The Street of Associations

Migration and Infrastructural (Re)Production of Norra Grängesbergsgatan, Malmö

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2022

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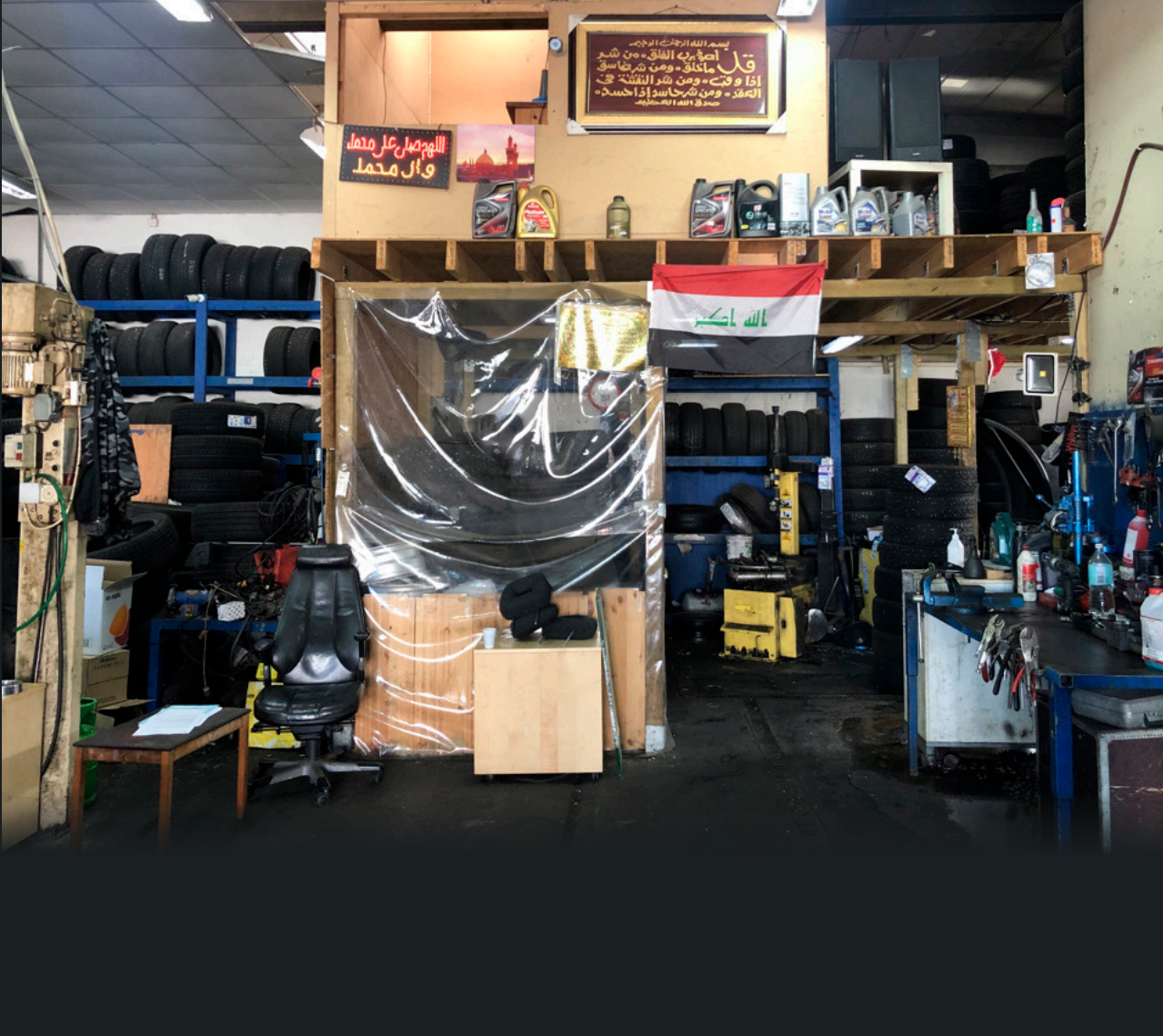
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This is an intervention. A message from that space in the margin that is a site of creativity and power, that inclusive space where we recover ourselves, where we move in solidarity to erase the category colonised/coloniser. Marginality as site of resistance. Enter that space. Let us meet there. Enter that space. We greet you as liberators.

