measured and analysed by for instance city planners. Here, questions such as who moves the furthest, the fastest and the most often can help us reveal the underlying power mechanisms. Second, the representations of mobility are ideas about mobility that are conveyed through how it is ideologically explained and represented, for instance by automatically equalling women's mobility with empowerment. Looking at the narratives constructed about mobility facilitates an understanding of its social and cultural premises. Third, practiced mobility is the embodied and experienced mobility undertaken in everyday life. There is a clear political aspect to mobile practices, which can be explored by analysing for instance to whom mobility is forced or free, comfortable or uncomfortable.

These three aspects of mobility are intertwined, producing and reproducing each other. As Cresswell (2006) writes: "[H]ow we experience mobility and the ways we move are intimately connected to meanings given to mobility through representation. Similarly, representations of mobility are based on ways in which mobility is practiced and embodied" (p. 4). Understanding that there is a politics to mobility is crucial when investigating the social and cultural phenomena that shape people's movements through the city, and the consequences these might have on segregation processes. Cresswell's framework thus provides us with a good toolbox to unpack ideologies and experiences of movement that form the backbone of the motivations and trajectories of the women's mobility across Malmö.

3.2 People as Moving Parts of the City

A core starting point for this thesis is the understanding that people form active parts of the city and the urban space by means of their everyday practices. This line of thinking is inspired by cultural theorist Michel De Certeau's (1984) famous writings on how the agency of ordinary people have the power to alter, reappropriate and subvert the cultural and physical infrastructure presented to them by authorities.

To explain this process, De Certeau uses the concepts of *strategy* and *tactics*. Strategies are actions that emanate from institutions of power and are carried out with their

objectives in mind. Tactics, on the other hand, are the individual practices performed on an everyday basis; they are fleeting freedoms dependent on the framework of strategies turning a blind eye towards them. The two concepts thus differ in their relation to space; while strategies feel entitled to it, tactics lack a place of their own and rely on the moments where citizens succeed in breaching through the barriers. Strategies presume a control that the individual on the street level does not have. Thus, everyday life works through a process of trespassing on the territory of others by using the cultural structure as something to push off from. When moving through the public space of the city in general and their neighbourhood in particular, people use tactics when adapting to the physical layout of the streetscape and the cultural and social norms prevalent in this space. However, simultaneously, people are also producing the streetscape by their performances in it; their performances are shaped, but not completely determined by the cultural and physical structure of a space. In short, tactics divert the dominant order without leaving it.

A walk through the city and the circumstances under which this takes place is thus as important for a city as its planned environment (De Certeau, 1984; Högdahl, 2003). To walk is to create the urban text; footsteps weave together the urban, creating multiple trajectories whose intertwined paths give shape to spaces. To engage in mobile practices across the city is to realise space and act out place. The walker makes the possibilities of the city exist as well as emerge: “S/he also moves them about and invents others, since the improvization of walking privileges, transforms and abandons spatial elements” (Nielsen & Simsonsen, 2003, p. 919).

This line of thinking provides a background to how people might use a city’s physical environment as well as their social and cultural preconceptions about how to act in this environment as a stepping point for their everyday practices, thereby having the power to reinforce, alter and counter this framework. More specifically, in the case of this thesis, it helps us understand how citizens form active parts of urban segregation processes by way of their leisure mobility through the city and its different neighbourhoods.

4. Into the Field

This thesis explores young, white, middle-class women’s mobility in the urban space of a segregated city by drawing on qualitative interview material and go-alongs with a total of seven women living in the neighbourhood of Seved in Malmö, Sweden. This chapter outlines the practical proceedings of the research by presenting the participants of the study as well as

the methods used and the materials produced. Moreover, it introduces Malmö and Seved as the setting of the study. Ethical considerations are discussed throughout the chapter, which ends with limitations of the research.

4.1 Participants

This thesis project began with a general interest in linking together the conditions shaping women's movements through the city with the initiative from urban planners to create physically, and thereby socially, cohesive cities through enabling everyday physical mobility in and between different neighbourhoods. With this in mind, I contacted the City of Malmö to see how they could best benefit from my research. As a result, I was asked to focus my endeavours on citizens living in the area of Seved. Starting off, my ambition was to include women of different ethnical and socio-economic backgrounds as well as covering variances in how long the women had resided in the area in order to enclose potentially disparate voices. However, it proved very difficult to recruit these various groups as many were hesitant to journalists and researchers exploiting the neighbourhood. Simultaneously, I got increasingly interested in the role of the white middle-class in urban segregation processes, and so the scope of the research narrowed down to its final focus.

The seven Seved residents who participated in the research were thus all white and self-identified as middle-class. As known, the concept of class is not only limited to economic status but may involve various social and cultural conceptions shaping the individual's attitudes. By letting participants define their own class belonging I avoided making assumptions about their identities based on my own preconceptions. The women were all between 22 and 33 years old at the point of the research, thus representing a group with a relatively large amount of leisure time and potential for mobility. The women related to Malmö in different ways as some of them had grown up in the city whereas others had recently moved there. More specifically, participants had been living in Seved between three months and seven years. Based on their class and the fact that they had not grown up in the neighbourhood the women had a sort of outsider perspective of Seved, which formed an interesting background to how they positioned themselves in relation to the area and its other residents by way of their mobility. Participants were recruited through snowballing, acquaintances or simply by approaching them in the public space of Seved.

Being young, white and middle-class myself, I am in many ways similar to the women taking part in the thesis project, thereby performing research from an insider position. This was visible not the least in how simple it was to find and recruit participants of this

group compared to the struggle of approaching other social categories (see Davis & Craven, 2016; Labaree, 2002). While the women in my research recognised our similarities, it is important to state that I did not claim to have automatic knowledge of their experiences merely because my social position resembles theirs (Davis & Craven, 2016; Labaree, 2002). Indeed, one should keep in mind that "shared social statuses do not guarantee understanding" (Davies, 1999, p. 100); while a researcher might have insider information about a group, this does not equal a complete sameness (Davis & Craven, 2016). In fact, at times, the existence of a shared tacit knowledge proved a hindrance to the research as participants took it for granted that I would unquestionably understand their reasoning about their mobility. In order to overcome this problem, I began every research situation by emphasising that I wanted to learn from the women's own experiences, even if that meant articulating seemingly obvious aspects of that experience.

4.2 Methods and Material

In order to answer the questions posed, this thesis draws on qualitative fieldwork material produced during two periods, the first ranging from October to December 2016 and the second one consisting of two weeks in February 2017. This section elaborates on the two methods used during fieldwork and the material this generated.

4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews. The interviews make up the biggest part of my fieldwork. In total, seven interviews were conducted, each lasting between 30 to 90 minutes. The aim of the interviews was to gain deeper knowledge into the underlying logics behind the specifics of the women's movements through the city in general as well as in their home area. Due to the nature of semi-structured interviews, the topics varied more or less between different participants (Davies, 1999). Nonetheless, the interviews enabled a contextualisation of the women's mobility, making it possible to examine how these practices were socially produced by investigating the factors that influenced them.

As Cresswell (2006) notes, "the slippery and intangible nature of mobility makes it an elusive object of study" (p. 1). Indeed, participants often had trouble articulating where they moved, why they did so and what implications this. It often seemed easier to begin by exploring the women's places of affection and disaffection in the own neighbourhood as well as generally in the city, thereafter leading them into discussions about what motivated their mobility towards these different places. In order to facilitate further exploration into the subject of the women's mobility, participants were given maps of Malmö on which they were

Figure 1. The map that was used in interviews.

urged to draw out their everyday leisure mobility patterns (see Figure 1). Doing so materialised the routes and destinations the women channelled their mobility into, making their movements tangible. The exercise amassed to a map of the women's aggregated routes through Malmö, which is displayed and analysed in chapter six of this thesis. When initially presented with the city map, some women experienced feelings of confusion trying to locate themselves and their paths. As argued by De Certeau (1984), most people experience the city from the ground level rather than from above. However, the discrepancy between these two forms of encounters with the urban environment provided interesting accounts of how the women oriented themselves in the city. Working as a point of contrast, the map served to highlight the women's everyday experiences of the city by visualising where they moved.

Interviews are generally not recognised as providing insight into the lived experience of participants *in situ*, as they are often conducted in spaces and situations separated from those discussed (Kusenbach, 2003). However, in the case of the interviews undertaken for the purpose of this thesis, this turned out to be only partially true as physical locations can be seen as anchor points from which mobility starts (Adey, 2006; Hannam, Sheller & Urry,

2006). Interviewing women in situations and locations where they perceived themselves to be immobile, such as sitting in the kitchens of their homes, proved to be an excellent starting point for discussions about what motivated mobility and what boundaries might be needed to overcome to initiate mobility practices in urban space.

4.2.2 Go-alongs. In order to arrive at a more actively experienced understanding of the women's situated experience of their mobility, three go-alongs ranging between 10 to 60 minutes were conducted. All of the go-alongs were conducted with women I had previously interviewed: while two were carried out directly following the interview, one was performed three months later.

As the name is indicative of, a go-along entails accompanying participants on their everyday trips while asking questions, listening and observing in the quest of actively exploring the women's *spatial practices*, that is, their engagement in and with both their physical and social environment (Kusenbach, 2003). In my case, I asked to tag along on shorter journeys through the city that participants would have done regardless of me being present or not. As walking in many ways is a tacit knowledge (Högdahl, 2003), I encouraged the women to explicitly comment on situations, interactions and things standing out to them as we moved to better understand the circumstances of their mobility. Although women engaged in mobility practices in the city through both walking and biking, the go-alongs were all conducted as walks on the initiative of participants. As the perception of the cityscape might differ drastically depending on the time of day (see, e.g., Cook & Edensor, 2017; Valentine, 1989), go-alongs were conducted both during day and night time.

It is important to here note that no research situation is truly innocent (Davies, 1999). Even though go-alongs ideally imitate participants' everyday mobility, it would be wrong to think of this method as 'natural' (Kusenbach, 2003). As with any research situation, the go-along is contrived. For instance, it is unlikely that participants are normally accompanied on their trips by a researcher urging them to talk about what they are doing (Kusenbach, 2003).

Both interviews and go-alongs were conducted in Swedish and recorded either through camera or audio recordings that were supplemented by photos and fieldnotes of our surrounding environments. In the analysis, these photos are complemented by others taken throughout of the year; if not otherwise stated, these figures are created by me. Taking inspiration from Högdahl (2003), photos have been chosen that both coincide and contrast with the written text, the intention behind this being to create a deepened understanding of the spaces mentioned. Thus, the photos relate to the text, but also tell their own stories. After

transcribing the interviews and go-alongs, further clarifying questions were sent to three of the women who submitted written responses. When writing the analysis, all participants were given pseudonyms and rendered anonymous, and relevant quotes were translated into English.

By taking power differentials such as gender, class and race as a starting point for the research, this thesis adheres to a tradition of *feminist ethnography* (Davis & Craven, 2016). As does all ethnography, feminist research strives towards a balanced power dynamic within the research situation. In order to achieve this, participants were for instance encouraged to give feedback both during and after the interviews.

4.3 Situating the Research: Malmö and Seved

The research of this thesis concerns and was undertaken in Malmö generally and Seved specifically; what follows is a contextualisation of these urban environments. Malmö is located in the south of Sweden and is the third-largest city of the country with 322 574 inhabitants at the end of 2015 (Malmö Stad, n.d.). Known as both a creative Knowledge City and for its polarisation, dual discourses shape the narrative of the city, where the gaps are growing and several neighbourhoods are identified as socio-economically vulnerable. Out of Sweden's big cities, Malmö has the lowest average yearly income; in 2014, it was down at 213 000 SEK which is significantly lower than the national average at 295 000 SEK (Hur vi bor, 2017). Additionally, Malmö is also the city with the largest internal differences in average yearly income. For instance, in Bellevue, a wealthy area in the western parts of the city, the average is more than eleven times greater than that of Herrgården, an exposed and stigmatised area in eastern Malmö (Hur vi bor, 2017). It is thus evident that space and inequality are intersecting in Malmö, producing social divisions based on residential location.

In order to overcome the residential segregation, the City of Malmö has an extensive agenda for social and environmental sustainability (Malmö Stad, 2014). One of the ways in which the city strives to socially integrate the urban environment is to build for physical cohesiveness in and between neighbourhoods, thereby enabling people to move through the city and meet across differences. In this way the municipality takes on the same holistic stance towards urban segregation as does this thesis, acknowledging how both residential location and everyday mobility patterns might influence socio-spatial divisions of the city. Malmö poses an intricate environment where segregated areas are to be found in the centre of the city rather than merely being located in the suburbs, as elsewhere in Sweden. With the distance to segregated and/or stigmatised neighbourhoods being at the bare minimum, this

Figure 2. Sevedsplan, the small square in the centre of Seved. In 2016, the Swedish Police installed surveillance cameras overlooking the square due to an increase in reported crimes undertaken here. Photographed in May 2017.

suggests that the potential avoidance of these areas is not linked to the physical layout of the city. Malmö thus provides a good backdrop for uncovering social and cultural preconceptions influencing decisions on the setting for mobility practices.

Moreover, this thesis will explore how daily mobility may counter or maintain urban segregation processes on a micro-scale by zooming in on the level of the women's home neighbourhood, Seved, a small area located in the southern part of central Malmö. Built mainly during the 1930s and 1940s, the neighbourhood consists mostly of low-rise apartment buildings and a few villas (Stjernborg, 2014). In the middle neighbourhood, there is a small square with a corner shop and towards the outskirts of the area lies a big parking lot with a larger food store and some second hand shops. In terms of physical infrastructure, Seved is well connected to the rest of Malmö through bike lanes and pedestrian lanes, car roads and public transportation. The neighbourhood is ethnically diverse with a young population; moreover, unemployment is high and income levels are low (Stjernborg, 2014). Both the indoor and outdoor environment of the area has long been neglected by the property owners

Figure 3. Community garden, Seved. As of 2009 some 30 urban gardening areas have been developed in conjunction with courtyards in the neighbourhood. Photographed in October 2016.

operating in the neighbourhood. However, in recent years, efforts have been made to conquer the so-called shanty property owners by replacing them with more serious actors (Ivarsson, 2017, March 21; Stjernborg, 2014).

In recent years Seved has been the location of several shootings and safety surveys continuously report high levels of unsafety for both women and men in the neighbourhood (MOMS, 2016; Wierup, 2016, December 1). Starting in 2014, the police, municipality, property owners, local football club and businesses as well as the Seved locals themselves have initiated joint efforts to increase the safety of the area (Ivarsson, 2017, March 21). However, in 2015, the Swedish Police pointed out the neighbourhood as one of the 15 especially exposed areas in Sweden, claiming Seved's social segregation from the rest of Malmö (The Swedish Police, 2015). As a result of the growth of parallel social structures in the neighbourhood, the police report difficulties in carrying out their mission in the area (The Swedish Police, 2015). Even though local newspapers provide a nuanced image of the area (see Nord, 2017, March 26), Seved has gained extensive national media coverage that

Figure 4. Mural painting "Att växa mot himlen" (translated into English as "To Grow towards the Sky") on Sevedsgatan, by graffiti artist Limpo. The mural was painted in 2012, symbolising the hardships of growing up in a problematic area. Photographed in May 2017.

portrays the neighbourhood in an almost unequivocally negative manner, often referring to younger men in the community as chief agitators undertaking drug and gang-related activities (see Gad, 2016, June 29).

4.4 Limitations of the Study

While there are certainly lots of different forms of mobility spanning everything from virtual and social ones to long-distance migration it should by now be clear that this thesis focuses on women's everyday leisure physical mobility. That is, personal travel that is part of women's participation in the daily round of activities not connected to studies or paid work (see Hanson, 2010). The reason for excluding work-related mobility from the scope of this thesis is based on the understanding that journeys connected to one's occupation might be operating under different conditions than do leisure trips through the city. This is not to say that work-related mobile practices do not constitute meaningful rituals or have a big impact

on people's mobility patterns or their contact with social difference (see, e.g., Blumen & Zamir, 2001; Ewert, 2007; O'Dell, 2010).

Following the aim and research questions of this thesis, the modes of transportation for the women's mobility is not of primary interest in this thesis. Instead of going into deep detail, these will be discussed briefly in relation to the culturally invisible processes behind the women's movements. The women mainly walked or biked through the city, and neither of them owned a car. Thus, mobility by way of cars or public transportation will not be covered.

On a more practical note, fieldwork was conducted during autumn and winter, a period not known in Scandinavia for the ease with which one initiates activities outdoors. Indeed, the women would generally remark on the weather curbing their motivation to move. While the cultural and social conditions under which the women's mobility operated were not restricted to gray clouds or sunny skies, the weather did influence the frequency with which the women undertook mobility. This will be discussed in the first analytical chapter. Nonetheless, with the exception of the beach, it seemed as if participants' mobility patterns were relatively constant throughout of the year.

5. Picking up the Pace: Motivations for Mobility

The first issue to be explored and analysed in this thesis are the motivations the women have for engaging in mobility practices in their leisure time. Gaining understanding of these offer insight into the cultural conditions and preconceptions that form the background to the women's mobility. By grounding their mobile practices in a social and cultural context, it is possible to understand the existing incentives and meanings shaping the women's movements across the city.

5.1 Materialising Mobility: Productivity on the Move

"I thought a bit about this, like, where do I usually move, what do I usually do, where should we go?" (go-along with Lykke, 09.02.17). These words were uttered by Lykke on a late Thursday evening in the beginning of February as I met her outside of her apartment for a walk through the city. Darkness had already fallen a couple of hours ago, yesterday's white snow on the ground creating a faint glow around us. The purpose of the walk was for me to accompany Lykke on an everyday trip to learn where she usually moved and why. However, our joint journey started out with some confusion, as Lykke tried to think of places she could take me. Laughing at her own indecisiveness, her breath was visible in the cold air. In the

end, we started walking towards the city, past the hospital where Lykke studied to become a registered nurse and then back towards her apartment.

The meeting with Lykke illustrates how many women found it difficult to move without having a pre-set goal. While the women in this study stated different motivations for engaging in mobility practices in urban space, the majority of these motivations had one thing in common: a specific destination. This destination could be tied to locations where the women could socialise with friends or family, but most often, it was linked to places where the women could execute errands. Lykke's struggle to come up with a route for our trip through the city can be seen as the result of undertaking mobility without linking it to the spatial goal so inevitable when buying groceries, throwing away the trash or ticking off another errand on the mental to do-list. As will be discussed later on in this chapter, the women would sometimes undertake walks and bike tours without a destination. However, this was a type of mobility carried out far less frequently than that tied to getting to a specific location. For a lot of women, simply going for a walk was not a motivating factor. Rather, what really mobilised them was the existence of a clear spatial goal and something tangible to achieve or obtain through their practices of mobility.

To the women, a facilitation of movement was crucial as they often viewed the act of moving arduous, with large barriers to overcome. Indeed, when women spoke about undertaking mobility practices, it became obvious that they would regularly engage in intense negotiations on whether actually committing to it or not. When talking to Lykke, she mentioned how she would debate the pros and cons of going outside versus staying in, torn between the conflicting emotions of restlessness and an urge to move versus the wish to stay inside and, in her words, do nothing. In her leisure time, Lykke was often tired from her education that frequently required her to clock in at the hospital at quarter to seven in the morning, be it during the week or in the weekend. Well at the hospital, she spent her days practicing in the different departments, rarely staying more than a few weeks in the same station before moving on to learn the specific skills of another one. Exhausted from her hectic university schedule, Lykke longed for her days off, where duties and obligations were relatively few and she was at liberty to rest. On our walk in the cold February evening, Lykke mentioned how she had not been outside during the whole day. However, contrary to my assumption, Lykke was not annoyed by me interrupting her downtime; rather, she mentioned that our tour was a welcome task to undertake as it forced her to step outside of her apartment. She explained that if I had not urged her to move outside, she would have either invented or saved an errand for days like these, when she would otherwise not leave her

apartment at all. Other women echoed Lykke's experiences; the potential of executing an errand here served as a carrot or whip in convincing them to initiate mobility. Elaborating, Lykke said:

> When I have days like these, when I'm just at home and drowsy and tired and rather would, or I mean, when one could just lie on the couch the entire day actually, but I still sort of feel that I have to go out at least for a bit. And then, that's when I need to invent these goals for myself, because then it just doesn't work to be like, 'I'll just go out and walk for a bit'. Then well, then one has to make something up. 'I need to do this' (go-along with Lykke, 09.02.17).

Time spent on the move has often been regarded as dead time; minutes or hours that are only endured as they enable people to reach their destinations (Hannam et al., 2006, p. 12). This implies a distinction between the act of going somewhere and the goal or end activity itself, where travel time has generally been viewed as time that people seek to minimise. However, Lykke's story represents a common theme among the women, articulating how they are torn between both wanting to reduce and expand their time on the move. This can be interpreted in two ways. First, that a goal or an errand is needed to legitimise movement for the women, as mobility in itself might not be a strong enough motivator to move. In this scenario, mobility is only tolerated as it is the means through which women can reach their destination. Second, it could also be interpreted as that the wish to move is so strong that it compels the women to invent tasks or destinations just to initiate movement. Here, the distinction between the spatial goal or activity and the movement towards it become merged, so that it is not always straightforward to separate the two from each other. While it is easy to believe that the destination or activity legitimises the journey, it might in fact be the mobility that legitimises the destination.

Seen in this way, the mobility tied to destinations where women can execute errands served a specific function as undertaking such tasks provided tangible proof of having engaged in mobility practices and thereby achieved something. Having executed an errand thus becomes a materialisation of mobility. As the women guided me on their everyday journeys through the city, a pattern started to emerge. For instance, Ellen, whom we will meet in greater detail in this chapter, had a cold and took me along to the pharmacy, going back home with a bottle of nasal spray in her bag (go-along with Ellen, 06.02.17). And when accompanying Matilda, who will be further introduced later on, she walked with me to her hairdresser and walked out of there with a shorter cut (go-along with Matilda, 07.02.17).

Errands here became material evidence of that the women had gone somewhere and done something, filling the same function as a souvenir. The difference is that while a souvenir should remind its owner of a destination, the errands served as a memory of the women's mobility to that location. Undertaking tasks gave mobile practices an added value that facilitated for women to engage in them, offering proof to themselves and to others that they had moved. This implies that mobility is tied to social values; that the mere act of moving reflects something back on the women suggests that mobility is an activity of its own and a site for meaning-making (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006). So what, then, was the intrinsic value of mobility for the women in the context of having to step outside their apartments in order to feel good about themselves. Why did they feel bound to move?

Lykke saying that she felt like she has to leave her apartment at least for a while each day shows how the conflict between wanting to move and being still is also about going out or staying in. This is telling of how the representation of mobility as progress is reproduced in everyday language where going out implies activeness and staying in a passivity (Cresswell, 2006, 2010). The ideology of mobility as progress was strongly present in the women's reasoning about their motivations for engaging in mobility practices, where mobile practices were connected to being healthy and active. Here, the representations of mobility evidently produced mobile practices that could then be observable to others. Moreover, these practices served to further reinforce the idea of mobility as a sign of activeness, proving how these three aspects of mobility are thoroughly intertwined.

Elaborating on what would happen if they would stay inside all day, Lykke explained that she would feel stressed and unproductive when resisting the urge to accomplish tasks she had not yet gotten to. In order to permit a few calm hours inside, Lykke had to remind herself that she had been "good" during the week and that she now deserved to rest and be still (go-along with Lykke, 09.02.17). Ellen, too, had similar ideas about why she wanted to be mobile in urban space during the day. As a student in ethnology, Ellen had a relatively flexible schedule with only a few lectures and seminars per week. With a lot of time dedicated to studying independently, Ellen had much freedom to decide herself when to do what. This led her to often carrying out various tasks or interests during the daytime, such as picking up cheap and fresh fruit from one of the outdoor markets or browsing second hand stores. In general, Ellen was quick to join in on activities together with others and often undertook mobile practices in relation to this. Expanding on the urge to move during the day, Ellen explained:

> If I'm inside a whole day I feel like a bit lazy and unproductive. I'm probably also a bit scared of what others are going to think. In reality, I sort of think that it can be kind of nice to not having to go out, but it feels like my friends think I'm lazy when I do that. Or they'll say like 'Aww, how nice' but there might still be something condescending in it. Like one's indulging in something by just being at home (interview with Ellen, 06.02.17).