bell hooks

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INTRODUCTION

If you take a cab in Malmö and you ask the cab driver to take you to Shari'e al-Jam'iyat (شارع الجمعيات: Street of Associations), they will drive you here. Some of us did not even know the official name of the street Norra Grängesbergsgatan because we never used it. The majority of the people working here are from the Middle East. I speak in Arabic almost all the time. Even if I don't know the person I meet, first I start the conversation in Arabic. This street is excessively good and unique. Have you been to the areas where the Middle Easterners live in Stockholm? They don't

have anything like Norra Grängesbergsgatan. Also, the greatest thing about the street is respect to all the religions. Atheist, Muslim, Buddha… We all respect each other's beliefs. On the other hand, I am concerned about the future of the street. It is going to be beautiful, but people will not get jobs easily like today. I try to explain this upcoming gentrification to others, but they don't listen to me. They don't want to fight with the government because they have done it in their home countries. They are tired of conflicts, they want peace. I think one of the reasons the authorities are on top of the people working here is the officials' claim that we do not pay taxes. Yeah! Maybe everyone doesn't fully pay taxes. There are almost thirteen car services in Norra Grängesbergsgatan and minimum three to five people are working in each. This is the way that they can earn a livelihood and take bread to their children every day. The authorities need to have eyes on big and rich companies, not us! (interview with Tareq, 2018)

The street Tareq refers to and describes is Norra Grängesbergsgatan, known in local vernacular as NGBG (pronounced eŋgebēgē). Geographically central, yet peripheral due to its industrial background, the street has primarily functioned as a manufacturing site. Today, NGBG is characterised by low density and poor maintenance after the de-industrialisation of the area in the 1980s. It is located in the industrial area of Sofielund, in the eastern parts of Malmö. The area consists of residential neighbourhoods with working-class housing and facilities, as well as small to medium size industrial buildings and infrastructures.

While NGBG used to be comparatively disconnected from the inner city, it is located no more than ten minutes on foot from the central hub of Möllevångstorget. With the accelerated growth of the city, the formerly industrial site of NGBG (within the Sofielund neighbourhood) is now closer to the denser central areas of Malmö. Even so, the marginality and architectural distinctness of the area remains, upheld by the boundaries in focus for this study. While the western part of Malmö, historically dominated by the now dismantled shipyards, has been thoroughly transformed by the establishment of new residential areas and a middle-class population, the southeast and east part of the city still struggles with

stigmatisation, post-welfare urban renewal, densification projects, and advancing marginalisation.

In the past twenty years, the Sofielund area has gone through a drastic transformation. The larger industries have gradually relocated, and the demography of the area has changed. Today, the southern parts of Sofielund are mostly home to non-European migrants and low-income families. In the process, the neighbourhood has gained a bad reputation. It has been stigmatised as a hub for crime, informal economy and settlement, and socio-economic problems, designated as a 'particularly exposed area' (*särkilt utsatt område*) in public administrative and policing discourse. Ironically, and parallel with such characteristics and associations, the area has also produced an 'atmosphere' deemed 'exotic' and 'alternative', putting the street in the limelight of left-leaning activism and (increasingly 'hipster') cultural production and entertainment.

During the same period, NGBG thoroughly transformed from an industrial area to being appropriated by retail stores and warehouses, small repair shops, and cultural and/or faith-based associations. Yet its morphology differs from most retail streets in the inner city, with its emergent type of retail stores housed in altered industrial buildings and workshops. As I argue in this thesis, it manifests a different type of street-making that works from within, situated and adjusted to the existing morphology of the built environment, its industrial genealogy, and the predominance of migrant retail spaces. The emergent spatialities, in the form of linear assemblage of garages, shops, and small-scale strip malls along the street, demonstrate the existence of an urban dwelling *otherwise* in NGBG. Along its about one-kilometre-long stretch, NGBG is lined with independent small retailers such as hairdressers, a large supermarket, furniture and home decoration stores, and several car repair shops and carwashes. Present along the street are also mosques of various nationalities and ethnic-cultural associations, as well as one church association of Nigerian origin.