While both Lykke and Ellen had very different daily schedules, they both acknowledged how nice and relaxing it would be to spend the day on the couch. But their statements also illustrate similar experiences of how they prevented themselves from staying at home, linking this activity to feelings of guilt, laziness and unproductivity. As a contrast, mobility was connected to productivity and doing something that was deemed, by themselves or others, as useful or worthwhile. Ellen related immobility to indulging; jumping straight to the reward without having to work for it through being mobile. In this way, mobility becomes labour: even though undertaken in the women's spare time, it has more resemblance with work than leisure. Indeed, for women, the distinction between these spheres may be notably blurred (Davies, 1999, p. 101). Lykke's and Ellen's experiences illustrate how the conflict between moving and not moving thus seems to be linked to the social norm of mobility as a signifier for productivity versus the individual feeling of wanting to rest. As mentioned previously, the women's manifestations of themselves as productive increased as they used their mobility to execute errands, thereby adding value to their movements. But before delving deeper into the cultural preconceptions forming the women's mobile practices in this way, let us look at yet another example of how the productivity of being mobile could be even further enhanced. Packing her bag before walking to the pharmacy, Ellen habitually collected her headphones, saying that as soon as I left her she would plug them into her phone and start listening to a radio documentary. Ellen explained that she would rarely 'just' walk but always do something else simultaneously:

> Yeah, I think I have a hard time just doing nothing. Yep, that's right, I can be like a bit efficient, I call my mum on the way home (sic) to work instead of sitting in my kitchen and calling her because well, then I get two things done in the same time (go-along with Ellen, 06.02.17).

Ellen also explained that during daytime, she would rather walk than bike, "because then I get some work-out at the same time, plus I get to be outside a bit longer. One needs a bit off, all the light one can get" (interview with Ellen, 06.02.17). This goes to further show that being on the move can involve very specific sets of occasioned activities, rendering mobility

a sort of dwelling-in-motion (Hannam et al., 2006, p. 12). For Ellen, walking was a site of various actions that enabled her to keep in contact with family and friends, entertain and educate herself through media experiences and acquire health benefits both through being active and exposing herself to the sun.

The question here is not to evaluate whether the women took pleasure in this form of mobility; granted, listening to the radio or calling a friend were described as enjoyable activities. Nonetheless, these activities were seen as tasks that needed to be ticked off the list in order for the women to prove themselves worthy. Hence, the point is that in framing their leisure mobility through productivity, these practices move more into the sphere of work than relaxation, regardless of if this work is entertaining or not. Interestingly enough, mobility has been theorised as a moving space for contemplation and pause (Freudendal-Petersen, 2007). While this might sometimes be true, for the women of this study mobility was rather a space that had the potential of prohibiting rest as it acted as a site of productivity. The disparity of these findings proves the impossibility of analysing mobile practices without taking into consideration its social, cultural and geographical context (Hanson, 2010). The spatial circumstances that form the background to the women's movements here is the urban space. Certainly, known for their rhythm and fast pace, cities are marked by a frenzy of achievement spurred on by palpable work demands fostered by capitalism (Amin & Thrift, 2002). What does this high tempo do to us? Developing the science of speed, or *dromology*, cultural theorist and urbanist Paul Virilio (1986) argues that the quicker we get, the more constrained our freedoms are. Virilio illustrates this with the example of how our fastest vehicles, such as airplanes, are all inhibited and impeded by controls and constraints built into their infrastructure. Returning yet again to the experiences of Lykke and Ellen, it is clear that productivity motivated women having a high tempo; however, this high pace also controlled and limited their leisure time. It goes without saying that the urban conditions of speed affect urban residents, women as well as men. However, I argue that the women in this thesis' incapacity of allowing themselves downtime, instead channeling their restlessness into a mobile productivity, can be illuminated and put into new perspective by shortly reviewing the relation between women and leisure, suggesting a gendered dimension to their behaviour.

In the 18th century, the Industrial revolution freed many middle-class women from the necessity of having to work, turning female leisure into a status and class symbol (Foley, 2005). However, as the ideals of Protestantism rose to prominence in the 19th century, moral objections towards female leisure emerged. According to the Protestant work ethic, salvation could only be reached through hard work and diligence, duty being the central word. In this

moral narrative, leisure in the sense of "idleness, free time, sociability and unproductive activity took on connotations of evil and guilt" (Foley, 2005, p. 219). The Protestant work ethic reshaped middle-class ideals of femininity, turning the previously aspirational idea of the leisured woman into a moral danger both to herself and to others. Although not explicitly demanded today these ideals are still visible in women's double day (Thrane, 2000). Even though the gap between women's and men's labour in the home is decreasing in Sweden, when returning home from paid work women continue to do the majority of the housework (Statistics Sweden, 2014). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore in what ways women do have less leisure time than men; however, what is interesting here is to see how women evaluate the concept of leisure time (Thrane, 2000). As Lykke's and Ellen's stories show, feeling guilty when supposedly being unproductive or not managing to show enough proof of this productiveness signals that the relationship between women and leisure is still complicated. This echoes previous studies arguing that even when women theoretically have opportunities to leisure their access to it is constrained as they do not feel entitled to it and/or do not claim it for themselves (Deem, 1986; Green, Hebron & Woodward, 1990; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991). Women feel undeserving of leisure and experience guilt when engaging in it (Deem, 1986; Green et al, 1990; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991). For the women in this thesis, the solution was to channel the Protestant work ethic ideal to be productive into their mobility, thereby incorporating it in a contemporary setting.

I say contemporary setting, as being productive in the public space instead of the home is a relatively modern experience for women. Traditionally being confined to the walls of the home, women's access to the urban space is a narrative told almost unequivocally as a story of empowerment (Massey, 1994; Pickup, 1988; Wilson, 1991). Since movement has been the means through which this access is granted, mobility, too, is seen as empowering and "because it is empowering, more mobility, especially for women, is a good thing" (Hanson, 2010, p. 9). Indeed, when asked about what mobility meant for them the women often linked it to freedom and autonomy. However, statements like these were in somewhat of a contrast to accounts of the mobility undertaken to prove their productivity, a form of mobility that at times seemed more burdensome than liberating. As this chapter reveals, women felt unentitled to stay at home and engage in leisure. On the other hand, neither Lykke nor Ellen mentioned staying at home and being productive, for instance through undertaking housework, as a plausible option due to its unempowered connotations. There thus appeared to be a status quo where establishing mobility as a site of work and productivity can be interpreted as a seemingly emancipated compromise, drawing on the narrative of mobility as

empowering for women while simultaneously hiding that in this case it actually serves as a vehicle for constraining gender ideals. To the women, it was not straightforward if this type of mobility was good or bad; it simply was something they felt bound to do, adhering to an internalised standard of productivity with gendered historical roots.

5.2 Creating a Mobile Space of a Slower Pace

While the leisure mobility framed by notions of productivity was the type of everyday mobile practices most frequently undertaken, women would also take strolls and occasionally engage in longer bike rides. These practices constituted mobility of a more explorative character, without a precise end-destination. Compared to mobility as a site of productivity, taking strolls were mobile practices that to the women seemed to resonate more with the notion of leisure as relaxation rather than work. When discussing their everyday mobility women mentioned walks of this easy nature almost like an afterthought. This could point to two things. First, the fact that taking a stroll occurred to a lesser extent than the mobility framed by notions of productivity; it was not a form of mobility that was very prioritised. Second, it also points to the explorative nature of strolls, which makes them more elusive to pin down. However, neither of this is to say walks were devoid of meaning, far from it (Hannam et al., 2006). Among the women, strolls commonly filled aesthetic and social functions, enabling the walker to gain new visual input and spending time with loved ones. This can be exemplified through Lykke's description of the longer weekend promenades she and her partner usually engaged in. Although they would have somewhat of a plan where to go part of the point with the strolls would also be to explore new areas and make decisions on the go rather than having a fixed plan beforehand. Their strolls became a way of both rediscovering the city and seeing new sights in it. Moreover, they were also a way for Lykke and her partner to spend time with each other, as Lykke's partner lived and worked in another city during the weekdays (go-along with Lykke, 09.02.17). Another example comes from Diana, a working artist who took great interest in exploring the impact of art in influencing people's perceptions of the urban space generally or a particular neighbourhood specifically. When asked about her motivation for walking through the city, Diana emphasised the aesthetic experience of this mobility practice, comparing it to the impressions encountered when being abroad:

> I mean it's nice to see different parts of the city, see different cities, different countries… I like new visual impressions. That's so awesome, like when one

> moves to a new city and gets entirely new views and one can just walk around for an infinite time and just look at things, it's so exciting (interview with Diana, 20.12.16).

It might come as no surprise that an artist like Diana valued the visual dimensions of the urban space. But her story also exemplifies how strolls were a way for the women to rediscover their city, positioning the walker as a tourist in her own urban environment. Indeed, mobility in the form of tourism and travel has long been connected to the notion of wanting to see new sights. Emerging in the second half of the 19th century, this type of mobility is an aesthetic activity that enables the traveller to collect cultural sites, thereby educating, discovering and challenging one's self (O'Dell, 2004, p. 112).

Lykke's and Diana's experiences show how the women turn into urban explorers when strolling. Observing their surroundings with new eyes, their shapes take on *flâneur*-like qualities. The concept of the flâneur, most famously associated with the works of poet and writer Charles Baudelaire (1964) and philosopher Walter Benjamin (1985, 1999), posits the walker as a connoisseur of the street. The figure is the archetype of the modern, urban experience, embodying the representation of mobility as explorative. Before elaborating, I want to acknowledge the feminist critique against the notion of the flâneur as a universal subject, highlighting that he is irretrievably white, middle-class and masculine in nature (Enevold, 2003, p. 28; Massey, 1994). The notion of the flâneuse, a female flâneur, is absurd amongst other reasons because "'respectable' women in modernity could simply not wander around the streets and parks alone" as "the women who did go there were for male consumption" (Massey, 1994, p. 234). It is not my intention here to impose the flâneur as an ill-fitting template upon the women's experiences. Rather, I want to use the concept to show how the act of moving is inevitably a process where people are created, identified and projected in relation to others (Cresswell, 2006; De Certeau, 1984; Högdahl, 2003, p. 142). The cityscape thus becomes a background against which the shapes of the women appear more clearly. While the perceptive attitude of the flâneur can be used as a point of departure when looking at how the women engage with the city through their strolling practices, witnessing the crowds and the cityscape, it might be more apt to talk about them as leisured walkers, city dwellers, artist, friends and partners.

For the women, strolling was a more relaxed form of mobility, undertaken in a slower tempo, providing contrast to the form of mobility motivated by notions of productivity. Indeed, as the urban pace being set at a high frequency, few spaces allow for slowing down (Amin & Thrift, 2002). Through the act of strolling, it can be argued that the women create

an unhurried mobile space for themselves in the city, a space connected to recreation and enjoyment. Moreover, again using the concept of the flâneur as a contrast, the women are not only distanced and detached from the city as they walk through it. Establishing strolling not only as a site of aesthetics but also of sociality, the women move through the urban space very much as inhabitants taking part in the city and its environment, proving that they are, in fact, active members of the city.

5.3 Reflections on Rapidity and Rhythm

This chapter has revealed how the different motivations women had for moving were linked to mobility filling productive, social and aesthetic functions, producing mobile practices primarily related to reaching specific destinations, executing errands or reconnecting with the city and family or friends. The different motivations created forms of mobility operating at different paces, where trips related to productive aims moved significantly faster than those undertaken to socialise and collect aesthetic impressions. Indeed, mobility is associated with different kinds of velocity and time variables (De Certeau, 1984, p. 117). Yet, the motivations did not exist in isolation but were affected by various factors that turned these mobilities into bursts of speed, staccatos or slow murmurs growing into a crescendo that were more likely to come to life at specific circumstances than others.

The most obvious circumstances affecting the motivation to initiate mobile practices were the seasons of the year as well as the course of the day. For instance, while mobility in general was seen as a more choresome activity in the cold and dark days of winter, explorative strolls linked to social and aesthetic motivations increased during the summer. Women all implied that during the warmer seasons, their mobile practices would be permeated by greater levels of spontaneity. Apart from relating to warmth this was also connected to the presence or absence of light during the course of the day, which deeply affected women's motivations to move. For instance, many women claimed to feel more unsafe moving in the urban space during night time, as darkness rendered places unsettling and unattractive (see also Listerborn, 1996; Valentine, 1989).

Another influencing factor was the stage in the life course, which could influence what motivation reigned supreme, as well as under what circumstances the mobility operated. For instance, Diana had a six-year-old daughter, which had mainly affected her choice of destinations through the city as she nowadays took into account numerous playgrounds, thereby extending her mobility pattern beyond her instinctive routes (interview with Diana, 20.12.16). Another mother, Mari, echoed how her routes through urban space had changed to

include various settings for play. As her daughter was only two years old, Mari mentioned how their joint mobility demanded more planned consideration as to how and when to move than did her own movements before becoming a mother (interview with Mari, 02.12.16). While this will be discussed further in the following chapter, it is here important to state that for Diana and Mari, the motivation to engage in mobile practices with their children emerged not primarily from ideals of productivity but rather from that of health and activity for their small ones. For most of the women, exercising was included in the notion of productive mobile practices; however, for Diana and Mari, their children's mental and physical health was the overarching meaning of mobility as they took them along to playgrounds and on strolls through the city.