What, then, makes NGBG distinct in relation to other inner-city neighbourhoods of Malmö? Why does the process of diversification in NGBG follow different rhythms, scales, and rituals? As shall be clear from the following, the physical and spatial characteristics of the street, defined by large-scale and poorly maintained workshops and storage

buildings, have created a general atmosphere of disorderliness. This has resulted in low rents, affordable for newly established groups. It has created an opportunity for artists, migrants, refugees, and newcomers of limited socio-economic capacity to appropriate places for creativity, retail businesses, religious worship, and shelter. This, in turn, has been conducive to the recently emerging perception of the street as a hub for cultural creativity and entertainment, despite (or as a direct consequence of) its marginality.

A central concern of this study is to explore how the multi-fold and multi-scalar socio-economical and spatio-temporal features of the area also have converted NGBG into a contested place, in which several actors have stakes. Even though the street has fostered various creative and transgressive practices and diversity, opportunities are distributed unevenly. Divergent backgrounds and variations in status make groups and individuals subject to varying mechanisms of power, discrimination, and injustice, from within as well as without. Migrants with limited access to resources and formal job markets might end up working in low wage and semi-legal jobs, with no safety provisions, insurance, or social benefits, often recruited through close-knit community networks or ties, and not uncommonly associated with half-criminal networks.

Not least in reference to such precarities, city planners and market-oriented developers and property owners have recently implemented visions for the area's development and improvement. As a defunct post-industrial area, for decades NGBG remained disconnected from other parts of the city, separated by psychological, spatial, as well as symbolic borders. This justified the establishment of a Business Improvement District (BID)[1] model and attracted development interests in upgrading and commodifying the 'cultural diversity' of the street. In line with the concerns voiced by Tareq, such processes may result in further marginalisation of the vulnerable inhabitants of the area, "rendering them invisible or driving them out of a covered space" (Wacquant, 2007: 69).

Ironically, development and improvement ventures tend to highlight

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1   As I discuss in the following chapters, the North American BID-model has locally been reinterpreted to denote 'Housing, Integration, and Dialogue' (*Boende, Integration och Dialog*).

the 'cultural diversity' of the street as one of its primary assets, resulting in the branding and exoticisation of NGBG as 'Malmö's coolest street'. Local breweries and (the until recently semi-legal) nightclub Plan B are instrumentalised in reversing the negative reputation of the street into 'hipness'. Such strategies are implemented under the devices of 'celebrating diversity' and 'flourishing the cultural profile' of the street – manifested in the well-attended annual festival 'NGBG Street Party'.[2] In this sense, the street develops according to global trajectories of social change brought by urbanisation, diversification, and class formation.

Such contradictory tendencies form the context in relation to which the everyday urbanism of the street and its users are explored in this thesis. In the context of increasing spatial segregation and social, economic, and cultural inequality, this thesis demonstrates how defunct urban border spaces such as NGBG have turned out to be particularly important for diasporic communities. Such border spaces lend themselves to communities defined by limited means of establishment in retail and cultural life – as an effect of economic factors, limited familiarity with Swedish bureaucratic processes, as well as experiences of xenophobia, racism, and Islamophobia. On the other hand, and somewhat paradoxically, the same excluding socio-economic tendencies also stimulate entrepreneurial creativity, resilience, and social networking in response to marginality and precariousness – resulting in a vivid transformation of the city. The transformation processes initiated by marginal city dwellers require more attention and scrutiny from planners, designers, policymakers, educators, as well as academic researchers – a necessity forming the point of departure and main argument of this thesis.