While not being as apparent as the circumstances outlined above, information was a vital key in mobilising the women. This information could be everything from reading that an artist would perform at a local club during the evening to getting a flyer from a supermarket stating that there would be a discount on avocados that week. This was the case for Matilda. Originally from Stockholm, Matilda had gotten to know a lot of people from the south of Sweden when living abroad in Paris. These friends had inspired her to move to Malmö, where she now studied to become a teacher. Matilda mentioned how she kept in close contact with her friends and that she would often walk or bike through the city on their initiative as they would spontaneously message her that they were gathering somewhere to cook dinner or grab a beer (interview with Matilda, 07.02.17).

These various factors thus encouraged the women to initiate certain types of mobility at certain instances, creating different trajectories of mobility operating under different paces and rapidities. These tempos and beats produce a *rhythm of mobility*, drawing on philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre's (2004) notion of rhythm as consisting of repeated movements that appear and disappear at a certain flow. Rhythms like these are part of the production of everyday life, and in that sense, they are natural and spontaneous. However, Lefebvre also argues that since they are set at a certain pace, rhythms also imply a calculated and expected frequency that can be seen as systematising. This indicates that wherever and whenever there is a rhythm, there is an underlying social order (Cresswell, 2010; Lefebvre, 2004). In this sense, rhythms can be seen as evidence of power dynamics. For instance, while they might seem like naturally derived facts, feeling unsafe during the night time as well as equalling mobility for our children with physical and mental health are principles shaped by strong social and cultural norms and preconceptions about who is allowed to do what.

Moreover, the fact that flows of information include some and exclude others is also indicative of social systems.

This chapter has explored and analysed the motivations women have to engage in mobility practices, connecting them to notions of gendered productivity, sociality and aesthetics, producing mobility moving at different paces. It should be noted here that the women's motivations to engage in mobile practices might very well shift and change and should be seen as permeable rather than fixed categories. The point is that the women's motivations behind their mobility practices help shape these practices. The chapter has shown how "[m]obile people are never simply *people* - they are dancers and pedestrians, drivers and athletes, refugees and citizens, tourists and businesspeople, men and women" (Cresswell, 2006, p. 4). Amongst others, the women in this thesis are stressed adults, urban explorers, friends and mothers when engaging in mobile practices; the motivations behind their movements creating shifting experiences and appearances. Moreover, the women's mobility produced certain rhythms in the city, creating trajectories accompanied by and intermingled with the beats and routes of all the other residents and visitors of the city, creating both culture and space (Jensen, 2009; Massey, 1994). By situating their mobile practices in certain locations, the women thus simultaneously produced these spaces. The following chapter will analyse this interrelationship by exploring the routes the women choose to channel their mobility into and the cultural preconceptions that shape these.

6. Bounded Movements: Settings for Mobility

While the women stated that they could move anywhere they wanted to in Malmö, they narrowed down their mobility patterns to a rather limited part of the urban space. This chapter is dedicated to exploring what constituted the appeal of the setting the women chose to move in, what kind of frictions were connected to the areas they did not venture into and what possibilities there existed for extending their movements across the city. By analysing the conditions that shaped the women's routes across Malmö, it is possible to illuminate the ways in which their mobility took part in negotiating urban segregation processes.

6.1 Tailoring Paths, Tailoring Experiences

Cities are sites that allow for diversity in experience (Salesses, Schechtner, Hidalgo, 2013). Indeed, for the women, the appeal of cities was largely made up of the abundance of options to do and places to visit. For instance, Lykke mentioned how it was important with "a life, or

I mean shops and movement and people and things happening. And like places to go and restaurants and a cultural life" (go-along with Lykke, 09.02.17). Without exception, all women echoed this line of thinking, emphasising the importance of multiple alternatives to choose from when deciding what to do, and consequently, where to go. The freedom of choice was not appreciated first and foremost due to women seeking to do everything that was offered to them in the city. Rather, its value derived from the prospect it created for them to tailor their own experience, choosing a few activities and destinations that suited them from the large pond of possibilities presented.

The women's choices regarding their destinations and routes in the city became increasingly visible when drawing out their mobility patterns on a map of Malmö. As a result of this exercise, Figure 5 shows how the women moved in rather narrow circles whose only extension beyond what the women categorised as the inner city was the beach and a few individual spots, to be discussed more extensively later on in this chapter. The accumulation of their movements in the city depicts how these crystallise an axis through Malmö, going from Mobilia, a shopping mall located just south of the women's home neighbourhood Seved, to the inner city centre. For the women, moving along but not beyond these areas seemed natural and self-evident as they provided all the functions wanted from a city in their leisure time: shops located both in the city centre and in Mobilia, bars, clubs and restaurants in the area of Möllevången, green spaces in Folkets Park and the possibility of visiting friends living in the surrounding neighbourhoods. From the wide array of options and places the women thus delimited themselves spatially through their mobility patterns, bounding their movements to encompass only a fraction of the city. Ellen commented on this logic of shielding off parts of the city, comparing her movements through Malmö with her mobile practices in Berlin where she had previously lived:

> I mean, it's the variety one wants [in cities]. And that variety comes with the size. And then one has to try and screen off one's big city into a smaller city … I mean, Berlin is super, super big, and one doesn't move in the whole of Berlin. One has to make sort of one's smaller, a smaller city out of the big city (go-along with Ellen, 06.02.17).

Even though they only engaged with parts of the city through their leisure mobility, the women would generally express a very positive attitude towards the city as a whole (see also Atkinson, 2016). While the narrowness of their movements came as a slight surprise to some, others echoed Ellen in their acknowledgement of how their everyday mobility was condensed

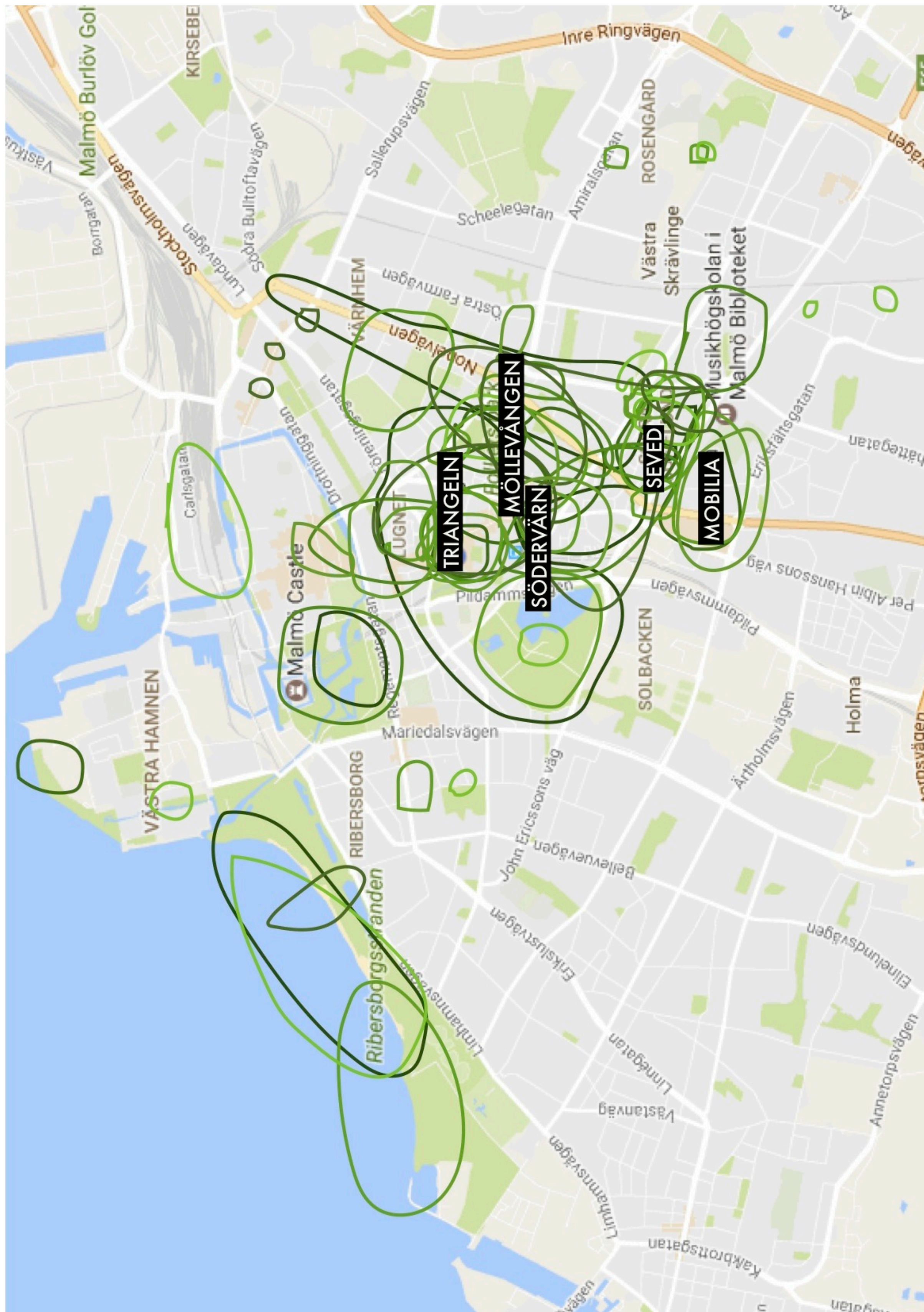

Figure 5. Map of the women's accumulated everyday leisure routes through Malmö (map: Google, n.d.-a, amendments: Elisabet Holmgren).

to overcoming only small distances that they rarely strayed from. When investigating the underlying power dynamic of mobility, it is important to explore when and how mobile practices stop, if it is a voluntary or forced process (Cresswell, 2010). The women were content with the scope of their movements, claiming that it was their own choice to not stray from the relatively narrow circle that outlined their everyday leisure mobility patterns in the city. They saw themselves as mobile subject that could move where they wanted to, echoing Kern's (2005) finding that middle-classness and whiteness reflect sites of privilege that facilitate feeling at home in the majority of the city.

According to ethnologist Markus Idvall (2000), physical maps work as a visual aesthetic that frames places and bodies, simultaneously capturing and mobilising their content. The physical map of the women's aggregated routes through Malmö can be seen as representing their mental maps of the city, managing their own impressions of the urban space by choosing the preferred setting for their movements. In bounding their mobility in this way, the women both freeze and activate their impressions of the city. The materialised mobility patterns on the city map thus represent the small, screened off version of Malmö experienced and actively chosen by the women. Before contextualising the women's decisions about where to move against a social and cultural background, I will briefly sketch the outlines of the areas in which the women undertook their mobility in closer detail.

Being their home neighbourhood, Seved was the natural starting point for the women's mobility in the city; discussing their urban movements, women pointed out two primary orientations to move in from there. While the first possible orientation was towards the city centre, the second one moved in the direction of the shopping centre Mobilia and towards the outer areas of the city. Both options are located equidistant from Seved, within five minutes reach by bike or 15 minutes by foot. The women acknowledged how the two directions both provided options for engaging in mobile practices initiated by productive, social and aesthetic motivations as it was possible to for instance execute errands and stroll in each way. However, it turned out that the two options were not equally preferred. In the south direction, Mobilia constituted the sole attraction; however, visiting this shopping mall was not connected to any feelings of enjoyment. This was apparent when talking to Amanda, who worked as a psychologist in a city 40 minutes away from Malmö by bus. The hours Amanda spent working in another city made her increasingly careful to reconnect with the parts of Malmö she truly liked in her leisure time rather than wasting them on what she perceived as bland environments. For Amanda, Mobilia was the first destination to spring to mind when discussing her movements through the city, albeit seemingly to her regret: "Well, boringly

enough, where I am the most often is Mobilia … I buy my food here and well, ah, if I need something else. Systemet [the Swedish Alcohol Retailing Monopoly], the pharmacy, stuff like that. Fast. Yeah, fast shopping" (interview with Amanda, 29.10.16). This attitude towards Mobilia exemplifies a common theme among the women; while malls were admittedly convenient, they were also seen inherently boring places due to their lack of uniqueness in assortment and architecture. Amanda's emphasis on quickness was also shared by other women, implying how Mobilia was not a space they felt enough delight and stimulation in to stay for longer periods of time. In contrast, the women would be more willing to linger in the city centre, describing it as a visually inspiring place where a lot of things happened and many people circulated. Amanda's preference for the inner city became clear as she elaborated on the joys of taking weekend walks in this direction:

> On weekends when I don't have that much planned, then I usually just like walk outside and walk downtown. Because I like walking, and well, I like observing the city … So then I just go down, and then I'll see where I'll end up. It's very enjoyable to walk in that direction [towards the inner city]. Well, it's actually a bit more like aesthetically pleasing than in other areas, it's a bit greener - but in reality it's maybe not greener actually! There might be some green parts in some places out here [south of Seved] as well. Well, it's just pleasant to go like on Kungsgatan [The King's Street, a street in central Malmö] with its tree colonnade, it's… it's aesthetically pleasing (interview with Amanda, 29.10.16).