Entering a City of Diversity

One Sunday afternoon in August 2010, I arrived at my rental room in Södervärn, located in Södra Innerstaden, the southern part of inner-city Malmö. Among the first things I learned from my Iranian landlady was the existence of the daily market at Möllevångstorget, the square across

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2   The NGBG festival (Gatufest), launched in 2016, will be extensively discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

the street. Here one could find "whatever is needed". I remember the excitement of experiencing the market early morning the next day. The familiar feeling of a crowded market among fruit and vegetable vendors; the sound of bargaining in multiple languages and the shouts of vendors advertising their better goods and cheaper prices – it all spoke directly to my heart, as a newcomer to Sweden.

Möllevången and the surroundings of Södra Innerstaden have remained a favourite hangout, integral to my everyday encounters, both as a Malmö resident and a researcher. It feels like 'home'. In an abstract, yet emotionally powerful and almost corporal way, it resonates with my past, my memories of Tabriz and its famous bazaar. The sounds, the smells, the mountains of pomegranate and fenugreek – even the bargaining culture – resonate with my past and excite me. This is where I buy my vegetables, spices, and herbs when I want to cook Iranian dishes. Here I buy my *barbari* (sesame bread) from Nansi, the bakery whose owner happens to also come from Tabriz. Once there, we usually chat about our common hometown, and he often gives me a treat, a piece of the so familiar, freshly baked pastries. Equally important is the neighbourhood as a social node. This is where I meet friends or colleagues, or where I sit and work in the corner café facing the square. Or just simply enjoy watching the lively rhythm of the market during the daytime. This is a hub for artists, activists, and intellectuals, who frequent the bars and cafes around the square. And this is the traditional starting point for left-leaning political manifestations and demonstrations as well as a hub for activism (Hansen, 2019).

Since the 1960s, Sweden has been thoroughly transformed through the globalisation and transnationalisation of life, as an effect of the continuous influx of migration and transfer of capital, labour, goods, and information. As the third-largest city in Sweden, with its history of both emigration and immigration, Malmö has become the home for nationalities, ethnic groups, and religions from the entire world. It is the fastest-growing larger city in Sweden, currently populated by about 350,000 inhabitants with origins in 183 different countries, and an annual growth rate of about 4,000 (Malmö Municipality Webpage, 'Befolkning': 2022-05-21). About 30% of Malmö's inhabitants were born abroad, each carrying their own migration trajectories, life stories, moments of arrival,

migration status, ethnic group affiliations, languages, and religions.

The direct immigration from foreign countries has been remarkable during the last two decades, accounting for about one-third of the approximately 20,000 people who move to Malmö each year. According to the latest population forecast, the city's population will increase over the next 25 years to reach 376,000 in 2025 and about 470,000 by 2040. The city functions as the first port of call and transit area for some, a student city for others, and for many a place of settlement and establishment for future generations in Malmö's residential areas, often where close relatives and friends already live. The majority of migrants come from Iraq, former Yugoslavia, Denmark, and Poland (Salonen 2015: 90). In the past few years, foreign immigration to the city has been increasingly dominated by Arabic speakers from the Middle East and Asia, especially from war-torn Syria (Salonen, 2015: 91). Reception of migrants peaked in 2015 and 2016, with an increasing number of unaccompanied children and youth. Following the harshening national migration reception policies of Sweden, however, the numbers have decreased sharply from 2,595 in 2016 to around 600 individuals annually since 2020. Notably, for instance, a mere 27% of all applications for settlement were approved in 2019, as reported in the most recent annual migration report and prognosis of the municipality (Malmö Stad, 2020).

The diversity of Malmö has left a deep and lasting mark on the city's everyday life and visual profile, manifested in the steady increase and popularity of restaurants and retail amenities; in the sign-scape of national colours and flags, religious insignia, and multilingual store signs; as well as in the diverse spoken languages and dressing styles in the city. After a corner store stocked with Syrian coffee, nuts, and water pipes you pass an Iraqi gold shop and a Kurdish money exchange, which also provides postal services to the Middle East. You pass hairdressers advertising their fashions in blurry photographs. And most notably, you are surrounded by restaurants, ranging from stylish establishments with enormous crystal chandeliers, ornamental furniture, and live music, to cheap restaurants, kiosks, or 'holes-in-the-wall' with no or limited seating, but TV screens displaying Middle Eastern music videos or football games. Diversity is, however, not uniform or evenly distributed in Malmö. Significant parts of the inner city remain reserved for middle-class citizens,

with significantly fewer diversified residential areas and entrepreneurial activities. On the other hand, less central locales in Malmö, of comparatively lower property value than Möllevången, are subject to similar diversity processes of different scales.