To Amanda, her journeys downtown were illustrated by the image of Kungsgatan; a long avenue framed by lush trees and elaborate houses, located centrally and in close proximity of the canal that runs through Malmö. From there, she would sometimes walk along the water to a small coffee bar that served luxury coffee, staying for a while to indulge. Other times she would take the coffee with her whilst continuing her walk towards the city centre, maybe ending up strolling along the ocean (interview with Amanda, 29.10.16). The discrepancy between Amanda's stories of moving towards Mobilia versus walking downtown illuminates how the motivations for mobility, and the different paces connected to these, produced disparate feelings that affected how the women experienced the spaces. While moving towards the south of Seved was largely connected to hurriedly executing errands, producing arduous mobile practices and dull places, the city centre was instead associated with taking slow Sunday strolls, fulfilling social and aesthetic needs and creating spaces of stimulation.

However, I argue that the women's mobility patterns are also influenced by their categorisations of the different neighbourhoods in the city, highlighting their avoidance of

areas outside of the urban centre. As mentioned, the women categorised the areas north of Seved as the city centre. In contrast, the neighbourhoods west of Seved were described as tranquil and the eastern parts, Mobilia and the rest of the areas south of Seved as more suburban. The map of the women's routes unveils how it was as if there existed an invisible barrier blocking the women's movements into these other areas. The women claimed that the reason for not moving there were the uneventfulness assumedly characterising the above-mentioned neighbourhoods. While this might be true, conceptions like these reveal the parameters forming the basis of the women's notions about what was to be included in their urban experience and what they wanted to exclude from it. This can be further explored drawing on cultural geographer Moa Tunström (2009), who argues that within the discourse of contemporary Swedish city planning, all positive aspects of cities, such as liveliness and diversity, are located in the city centre. These areas are constructed as the urban ideal, encompassing all functions necessary in the city: shops, restaurants, cultural activities, cafées and so on, enabling and forming crucial parts of the movement and meetings that constitute city life. Suburbs, on the other hand, are within this discourse associated with monotony, crime and alienation.

As mentioned, the women described the eastern and southern parts of Malmö as suburban, associating them with the *Million Dwelling Programme* (MDP) areas located in these areas. Built in the 1960s and 1970s, the MDP areas corresponded to Sweden's housing shortage at the time (Rodenstedt, 2014). Within ten years, one million new dwellings were constructed, hence the name of the initiative. However, while the intentions were good, over the years the MDP areas have received a lot of negative attention, becoming stigmatised symbols of ethnic and socio-economic segregation (see Ristilammi, 2003; Lundström, 2010). As their routes through the city show, the women typically avoided these areas; moreover, they generally linked them to higher levels of poverty and crime than other parts of Malmö. However, importantly, the women's prime motivation for not visiting these areas were claims that nothing much ever happened there rather than them being afraid of visiting. This uneventfulness was the same explanation used when describing why they did not move into the western areas of the city, which happen to be richer and non-stigmatised. To the women, the assumed lack of activities to undertake was thus the deciding factor when refraining from visiting specific areas rather than the reputation attached to these neighbourhoods. In this way, the eastern, southern and western neighbourhoods of Malmö all represented the same thing to the women, proving that MDP areas' stigmas might be on the decrease for some groups. Nonetheless, the women's reasoning around different areas in Malmö show how the

the planning discourse's polarisation between the city centre and the neighbourhoods excluded from this concept was also visible in how they perceived different parts of the city, resulting in their preference for moving downtown.

On the other hand, as Elsa wondered, why would she not be drawn to the centre, as the mere name indicates being at the heart of the city? Halfway through her education in civil engineering, Elsa had to study long hours. In her leisure time, she appreciated occasional walks into the outskirt areas of Malmö as she enjoyed the calmer atmosphere there. However, as her studies only allowed relatively few breaks, Elsa acknowledged that undertaking activities in the city centre were often more efficient use of her time since multiple options were provided in a condensed space. Elsa was drawn to the buzz of the inner city, saying that it made her feel as if she was at the centre of everything happening (interview with Elsa, 07.12.16). Indeed, names of places matter; they become starts directing itineraries, creating points of reference and directions for inhabitants and visitors in the space (De Certeau, 1984). Names are thus important markers for how cities are to be navigated, and consequently experienced. As Elsa reminds us of, the name 'the centre' indicates a location that is dependent on the rest of the city relating to and surrounding it. It is a place from which all leading events begin, and as such, it implies a hierarchical structure of the city, dividing it into important and less important places (Tunström, 2009). Directions are thus not only synonymous with the routes the women chose to take, but also involve a form of guidance and management of the city, implying underlying ordering processes (see Ahmed, 2006). The next section further outlines how these ordering processes are associated with the women's social networks. Moreover, it explores how by adhering to these processes the women reinforce urban segregation through their mobility in the city centre.

6.2 Linking Spatial Segregation to Social Segregation

Elaborating on her weekend walks, Amanda explained that what she liked about going into the centre was that "Malmö is so sufficiently big that it's something of a, well, a mingle every Saturday when one walks downtown. I will meet someone I know… And that's fun" (interview with Amanda, 29.10.16). This statement exemplifies a common understanding among the women that their mobility towards the city centre was not something they carried out in isolation. Rather, it was an action undertaken alongside friends and acquaintances. The women's mobility patterns thus did not only have spatial implications but also social ones, as their routes were in part a result of the social encounters they enabled. Cities are made up of networks; being part of such a network facilitates the individual's access to place (Hannam et

al., 2006; Massey, 1994). Apart from being tied to liveliness and action, the city centre was for Amanda and other women also constructed as attractive due to it being a space where they were able to tap into their social networks, since these shared their affiliation for moving in this direction.

The majority of the women did not see moving in relatively bounded areas alongside socially similar people as a cause of concern. However, for some, this did pose a problem. For instance, Mari elaborated on how she would usually move "with like-minded people" (interview with Mari, 02.12.16). Mari worked as an artist, and as part of her profession she would often visit vernissages where there would only be other cultural workers present. She explained how she would spend the majority of her time in spaces where the other people happened to also be white and middle-class. To Mari, the heterogeneity present in the setting of her mobile practices made her feel as if the city was not socially integrated and cohesive, and she dreamt of a new space to visit where meetings with people in various ages and across different social backgrounds would be possible. In their statements, both Amanda and Mari highlighted how their spatial segregation was intertwined with social segregation, hinting at the fact that the non-overlapping pathways of specific groups prevent contact between these groups (Graham and Marvin, 2001). In moving and socialising alongside socially similar people, the women thus reinforced urban segregation processes through their mobility into the city centre, as they avoided meetings with people with different social characteristics. As this chapter shows, the women did not reinforce these processes with the active intention of doing so; rather, it was a consequence of their existing movements being perceived as the 'natural' choice for them. As Lykke phrased it, "it just feels right" to move in these areas, as the neighbourhoods, and hence social groups, which she did not visit were "totally off" (interview with Lykke, 28.11.16).

The social aspect of the women's mobility can be further analysed drawing on feminist scholar Sara Ahmed (2006), who argues that the orientation towards something carves out the shape of that which one is facing as well as the shape of those facing it. In other words, the shared repetition of the orientation towards a certain something forms a 'we.' Hence, people's movements towards something do not just produce a space but also their own social belonging (De Certeau, 1984). Through their repeated orientation towards the centre, the women thus become part of, or reinforce their participation in, a social group. The concept of *habitus*, most famously associated with sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977), allows us to uncover new dimensions of who this group might consist of. Being a set of cultural and class-related conceptions that orient the mind and the body in certain directions,

the habitus provides the individual with certain ways of seeing and being in the world (Bourdieu, 1977; Scheer, 2012). With this in mind, the naturalness with which the women moved towards the centre and neglected other parts of the city can be described as affected by the habitus inscribed upon them by way of their middle-class identities, making this particular route instinctive and logical. As De Certeau (1984) notes, places in the city "seem to be carried as emblems by the travellers they direct and simultaneously decorate" (p. 105). Moving towards the centre of the city can thus be seen as a way to (re)produce a class identity for the women; it becomes a self-expressive act as the women construct and maintain it as their environment. As a result, the women's class attributes travel alongside of them in their journey towards the centre.

However, feminist scholarship allows for yet another reading of the women's movements in the city. Much of contemporary urban practice reproduces a form of anti-urbanism where the city is made out as a dangerous environment for women; a place in which fear forces them to delimit themselves (Bondi & Rose, 2003). However, as Koskela (1997) points out, women do not only passively experience space but are also actively producing it, for instance by routinising and taming it through repeated use. In many ways, cities have acted as the backdrop to which women have empowered and liberated themselves, representing an escape from the restraints of normative expectations (Wilson, 1991). Continuously moving through the city centre can thus be understood as the women's way of boldly claiming and appropriating space, contesting the idea of the city as risky for women. Moreover, this might be increasingly possible due to the women's middle-class positions, allowing them to feel relatively safe and in place in the city (Kern, 2005).

Regardless of what determined the direction towards the central areas of the city, the process of orientation works in a reciprocal manner so that as individuals orientate themselves towards a certain space, this space concurrently orientates itself around the individuals (Ahmed, 2006). This space being the inner city and the individuals being middle-class women, it is obvious how the process of orientation here becomes intertwined with capitalist market logic; and so, as the women spend money there, the inner city will cater even more to their needs as potential consumers. When the women orientate themselves towards the centre, this space simultaneously orients itself around the women, increasing the assumed naturalness with which they adjust their routes in its direction. The women's choices of routes and settings for their mobility thus further underlines urban segregation processes through reinforcing normative notions of who should move where in the city. Indeed, the women produce a kind of self-initiated tunnelling effect, bypassing much of the city in favour

of focusing on some neighbourhoods. This finding shows how the self-segregation and parallel lives which minority groups are often ascribed is also practiced by members of the middle-class, as they move only in very central parts of the city that shields them from exposing social difference (see Rodenstedt, 2014).

6.3 Exploring Loopholes: Venturing Beyond

While the women's mobility patterns were relatively bounded, there also existed occasions upon which they would stray from their normal routes, expanding their trajectories to areas of the city they had not, or only rarely, previously visited. In an earlier chapter, we encountered Mari and Diana, whose small children required them to visit different playgrounds throughout of the city in order to create new experiences for both their children and themselves (interview with Diana, 20.12.16 and Mari, 02.12.16). Other women mentioned how they would move outside their normal areas to visit flea markets or gyms located on the outskirts of the city, or by playing a sport, such as for instance football, which required them to travel to pitches in relatively unknown neighbourhoods.

However, although mentioning how most of their acquaintances lived inside of the area that their everyday leisure mobility spanned, the most common occasion for venturing beyond this setting would be to visit friends living in external neighbourhoods. For instance, Lykke recounted visiting a friend in Slottsstaden, an area in the western parts of Malmö where she would not normally go. Explaining how this trip had occurred and felt, she said:

> So I biked, well, it was like a month ago, surely, but then I was on my way to a friend, in Slottsstaden. And I'm never there, absolutely never, so I can't find my way there, it feels like a whole new city. And then I biked around and had to look at the map and look at roads and bike back and forth and I mean, street names and, you know … In such situations, I usually bike and then I have Google Street, or you know that map sort of in the hand. But sometimes one has to stop and stuff, do things. So of course it's a bit more, jumping off the bike and so. It's a bit more of a pain in the ass than when one knows where one is going … At the same time, it's a bit of fun as well. You know, be like 'Wow! I've never really been here' and so. Because one, well, I mostly move quite narrow and routinised (laughter). So of course it's nice to think in new ways, it is (go-along with Lykke, 09.02.17).