In this context of increasing urban segregation and social, economic, and cultural inequality, peripheral urban areas become hubs for different modes of entrepreneurial life and cultural establishment and – as such – of particular importance for migrant communities. Such resilience is not limited to entrepreneurial activities but also thrives in the form of cultural activities in celebration of ethnic, national, or religious values. Several religious centres and locales, such as 'ethnically' designated churches, mosques, and *musalla*,[3] are spatially located in the comparably deprived areas of Malmö. Importantly, the activities of such establishments are not confined to interior practices or bound to a certain location, but find shape in and through everyday encounters in public spaces across and beyond the city. As such, they contribute to the cultural connectivity of the city, temporarily transgressing segregation and processes of marginalisation. During cultural festivals, cultural associations established on the city margin parade through the streets and take place with music, costuming, dancing, and drumming. During central religious fixtures, religious practices and rituals appropriate the thoroughly secular publics of Malmö, such as the communal prayers during Eid al-Fitr in the green areas of Rosengård, or the colourful, sonorous, and dramatic Ashura mourning processions through the inner city of Malmö.

Neoliberal Urban Politics in Response to the Diversification of Swedish Cities

While the demography of Malmö is altering, specifically in certain districts, neoliberal urban regeneration policies have emerged in recent decades in development strategies within urban planning, urban design, and housing. These strategies will likely lead to more segregation and

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3   A musalla is a place of Islamic worship, usually smaller than a mosque, derived from the Arabic *salla*, "to perform the Muslim worship, *salat*", hence the place where the *salat* is performed on certain occasions (Wensinck and Hillenbrand, 2012).

discrimination, particularly for disadvantaged subjects, with detrimental effects of social and economic deprivation for certain migrant groups. In recent years, Malmö has transformed from being an industrial city to becoming one of the post-industrial, service economy-oriented "frontrunners in the neoliberalisation of urban Sweden through a set of novel interventions in the urban fabric" (Baeten, 2012: 22).[4] As Hedin et al. suggest, "the circumscription of neoliberalisation in Sweden has been effectively circumvented in the field of housing, with tangible consequences for many at both ends of an increasingly polarized society" (Hedin et al., 2012: 460).

One aspect of such developments concerns current urban and housing policies in areas dominated by migrant populations. Exploring the experiences of precarious housing in Malmö, Carina Listerborn (2021) demonstrates the gendering and racialising effects of the housing market of Malmö, resulting from the shift from a general welfare approach to housing to an individualised and neoliberal approach. As a result of neoliberal urban policies, middle-sized Swedish cities such as Malmö and Uppsala are increasingly subject to *urban renewal* policies. They are mainly focused on large-scale urban housing in deprived residential areas, so-called stigmatised neighbourhoods. Hence urban renewal programmes specifically target neighbourhoods designated as *problem areas*, many of which germinated as part of the modernist Swedish Million Programme (1965–1974), increasingly dominated by migrant groups and low-income residents. Parallel to this, *densification* policies have come to the fore, devised to solve the housing shortage problem in the country. Densification is an effort to avoid the dispersal of the urban areas in order to create 'compact cities'. Such efforts have, however, added further complexity to the challenges of urban renewal. For instance, housing renewal and the densification of the vacant areas between buildings in modernist zone planning of Uppsala have resulted in the evacuation and displacement of the tenants (Baeten et al., 2017; Polanska & Richard, 2021; Pull & Richard, 2021).

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4   For studies of the shift from a general welfare approach of housing to an individualised and neoliberal housing market in Sweden and Malmö see: Hedin et al., 2012; Baeten, 2012; Baeten & Listerborn, 2015; Baeten et al., 2017; Gustafsson, 2021.