In Lykke's story, venturing beyond one's everyday mobility pattern to visit new areas is both stressful and stimulating, creating an experience that is an amalgam of both the excitement of gaining new knowledge about the city and the frictions arising from not knowing the environment well enough to move seamlessly through it. Drawing on Högdahl (2003), I

choose to call these moments of going outside of the normalised routes *loopholes*. According to Högdahl (2003), loopholes can be seen as gaps or uncertainties in space; opportunities where new actions and perspectives are made possible. The concept of loopholes is connected to and further illuminates the constant battle between De Certeau's (1984) notion of strategy and tactics, constituting the chance encounters and opportunities that tactics rely on. By taking advantage of loopholes in physical space, people challenge planning strategies in a democratic way by opening up a place, negotiating different sorts of usages of it. In this sense, loopholes are an important part in the ever-changing dynamic of the street; they become catalysts for the constant shifts and dislocations in urban life. As planning strategies have located much of urban attractions to the city centre, one could argue that the women use loopholes to negotiate physical space by extending their routes through it. Considering this, Lykke's experiences provide evidence of both the satisfaction and hassle emerging from this action, feelings that were able to swiftly emerge and shift. It seems as if loopholes can give rise to both burdensome and enjoyable mobility, often balancing in between either of these categories. But the women's mobility patterns were not merely a product of physical planning. As this chapter has made clear, cultural and social notions about what routes were deemed natural for this group greatly impacted their routes. Thus, I here want to stress how loopholes also exist in social space. For the women in this thesis, these were mainly created by their friends who had chosen to live in areas outside of the women's everyday leisure mobility patterns.

However, as mentioned, the women were largely content with only exploring these loopholes occasionally, normally keeping to the same trajectories. Although most women would state that it was a shame that some neighbourhoods of the city were so segregated, they seemed to be oblivious towards the fact that they themselves were reproducing socio-spatial segregation. Clearly, it was not easy to see the broader implications of their own mobility. De Certeau (1984) describes this act of blindness beautifully. The city, he argues, is made by those who walk in it as they create the urban text; however, lacking an overarching perspective of their actions, they are unable to read this text and see the aftermath of their movements. Even Mari, who previously in this chapter regretted not meeting more people from socially different groups, saw benefits of her socio-spatial segregation. After stating the less appealing aspects of her bounded trajectories, she mentioned that, on the other hand, "since I don't move that much everywhere, there are also constantly new things to discover," indicating that having a narrow mobility pattern also provided her with permanent possibilities of exploring the city at her will (interview with Mari, 02.12.16). For Mari, it was

thus not only the actual mobility that was of importance but rather the potential for mobility that emerged from her restricted routes. Sociologists Vincent Kaufmann, Manfred Max Bergman and Dominique Joye (2004) have theorised this potential using the notion of *motility*. According to them, motility entails having access to different degrees of mobility, the competence to make use of this access and the ability to appropriate different forms of mobile practices. Mari and other women all claimed to have access to motility, thereby having the possibility to move where they wanted to in the city. What Mari's statement illustrates is thus that the more geographically restricted the women's mobility patterns were, the greater their motility would be; as if the city was a big basket of sweets that they knew were theirs to indulge in and therefore had no rush exploring.

By exploring their mobility patterns in Malmö, this chapter has shown how the women generally performed a selective engagement with the city. By orienting their movements towards the city centre, the women channelled their mobility "into acceptable conduits" (Cresswell, 2010, p. 24) based on the type and pace of mobility undertaken and cultural preconceptions of what should be included and excluded in the urban. While the women would occasionally explore loopholes to move beyond their everyday routes, they were rather content with bounding their movements to a limited area. The women's chosen setting for their mobile practices served to (re)produce their middle-class identities; moreover, the same process also further reinforced normative ideas about who should move in these areas and who should not venture beyond them. In doing so, the women underpinned processes of urban segregation; yet, they remained largely unaware of this fact. However, there was one part of the city in which the women more consciously navigated segregation processes, namely, their home neighbourhood of Seved. The following chapter is dedicated to examining how they connected themselves to the area and its residents through their practices of mobility.

7. Inclusion and Exclusion: Relational Mobility in Seved

Being the locus of their homes, Seved was a point to which the women would always return. However, while constituting both the prologue and epilogue to their mobility in the city, the neighbourhood would rarely be the primary scene for the women's movements. This chapter analyses the reasons forming this decision as well as how the issue of mobility and immobility became a tool for the women to negotiate their relationship to the area and its inhabitants. The chapter ends by describing how the women's mobile practices were affected

by the neighbourhood's segregated status. In so doing, this chapter provides an account of how everyday mobility both influences and is influenced by the social and ethnic division of the city.

7.1 At Home but Out of Place?

Before moving to Seved, neither of the women had known much about the neighbourhood. However, the low rents and relatively high availability of apartments had attracted them, in this case constituting a positive consequence of the neighbourhood's socio-spatial segregation from other parts of the city. As it became their place of dwelling, the women had all grown aware of the Seved's stigmatised position, not the least due to various acquaintances confronting them with their choice of residency. Many of the women had created a sort of standardised answer that they would repeat after mentioning where they lived. Lykke described it as a built-in defence speech, explaining that: "It comes almost automatically when people ask, like 'Yeah, I live in Seved, and I know that it has a really bad reputation but I really enjoy living there', because I sort of want to defend it" (interview with Lykke, 28.11.16).

While most of the women echoed Lykke's warm feelings towards the neighbourhood, stating that they enjoyed living there, they did not move or spend much time in the public space of the area. The argument for this was the same reason used for all the neighbourhoods that the women refrained from visiting: that it offered limited supply of attracting destinations. In contrast to how the media depicts the area, the women often described Seved as charming and village-like, characterised by a calmness unable to be found in the rest of the central parts of Malmö. However, this tranquillity was also described as veering on uneventful. Indeed, women often mentioned that they spent the majority of their time in the neighbourhood inside of their apartments. Ellen, who had moved directly to Seved when relocating to Malmö mentioned that: "I would probably not be very mobile here if I'd never lived here. Maybe I wouldn't hang out here if I'd moved to another part of Malmö right at the beginning" (interview with Ellen, 06.02.17), illuminating how many women would not visit the area if it would not be their home neighbourhood. This is not to say that the women did not have favourite spots in the area that they enjoyed visiting. On the contrary, women pointed out how much they liked Sevedsplan, the neighbourhood square, in the spring and summer, and that they enjoyed visiting the large food store and second hand shop on the outskirts of the area. However, rather than the local community, what many women valued

Figure 6. Map of Seved (map: Google, n.d.-b, amendments: Elisabet Holmgren).

the most with the area was its central location that enabled them to quickly reach what they perceived as the more attractive areas of the city, outlined in the previous chapter. The following quote by Amanda, who had lived in the neighbourhood for four years, is illustrative of the general attitude towards the area:

> In the end, we mostly just live here, even if it's a bit social sometimes. But I mean, we have all our friends in other neighbourhoods close by and well, Seved is located so close to, well, other neighbourhoods where a lot of things happen... So I don't really do that much in the area, actually... It sort of, it is so accessible to other things (interview with Amanda, 29.10.16).

Amanda's quote reveals how the women valued Seved due to it facilitating their mobility, providing the foundation for it. For the women, Seved thus constituted a so-called mooring, a

seemingly immobile space that gave their mobility “something to push off from” (Adey, 2006, p. 86; Fallov, Jørgensen & Knudsen, 2013).

The women’s understandings of Seved as a point of departure rather than the main setting for their mobility was further deepened as they felt excluded from the public space of the neighbourhood due to it being largely dominated by men. One of the women who emphasised this was Lykke, saying that in parts of Seved there was “a lot of… eh, hanging around. I mean there’s nothing wrong with hanging around, but it’s, I don’t know, precisely this with men in a group that just stand. That can get a big unsettling sort of” (interview with Lykke, 28.11.16). While the women would often see men hang out alone or with friends on Sevedsplan they would rarely see other female residents statically occupying space outdoors. Neither would they themselves go out to simply sit somewhere in the area. Instead of being immobile, the women would have goals and destinations that required them to move through the area. Before elaborating, it should be noted here that the feelings of exclusions were not constant over the year. As mentioned previously, Sevedsplan was also often mentioned as a favourite spot by the women; however, only during the warmer and lighter seasons. For instance, Mari stated that during these periods, the square would be filled with women and kids. This created a livelier and more including atmosphere in the neighbourhood that made her feel like it was a place for everyone rather than merely for men (interview with Mari, 02.12.16). The attractiveness of this location thus increased as women and children started frequenting it and declined during autumn and winter when Sevedsplan would be dominated by men. Thus, the will to engage in mobility practices in Seved was strongly related to feeling included. Conversely, not feeling accepted discouraged these practices as it made the women feel that the public space was not commonly shared. This logic of inclusion and exclusion can be further explored drawing on anthropologist Mary Douglas (1966), who argues that every society has its own social and symbolic order that organises matter into clear-cut categories. As a by-product of this ordering, some matter will be declared *out of place* (Douglas, 1966). Following this line of thought, the women feeling excluded from the public space can be rephrased as them feeling out of place. This out-of-placeness points to a system as that which is labelled out of place never exists in a vacuum: rather, it is a manifestation of norms about what is deemed acceptable and not acceptable within this ordering (Douglas, 1966). The women feeling excluded as men occupy the public space thus suggests the presence of underlying gender hierarchies. As mentioned, this caused women to not be as mobile in their neighbourhood as they might have been during other conditions. They were rendered out of place, and as such, geographically limited themselves.

Figure 7. Sevedsplan, the neighbourhood square. Photographed in May 2017.

Consequently, this restriction of women's mobility serves to further reinforce gender hierarchies (Massey, 1994), and so the social order is maintained.

The women's mobility was thus partly restricted due to gendered oppression; however, paradoxically, their mobility was simultaneously also what granted them access to the public space of the neighbourhood. As noted above, the women did not feel entitled to being immobile in the area. Instead, they hurriedly walked or biked through it, moving between places instead of staying in the same space. While the men could be immobile, the women only felt allowed to take part as mobile subjects; in this light, the women's mobility seemed to be that which legitimised their presence in Seved's public space. Coming back to De Certeau's (1984) notion of tactics used in previous chapters, the women's movements through the neighbourhood resembles these in that they are actions born out of the lack of a proper space. According to De Certeau (1984), "[t]his nowhere gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment" (p. 37). In the context of Seved, and possibly also elsewhere, the women's mobile practices become tactical moves

Figure 8. Community house on Sevedsgatan. The banner says "Tjejer kan" (translated into English as "Girls Can Do It"), which is the name of a project undertaken here by the association Hidde Iyo Dhaqan as of 2016. The aim of the project is to enable personal growth for Swedish Somali girls in Malmö and Seved. Photographed in May 2017.

granting them access to the public space, embodying the entrance criteria for their presence in it. What is interesting in this scenario is how the stereotypical gender roles have been turned on their heads; traditionally, whereas women have been connected to stasis, men have been linked to progress and action (see Massey, 1994, p. 257). In Seved, the women therefore occupied a mobile space normally coded male. However, before marvelling at this seemingly emancipated move, we have to consider that the motive force behind this mobility seems more compelled than voluntary (Cresswell, 2010). Indeed, as previously mentioned, it appears that the women's rushed movements through their neighbourhood are largely influenced by gender hierarchies rather than emerging solely out of an individual desire. Instead of creating their own conditions for their mobility, the women thus had to adjust to the prerequisites posed by others, turning their movements into reactions rather than autonomous decisions.

The feelings of exclusion from the public space point to a kind of gendered unsafety

Figure 9. Rasmusgatan in Seved, a street framed by low-rise apartment houses. Rasmusgatan is often mentioned in the media in relation to drug and gang-related violence. Photograped in May 2017.

operating on a systematic level (Koskela, 1997). However, a further reason for why the women restricted their mobility in Seved was due to feelings of unsafety that operated on the level of actual risks (see Högdahl, 2003; Valentine, 1989). While this is often assumed to be the main reason for women's limited mobility in the public space, especially so in Seved, it is worth emphasising here that this was only one of the reasons for the women's low levels of movements in the area. As mentioned above, women also refrained from moving due to the lack of attractive destinations to visit and feelings of exclusion outlined above. Nonetheless, at times, women did avoid the public space due to threats of being assaulted or happening to get into a fight. The women all mentioned how weapons circulated in the area, and pointed out a group of younger men as being in charge of these weapons. Moreover, two streets, Rasmusgatan and Köpmansgatan, were mentioned as especially dangerous due to regularly being visited by these men. By adapting their mobility through omitting these streets due to feelings of risk, the women constructed what Valentine (1989) calls the geography of women's fear, that is, a spatial manifestation of unsafety.

However, while restricting their mobility due to the presence of weapons, the women also acknowledged that they were not the primary targets for the gang-related violence acted out in the area. The risk thus primarily consisted of the weapons getting into the wrong hands or the women themselves being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Apart from adapting their mobility to navigate potential dangers, the women shared a common understanding that they themselves were relatively unaffected by the disorders in the area. As Ellen said:

> Honestly, I don't really notice it. It's awful that it is that way and I think it's an outrage that it is like that, I mean that people fare so badly. But I don't notice it, it's not me that should be pitied … [I think] it could be that I live in such a, in a world that is so protected in a way, that I am allowed to shut it out. And the reason for that is, I mean, probably my socio-economical background in some way, that I have sort of a safety net of both sort of economic capital and people that in some way have it pretty easy, that have jobs and well, a bit of status and power and I mean, all those kinds of things … I really believe that there's a difference between being white and non-white and moving on the street. Then again, I am a woman, for certain. But I'm not afraid to get shot, that's not my, I mean that kind of violence, that's not what I'm afraid of (interview with Ellen, 06.02.17).