The effect of such densification plans for modernist residential areas with generous green space provisions is the dispossession of residents' rights to green space, according to Zalar and Pries (2022). Studying the green spaces of Rosengård, one of Malmö's stigmatised and racialised residential areas, they illustrate how the compact city planning vision first 'unmaps' these green areas, and then proceeds to illustrate them as problematic and thus in need of intervention. Zalar and Pries hence propose that the compact city planning epistemology as a default "sustainability fix" needs to be questioned. Along the same lines of reasoning, Jennifer Mack (2021) illustrates the importance of modernist 'rational' landscapes in the everyday life of the residents. As Mack argues, the green areas which were originally part and parcel of the modernistic city planning tend today to be represented as disposable, as places without value or history, and thus the legitimate target of demolition. Based on her ethnographic study, Mack demonstrates how these green areas are far from disposable, contrary to their representation in public planning discourse. They are places of affection, desire, and nostalgia, an inherent part of the modernist visions for life quality and outdoor spaces (Mack, 2021).

We may frame the current renewal strategies of Malmö's marginal neighbourhoods (such as Rosengård or parts of Sofielund) as being in line with similar urban renewal policies in Malmö. The visions currently formulated for NGBG, I argue, need to be understood in relation to the newly constructed Rosengård's metro station (2018) and the ongoing densification project named Amiralstaden. While the former is geared at strengthening connectivity and attracting visitors and tourists from the region to NGBG, the latter aims at transforming the class profile of the area into a more economically stabilised and compact residential neighbourhood. We also see how the residential and commercial Rosengård Centrum is being redeveloped under a public-private partnership model, aspiring to fulfil the needs of the multicultural residents of the future.

Economic restructuring, privatisation, and the renewal of areas labelled as unsafe are affected by broader processes of ordering, cleaning, and beautification, while retaining a 'multicultural' profile of the area, aspiring to enhance attraction for visitors, tourists, and eventually (new) residents. This underscores how urban development and planning is predicated on "a certain mix of human capital, higher education, cultur-

al and recreational facilities" (Glick Schiller & Cağlar, 2009: 187). The pervasive discourse of urban inner-city regeneration tends to focus on vibrant, lively, safe areas with the emphasis on social sustainability as the key to the integration of the society (De Haan, 2005). With a focus on economic growth, the neoliberal concept of urban planning attempts to 'build away' social deprivation (*trickling down* or *economic restructuring)*. Research indicates that such policies tend to result in "social polariza-tion and fragmentation through processes such as gentrification" (Smith, 1996; Hedin, et al., 2012: 454–458; Atkinson & Easthope 2009: 66). In the same vein, Zukin (1995) discusses this phenomenon in terms of a "symbolic economy", which is based on cultural production and con-sumption.

A by-product of policies of urban renewal and spatial purification is the transformation of public urban space, common areas, and the social and economic lives of city dwellers, and specifically those on the margins: low-income earners in working-class professions, a significant portion of which are migrants. I aim to explore how such transformations constitute serious challenges in the process of appropriation and construction of a sense of belonging for individuals and communities.

Critical Perspectives on Architecture and Urban Design in a Context of Migration

Migration has been one of the most debated and urgent political topics in recent years – in and beyond urban studies. In the context of increas-ing inequalities, dispossession, and exploitation, coupled with ecological crisis, ethno-religious polarisation and conflicts, have followed global flows of human migration. In response to such flows, nation-states have strengthened border regimes in an attempt to keep the unwanted away. Walling between nations, increasing coastal guarding of the Mediter-ranean frontier, the interception of boat migrants, the forced return of migrants to formerly colonised islands or third countries, and economic incentives for already settled migrants to 'return' are some examples of the harshening migration policies implemented worldwide.

Such border regulations (or re-regulations) of human mobility extend into the 'interior' of in nation nation-states in urban areas on various

scales, shaping the everyday life experiences of migrants and refugees and continuing 'border struggles' among those who 'make it' across national borders. As Mezzadra and Neilson suggest in their seminal *Border as method*, border struggle refers to "the set of everyday practices by which migrants continually come to terms with the pervasive effects of the border, subtracting themselves from them or negotiating them through the construction of networks and transnational social space" (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013: 13; cf. Rodrigues, 1996).