Ellen and other women explicitly stated that as white, middle-class women, the likelihood of them being involved in street violence was limited (see Kern, 2005, p. 368). Being white in Seved thus gave the women a kind of security, countering previous findings that in relation to notions of 'bad areas', middle-classness and whiteness can contribute to feelings of potentially being targeted as they become markers of difference (cf. Kern, 2005). Instead, what becomes apparent in Ellen's statement is that these privileges rather acted as protecting armour, creating a blind spot that shielded her from experiencing violence. Moreover, what is made clear from Ellen's experiences is also how her female identity, while often being linked to fragility and vulnerability, was not something that made her more exposed to gang-related violence; rather the opposite. In a similar vein, Elsa commented how she as a woman was less likely to be mistaken for a gang-member, and thereby being at risk, than her boyfriend. While Elsa would avoid wearing a hood when walking around the neighbourhood, as it obscured her face and made her easier to confuse with someone else, she said that this was even more important for her boyfriend, "because I mean he is, well, he is a guy, so then there's a bigger chance that he would be mistaken for someone" (interview with Elsa, 07.12.16). Consequently, while the women's gender made them feel spatially limited in the public areas of the neighbourhood, alongside their ethnicity and class identity it was also emphasised by the women in certain situations, as it simultaneously also served to protect them from feeling

targeted by violence. As this chapter shows, the women's mobility was conditioned by interlocking systems of both privilege and oppression as their social difference enabled them to move between feelings of safety and unsafety in their neighbourhood. Rather than acting as static concepts to be experienced in a similar manner regardless of their social and cultural context, the women's class, gender and ethnicity were made fluid, shifting in importance. In this sense, not only the women were mobile, but also the social categories they embodied.

7.2 Having Nowhere to Go: Mobility as a Differentiating Factor

Even as they did not feel specifically targeted, the women expressed disbelief at the episodic violence in the neighbourhood. This incredulousness could point to the general ambiguity arising from occasionally feeling unsafe in the own neighbourhood, as this is an area often argued to be a safe zone in the city (Kern, 2005; Koskela, 1997; Merry, 1981). This attitude might be further intensified by the women's white and middle-class identities. Indeed, a study undertaken by Kern (2005) illustrated how these privileges enabled women to psychologically and spatially situate violence as an other phenomenon, explaining that assaults were something that happened to other people in places the women would never visit. Against this background, it is possible to interpret the women's disbelief towards the violence in the area as incredulousness not just towards any unruliness, but more specifically towards the fact that this unruliness occurred in close proximity to them. Even in the context of Malmö, a city where segregated neighbourhoods are to be found centrally, the women's identities might typically enable them to distance themselves from similar experiences. Nonetheless, as proved in the last section, even when encountering these incidents in their home neighbourhood the women were still able to dissociate or exclude themselves from the area to some degree, by way of both reasoning and their mobility.

As mentioned, women were aware of that they differed in privilege from the majority of the people living in the neighbourhood. While acknowledging that the area did indeed house a few different groups of people, such as middle-class academics and students, the women stated that it was still relatively homogeneous. Many of the women talked about "the typical Seved resident;" however, they had trouble articulating exactly what distinguished this group. For instance, Lykke said that:

> I think that one believes that there is maybe a certain type of people living here, that there is a lot of, well, that there is a lot of unemployment, that it is, well, lower… The majority of the people living here maybe don't have it that great (interview with Lykke, 28.11.16).

Lykke's quote depicts how the women were aware of the existence of a social hierarchy on which most Seved residents were placed lower than the women themselves. To Amanda, these differences were manifested the most clearly in the fact that she could change residential location, something she assumed most of her neighbours could not (interview with Amanda, 29.10.16). Although none of them had moved to the area for that reason, some women acknowledged how them residing in the neighbourhood could help counter its segregated status by rendering the area less homogeneous. When talking about decision to move to the area, Elsa mentioned that:

> It is good that young people move here, I mean that one mixes up a bit the people who live here. I mean, we look like Swedes or what should I say, we're like white, I mean we have a lot of privileges. Then it's important that one makes the neighbourhood visible or doesn't ignore it (interview with Elsa, 07.12.16).

In choosing the area as their home, the women not only countered the residential aspect of segregation but also the facet of it influenced by people's everyday physical mobility. By moving in and out of the area, the women's movements connected the area to the parts of the city they would visit. In the words of sociologists Mia Arp Fallov, Anja Jørgensen and Lisbeth Knudsen (2013): "Neighbourhoods as localities must be seen in relation to the networks of mobility which pass through them and link them to other localities, and as formed by the meaning and identity work involved in the acts of moving in, through and between localities" (p. 471). By engaging in mobility in and outside of the area, the women's trajectories opened it up and linked it to their destinations.

This ability to spatially distance themselves both in and outside of the area was important for the women. As mentioned, the women had rather low levels of mobility inside of Seved, however, they would often use the central location of the neighbourhood to visit other areas. Even though sometimes affected by feelings of unsafety, the women saw themselves as mobile subjects that could move anywhere they wanted and who greatly appreciated this, most often taking it for granted. In contrast, the women perceived their neighbours to be relatively immobile. For instance, Diana mentioned how many Seved residents had a great community, and because of this, they probably did not venture outside of the area: "It feels like if one lives in Seved and is part of this community, then it's very rare that one maybe moves outside. It is probably so that one really stays in Seved"

(interview with Diana, 20.12.16). Moreover, Amanda commented that the men hanging out in the area might do so due to a lack of other alternatives, saying: “I mean the ones that hang outside here are the a bit younger adolescents that have nowhere to go and so” (interview with Amanda, 29.10.16). There existed a common thought that many Seved residents simply had nothing that urged them to venture beyond the own neighbourhood. Of course, the women had no way of actually knowing if the Seved residents were in fact as immobile as they seemed; this is also beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate. Nonetheless, the women interpreted this immobility as the empirical and objective reality (Cresswell, 2006). Compared to this presumed reality, the women were able to experience themselves as considerably more mobile, privileged enough to have reasons to move into other areas of the city. This shows how mobility is always relational (Cresswell, 2010; Hannam et al., 2006); the women’s interpretation of themselves as mobile is here partly dependent on the assumed immobility of other Seved residents. What happens here is that mobility as well as motility became a factor of differentiation for the women, once again reinforcing their own identities as privileged mobile subjects with a capacity and wish to move that they assumed other Seved residents lacked. In fact, women would often ask if it would not be better to study women who had grown up in Seved, as these might benefit more from the research. This implies an idea of their own mobility as something of little importance that just was or happened; a movement rather than a mobility, obscuring its production and reproduction of power dynamics (Cresswell, 2006).

Moreover, as previous chapters have illuminated, the women’s movements into other areas also reinforced their view of themselves as urban natives included in the city. Indeed, the ways in which people move in public space affect how they view themselves as well as others (Ahmed, 2000). By making some places personal and avoiding others, the subject’s identity is constructed. The women’s attitudes here echoes Koskela’s (1997) finding that for women in cities, “part of urban action is to enjoy the spatial experience: the pleasure of gliding fluently and confidently across the city” (p. 308). In comparison, the perceived immobility of other Seved residents rendered them slightly excluded from the urban in the eyes of the women, living in the calm and village-like neighbourhood without properly enjoying and taking part in the possibilities of the city.

7.3 Creating a Near and a Far: Perception of Distances

As a consequence of often leaving Seved to visit other areas, the women would regularly discuss the neighbourhood in relation to other destinations in the city, and particularly the

distances between these. Especially the path from Seved to the area of Möllevången, a central area known for its bars, restaurants and multicultural vibe would be of focus in these discussions. The distance from Seved to Möllevången, often simply called Möllan, was described as a five minute bike ride or a ten minute walk. As Matilda said, “Seved is really super close to Möllan, I mean oh my god. It is almost Möllan, I think so (laughter)” (interview with Matilda, 07.02.17). However, upon closer examination, the women admitted that while Seved was geographically close to Möllevången their home neighbourhood often felt far away. Explaining how the distance between the two areas would feel on a Friday night when she had plans to meet friends and drink beers at Möllevången, Ellen said:

> Purely geographically speaking I don’t think it’s far away, but in the mood … It feels like one gets farther away than one really is. It can feel a bit burdensome on a Friday, then I can be sort of like ‘Now I have to go to Möllan’ but then it’s actually not far at all. And then when one finally arrives then it’s like, well, then it feels sort of like this, ‘Oh my god, it’s not late at all, to be sure, there are lots of people outside’ (interview with Ellen, 06.02.17).

Ellen explained that if she glanced out the windows of her apartment, she would see her neighbours’ lit-up windows displaying families with children spending their Fridays at home, eating together or watching television. The calm and family-oriented atmosphere she perceived in the area made her want to stay in, too, rather than travel the distance to Möllevången and her friends. This experience was echoed by many women, who claimed that Seved was rarely visited by non-residents of the area due to its uneventfulness and stigmatisation, making them feel as if the neighbourhood was slightly isolated or excluded from the rest of the city. In contrast, Möllevången was described as lively, bustling and exciting, with many visitors due to the presence of restaurants, bars and clubs. Simply put, Möllevången had a flow of people; it was characterised by a mobility and an inclusion in people’s mobility patterns that Seved lacked. In articulating the differences between Seved and Möllevången the women prove how “[i]t is in part the presence of the outside within which helps construct the specificity of the local place“ (Massey, 1994, p. 168-169). Through their mobility between the areas, the women constructed the two neighbourhoods partly in contrast to each other; in this way, the atmospheres of the areas became mutually constitutive, existing in juxtaposition.

What is more, Ellen’s statement also reveals that when the women engage in mobile

Figure 10. Heleneholmsstigen, the biking and walking path leading from Seved to Möllevången. The path connects the neighbourhood to the inner city. Photographed in October 2016.

practices, they also inevitable construct distances. As De Certeau (1984) states, when moving through the city, the individual creates "both a near and a far, a here and a there" (p. 99) in relation to her spatial position. Ellen's story highlights how the different atmospheres and statuses of Seved and Möllevången seem to stretch out and prolong the perceived distance between the two areas, indicating a strong difference between the empirical reality of mobility and the practiced mobility experienced by the individual (Cresswell, 2006). Distance, then, seems to be a fluid thing; expanding and contracting depending on what the individual feels and perceives. This reveals how cities are not just made up by the material environment, but also of the ideas and feelings individuals attach to places (Amin & Thrift, 2002; De Certeau, 1984; Högdahl, 2003; Ristilammi, 2003). Indeed, emotions are ubiquitous in any urban environment, playing an important role in how people understand and engage with cities (Thrift, 2004). Places can thus be seen as sensoriums, spaces where all senses converge to produce an experience, forming a cultural topography of the city (Ristilammi, 2003; Thrift, 2004). For Ellen and other women, the urban space was emotionally charged, in

this case producing feelings of excitement or calmness. These feelings were amalgams of encounters with people, houses, streets, weather, traffic, parks, ideas and much more; they emerged out of the feelings attached to the social interactions and physical infrastructure the women had come across in a space. As Ellen recounted her feelings, it seemed as if they lingered and clung to the physical surroundings, composing a topography that intensified the friction of distance in the city.

To further understand how the emotions related to the Seved residents, geographers Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift's (2002) notion of *passions* comes well into play. Drawing on rationalist philosopher Spinoza, they use this concept to discuss emotions, claiming that it is "a kind of physics or bodies in which the human body is not a self-contained whole but is built out of bodies with our own" (p. 84). Passions create a logic of association with other bodies, implying that behaviour operates across individuals, producing a distributed notion of agency. The city can thus be interpreted as space or a site that produces familiarity across bodies and links them together, intensifying the individual's awareness of her own feelings. Indeed, as Ellen's story exemplifies, seeing other people's bodies can easily evoke feelings; while emotions can be performed alone, they are often part of social settings and carried out together with other people (Scheer, 2012). It should be noted here that this does not necessarily mean that all bodies will be implicated in the *same* emotion, even if this might be the case. In Ellen's example above, her neighbours rather had the function of highlighting the difference between how she and they would spend their Friday night.