In this study, I use the concept of *migrants* to address persons who have first-hand experiences of being displaced and dispossessed, as well as the children of such persons. My choice of participants for the study is based on their socio-economic and emotional relationship with NGBG. The thesis hence makes no claims to present any general picture of migration or migrants to Malmö, nor does it focus on any specific 'ethnic group' or nationality. The primary objective of this study is to map and analyse the transformation of NGBG as a post-industrial and translocal place, and the role of migrants, as social, economic, and architectural agents, in reshaping it. To understand the translocal relations thus produced, the word *local* is here understood as inherently ambiguous and plural, immersed in multiple locales, and hence employed "as a spatial construct that is produced from its relations to a variety of other spaces and places" (Datta & Brickell, 2011: 73). This also helps me to avoid being confined to studying a certain 'ethnic group' or nationality. Rather, in focus are individuals and groups who connect their country of origin and their country of settlement through building social fields (Glick Schiller et al., 1992: 1), interconnecting past and present, here and elsewhere.

With such approaches, this thesis is positioned in the intersection of migration and the distinctive urban spaces produced as consequences of such mobilities and flows, specifically through addressing the transformation of the post-industrial street of NGBG. Mainstream architecture and urban design have largely disregarded the question of how to relate to diversity and the heterogenous conjunctions produced by migration. Founded in homogenising approaches, the question of *difference* remains mostly unanswered or neglected within the theory, practice, and education of the discipline. Moreover, the assumption that the task of design inherently is to 'solve' societal problems, without addressing its own com-

plicity in the neoliberal economy and market-oriented strategies, seems overly optimistic and naïve – if not uncaring.

The design of public spaces, in general, serves as an example to clarify the limits of design-oriented approaches towards the complexities of diversity. Situated in the foci of urban design and planning discussions, the issue of diversity is usually addressed through designing 'good' and inclusive public spaces. It is usually perceived as a plaster to 'fix' socio-economic segregation, by bringing people together through 'enriching encounters' in public areas, particularly in European cities. While I am not arguing against the importance of co-presence and mingling in public spaces, I argue that urban sociality does not automatically take place within the spaces of encounter. As we will see, the case of NGBG demonstrates that co-presence and co-habitation, or even co-occupancy, in/of the street do not respond to the deeper gaps produced by the failure of multicultural policies advocated by local and national governments. We hence have to scrutinise the very terms and broader contexts in which notions of enrichment and encounter are predicated, and the differences defining spatio-temporal practices among citizens, in order to be able to assess the "affective impulses of everyday living and interactions" (Amin, 2012: 60).

The longstanding critical interest of urban studies and geography in the challenges involved in the making of inclusive public spaces has recently made an impact on architecture and design. Yet, the extent to which such critical perspectives are implemented in architectural and designing practice is questionable, despite the growing emphasis on 'participation'. We are currently witnessing a foundational break with the 'singular strategies' of urban modernistic planning (Davidoff, 1965) as being overly inflexible and interconnected with an ideological social engineering paradigm. In contrast, new urban planning strategies are predicated on the ambitions to break down traditional hierarchies between citizens and political authorities. Ida Sandström (2019) draws attention to how experimental urban planning has become a trend in the making of public spaces in contemporary Sweden. Communities may be enacted and supported by architecture and urban design in shared or public spaces. Explorative practices include temporary interventions and event-based place-making, encouraging citizens' participation. This trend of temporary interventions, inviting unexpectedness and openness,

"represents a break in the modernist tradition in architecture and urban planning" (Sandström, 2019: 40-41).

Even so, the notion of participatory planning and design has also evoked critical discussion, raising questions about the effects of power and its distribution among diverse communities. Participatory processes may be conceived of as ways of controlling citizens' acts of resistance (McQuarrie, 2013), or neutralising critical voices against the broader planning processes (Mack, 2017). Critical issues hence regard the substantial effects and de facto inclusiveness underpinning the participation discourse. Who is included in reality? What are the effects of the participation paradigm in marginalised neighbourhoods and among underprivileged groups? Despite the current trends, Amin notes that the shift in national and local policies towards "altering cultural practices to tackle the problems of social cohesion" through interventions in "the microclimate of co-habitation" usually carry the effects of purging or engineering everyday interactions (Amin, 2012: 60).