As Ellen and other women argued, it was not only the disparate activities undertaken by Seved residents that prolonged the distances towards other areas, but also the lack of visitors in the area. Lykke, too, agreed that Seved's inability to attract guests stretched out the streets towards other areas; moreover, as I accompanied her for an evening walk, she revealed how she felt that it made distances feel even longer from, for instance, Möllevången to Seved than the other way around. Trying to explain why this was so, she said that:

> Seved isn't really at a place that one is on the way to if one doesn't really live there, sort of. Because even if it's as far for me to go to my friends who live in Möllan as it is for them to go to me [in Seved], eh, then it's still easier for me to go to Möllan, because there are just more things to do there. Or it feels more like well, then one is travelling in, in towards the city. And towards Seved, when one travels there it feels more like one sort of travels out or away (go-along with Lykke, 09.02.17).

Lykke's experiences are telling of that Seved felt like a bubble slightly unconnected to the rest of the urban space, stretching out the streets but not in an equidistant manner. The perceptions of distances from Seved to other areas in Malmö were thus conditioned by subjective experiences of undertaking mobility in the city. In a sense, the perception of Seved being far from other places could be explained as a self-chosen social manifestation, marking the women's active disidentification with the rest of the city. Continuously creating and maintaining their perception of distances would thus serve to reinforce this dissociation. However, this interpretation is not very likely. As mentioned in a previous chapter, the women identified to a high degree with the inner city, constantly reinforcing this through their mobility patterns. Consequently, it seems more realistic to understand the perceived distances between Seved and other neighbourhoods as a true marker of Seved's segregated position. This proves that while the women in many respects were privileged vis-a-vis their Seved neighbours, they were not left unaffected by their home neighbourhood's stigmatised reputation. Previously, women's emotional perception of distances in the city have been primarily discussed in terms of how feelings of unsafety suddenly render streets elastic, making them seem longer (Koskela, 1997). However, it is not only fear that elongates urban environments, but also stigmatisation. While their emotionally conditioned perception of distances towards other areas did not alter the women's mobile practices, it altered how it felt to undertake this mobility. This proves how emotions produce and, literally, affect motions (Scheer, 2012; Thrift, 2004). Seved's segregated status thus provided a sort of speed bump on the road as the women went on their inevitable journey from their home neighbourhood into the inner city.

This chapter has zoomed in on how the women related to their home neighbourhood Seved through their mobility inside of the area as well as outside of it. To summarise, feeling bored by the lack of attractive destinations, excluded from the public space due to it being dominated by men and unsafe because of the circulation of weapons caused the women to spend a relatively limited amount of time undertaking mobile practices inside of the area. Here, the women's gender, ethnicity and class identities served both as sources of protection and exposure, proving how it was not only the women who were mobile but also their social markers. Furthermore, the women saw their mobility as a factor differentiating them from other Seved residents, who they assumed to be immobile. While preferring to move outside of the neighbourhood rather than within it, Seved's relative isolation stretched out the perceived distances towards the rest of the city, leaving no-one unaffected. As the women at times distanced themselves both spatially and psychologically from the area, this served to

reinforce divisions in the city. However, through thereby establishing trajectories running through Seved, these movements also countered processes of urban segregation.

8. Conclusions

This chapter presents a summary and discussion of this thesis' main findings. Moreover, it suggests applications of these insights and implications for future research.

8.1 Concluding Discussion

This thesis has focused on two aspects of segregation that have traditionally been rather overlooked within research; that is, the role of mobility and the white middle-class in maintaining or countering spatial and socio-economic divisions in cities. Moving away from merely taking residential segregation into account, the definition for segregation used in this study is thus phrased as when urban inhabitants of different social characteristics live and/or move spatially separated from each other. More precisely, this thesis has applied a cultural analytical perspective on young, white, middle-class women's leisure mobility in the segregated urban space of Malmö. This has been done through exploring the underlying motivations women have to initiate mobile practices, the setting in which they choose to undertake these and the underlying cultural conceptions that shape and are shaped by these decisions. Furthermore, by investigating how women's mobility in and outside of their own stigmatised neighbourhood formed their relations to the area and its residents, a micro-perspective of segregation has been developed.

The women in the study did not move with the intent of reinforcing segregation processes through their movements. Rather, the motivation behind their mobile practices had little to do with the divided space of the city. Perceiving themselves largely unentitled to leisure as relaxation, women channelled their restlessness into mobility. In short, they felt bound to move, framing their journeys through the city by notions of gendered productivity with historical, middle-class roots. At the instances where they did allow themselves pause, their mobility was instead motivated by the wish to fulfil social and aesthetic needs, reconnecting with both friends and the city through a slower form of mobility.

However, despite it not being a conscious choice, the women did in fact underpin segregation processes by largely moving downtown, bounding their movements to some areas whilst neglecting others. The women moved alongside socially similar groups of people, proving that spatial and social segregation are often intertwined. Segregation here

happened as a consequence of the women's wish to tailor their own experiences of the urban, influenced by cultural conceptions of what was to be included in this. In being oriented towards the city centre, the women in a reciprocal manner reinforced both their own middle-class identities and the normative idea of the centre as their space. Undoubtedly, this serves to increase the socio-economical contrasts vis-à-vis other neighbourhoods, illustrating the mutual interdependence of different city areas in relation to segregation processes. The women also maintained their home neighbourhood's stigmatised status to some extent by distancing themselves spatially and psychologically from it due to feelings of boredom, exclusion and unsafety. Nonetheless, the women still countered urban polarisation precisely through this spatial distancing, as they by way of their mobility in and out of the neighbourhood established trajectories that interlinked it with other parts of the city.

While the women reinforced segregation processes, these also affected them. The choice to move mostly within the city centre was undoubtedly influenced by the already existing segregation of that space. Hence, the polarisation of the city shaped where in the city the women saw it as natural to move, in a way obscuring the majority of the urban space to them. When putting the women's relations to their home neighbourhood under closer scrutiny, it also became clear that the area's segregated status prolonged the women's perceptions of distances between this and other parts of the city. While this did not affect their wish to move into other areas, it affected how it felt to do so. This thesis has thus shown how the ethnic and socio-economic divisions in Swedish cities also influence white middle-class people's lives.

Mobility inevitably is a process where people are shaped and projected. These shapes are not fixed but shifting depending on the social and cultural context. Indeed, when moving, not only the women but also the social markers they embody were mobile. Journeying through the city, the women's class, gender and ethnicity travelled with them, varying in importance and acting as sources of both privilege and oppression. For instance, the women's gender made them feel spatially limited in the public areas of their neighbourhood. However, alongside their ethnicity and class identity it simultaneously also served to protect them from feeling targeted by violence. Moreover, through their mobility, the women did not merely create and identify themselves but also the ones they saw in passing. In relation to the assumed immobility of other residents of their neighbourhood the women recognised themselves as considerably more mobile, using mobility as a factor for differentiation.

Without neglecting the impact of unsafety in limiting women's access to the urban space, this thesis has continuously proved that women are certainly not guided merely by

feelings of fear when navigating the city. The women in the study felt the whole range of emotions when engaging with public space through their mobility. They experienced stress when having to prove their productivity, enjoyment when spending time with friends, boredom when there was nothing to see or do, unsettlement when feeling out of place, curiosity when exploring new parts of the urban and familiarity when revisiting their usual destinations alongside well-known people. Some emotions emerged swiftly to disappear just as fast; others lingered and seemed to cling to the physical milieu, turning spaces into happy places or intimidating ones. This thesis has thus joined a strand of research arguing for and illustrating the need to paint a broader picture of women's mobility in urban space, where women's feelings of unsafety are acknowledged without limiting their identities to only being victims (see, e.g., Koskela, 1997; Listerborn, 2016; Wilson, 1991).

8.2 Applicability of Findings

The point of departure for this thesis is in the call for movement articulated within contemporary Swedish city planning, where citizens' physical mobility in and between different neighbourhoods of the city is assumed to decrease urban socio-spatial segregation. In so doing, the study has used cultural analysis as a qualitative tool to help plan for and build socially cohesive cities. By providing in-depth knowledge, ethnography here serves to explain not only how the women in the study moved, but also why, and with what consequences. Findings like these are of value for urban planners in general and for the city of Malmö in particular.

The mere existence of physical infrastructure linking neighbourhoods together does not automatically ensure that people will take advantage of it. Hence, it is important for city planners to understand the social and cultural motivations initiating people's mobility in the urban space. Underpinning the women's urge of adhering to a gendered ideal of productivity is not recommended. Rather, this finding in fact demonstrates the need to early on implement a gender perspective in for instance kindergartens and schools to empower girls and women's sense of entitlement to leisure. Nonetheless, whether the experience of seeing new parts of the city was interpreted as exciting, frustrating, or both, exploring loopholes was often memorable moments for the women in the study. This suggests a positive attitude towards expanding people's mobility patterns, which city planners can take advantage of.

For the women, having a clear goal facilitated movement. The existing agenda from national as well as municipal institutions centers around developing new destinations in the city in order to increase mobility in and between different neighbourhoods (Boverket, 2010;

Malmö Stad, 2014). Yet the findings of this study show how women are largely unaware of the already existing attractions in all areas outside of the city centre. This assumed uneventfulness of large parts of the city limited the women's mobility. With this in mind, instead of creating new attractions in disadvantaged areas, for instance through building spectacular architecture with the aim of profiling the city, efforts should focus on developing, emphasising and communicating the already existing locations of the different neighbourhoods that put forward their history or specific characteristics.

This means that football pitches, gyms, libraries, playgrounds and parks already located across the city could all serve as starting points for initiating mobility. The inclusivity of destinations like these could be improved by increasing the possibility of *mixed usability* (Wright Wendel, Zarger & Mihelcic, 2012). For instance, whereas a football field does not attract everyone, a mixed-use green space where a pitch, benches and a playground share the same space might invite broader groups of people. This would also be a way to create locations where people from different social categories might come together, as envisioned by Mari in the study. However, it is crucial to remember that in order to create strategically sustainable urban development, projects like these should be co-created or at least shaped by the concerns of the citizens rather than by private interests looking to increase profits.

Extending mobility patterns have the possibility of creating more equal access to the urban space of cities, which is a crucial task. As noted above, this might also result in creating spaces attracting a social mix. However, here a few words of caution are necessary. For while a social mix is proved to benefit residents of disadvantaged areas as it increases the standard of living, it is not the most direct solution to the problem of segregation (Boverket, 2008). Even as people with different social characteristics might move in the same space, this does not automatically equal meaningful contact between them (Boterman & Musterd, 2016; Valentine, 2008). Rather, the quickest route towards creating socially integrated cities is to focus on creating equal opportunities to work, education and welfare among all urban residents (Boverket, 2008). Efforts like these are especially important to undertake when thinking of developing new destinations in socio-economically vulnerable areas, where creating a social mix might otherwise have a further segregating effect (Boverket, 2008, 2014). This means that in order to create socially cohesive cities, mobility incentives have to be combined with other interventions.

8.3 Implications for Future Research

People's encounters with social difference, or indifference, are not limited to their home neighbourhoods but can occur anyplace in the city. Applying a dynamic approach towards segregation, taking into consideration not only residential location but also citizens' mobility across the city, is thus an important yet still under-researched perspective that would benefit from more studies. In the study, pairing this approach with an interest in the role of the white middle-class has nuanced and enabled another perspective on how urban polarisations are maintained or countered. Mobility is not equally accessible to all; as this thesis has shown, the movements of different groups are shaped by interlocking systems of oppression and privilege where the social markers that people embody are not constant but shifting. There is a need for more qualitative research on how mobility shapes segregation processes to provide detailed and contextualised analysis that takes into account people's lived everyday experiences. Here, the reasons behind moving into gentrified as well as socio-economically vulnerable areas are of crucial importance.

The concept of loopholes has proved useful when investigating the instances that make new routes and meetings possible in the city. Many women in the thesis acknowledged how their work or studies urged them to extend their mobility patterns into new areas. An agenda for future research would be to further develop the different circumstances under which loopholes are explored and how the journeys these initiate are undertaken.

This thesis has in part zoomed in on a socio-economically exposed neighbourhood; perhaps situating the research in another area would have enabled alternative insights. Moreover, it would be interesting to complement this study with the perspective of other social groups in Seved to see how these use mobility to navigate their everyday life.

To end on a methodological note, using maps as points of reference and stimulus for participants proved an interesting way of gaining overarching insights into how and why people move. This can be further developed in relation to research on mobility and urban environments.

End notes

1. Parts of this thesis take their point of departure in an unpublished paper written by the author (see Holmgren, 2017).

9. References

Unpublished references in the ownership of the author

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Amanda, 29.10.16

Lykke, 28.11.16

Mari, 02.12.16

Elsa, 07.12.16

Diana, 20.12.16

Ellen, 06.02.17

Matilda, 07.02.17

Go-alongs, Malmö

Go-along with Ellen, 06.02.17

Go-along with Matilda, 07.02.17

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