By mapping the spatio-temporal practices in NGBG from below, in this study, I raise the question of what the discipline and profession of architecture and urban design can learn about the effects and realities of such trends and complexities. I suggest that radical and critical approaches are helpful in identifying alternative routes for the practices of architecture and urban design in places defined by diversity and heterogeneity. Rather than basing practices on the ambitions of fixing, ordering, organising, and clearing up urban spaces, architects and urban designers can take the role of facilitators or communicators, including and promoting self-builders and self-organisers in a thoroughly dialogical venture.[5] This pertains to an epistemic as well as a practical break with the tendency to homogenise populations, flatten different experiences and knowledge, and patronise the inhabitants of heterogeneous neighbourhoods. In short, architecture and urban design can pay attention to the diverse agencies of urban dwellers, and the potential of practices *otherwise,* particularly in the context of European cities.

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5   Several research-based co-design projects, i.e., the social housing in Iquique by Alejandro Aravena and Elemental (2003), referring to their housing project as an urban project rather than single buildings, can serve as good example for such approaches. For further discussions and examples on this see: Awan et al., 2011.

Reflecting on the "Re-" of Reproduction

At the heart of such perspectives is the notion of *reproduction*, as reflected in the subtitle of this thesis. It rests on the foundational ontological idea of regarding human beings (and their practices and knowledge of the world) as inherently relational, entangled in social as well as spatial relations and histories (Berger & Luckmann, 1990/1966). Any architectural or urban design 'intervention' in a neighbourhood is therefore also an intervention in the biographies, relations, knowledge, capacities, emotions, and materialities of (existing or future) residents. The debates, paradigms, and tendencies defining contemporary urban politics and practice must hence be regarded as intertwined with longstanding discussions of social construction and reproduction more broadly.

Feminist theory and critique have been at the forefront of scrutinising the power relations and effects underpinning the construction and maintenance of social bonds. Thinkers such as Silvia Federici (2004) and Nancy Fraser (2016) demonstrate the invisible, gendered, and racialised aspects of social reproduction, with particular emphasis on the effects of the rise of capitalism and (post)welfare modernity. With capitalism, the production in and reproduction of workplaces became increasingly gender-divided and polarised, creating internal, gendered wedges in labour communities and movements. This may be framed as a *crisis of care* in the era of capitalism (Fraser, 2016), negatively affecting the abilities to form and reproduce political collectives around shared values, and hence the aspirations of resistance and endurance.

The notion of reproduction has been a core issue in discussions of urban space more specifically. Michel de Certeau (1984) approached the experience of urban existence from a micro perspective of everyday life, exploring the stories people tell through their practices of walking in the city. He suggests that individuals never are mere consumers of the urban spaces; they reproduce it by using it in their daily practices of walking. The spatial scripts this creates may not overlap with the patterns foreseen by designers or practitioners, an inconsistency of the everyday constantly contributing to the reproduction of the city. In the same vein, Lefebvre's celebrated *The Social Production of Space* (1991) underscores that lived spaces are fluid and dynamic, entangled in memories, dreams, and imaginations (hence being representational), beyond the intentions for-

mulated "from above" by urban planners and designers. Such critical and dynamic perspectives on urban lives are in line with Walter Benjamin's aspirations to understand the city in all its complexities, its beauty and bestiality, giving "voice to the character and political significance of particular individual and collective experiences within the urban setting", to cite Graeme Gilloch' seminal study *Myth and Metropolis: Walter Benjamin and the City* (1996: 5).

Taking such reflections as its cue, this study is predicated on the idea that architecture and urban design must take a point of departure in the notion of space as socially reproduced to address the foundational challenges of cities today. As argued by Doina Petrescu and Kim Trogal (2017) in their recent *The Social (Re)Production of Architecture: Politics, Values and Actions in Contemporary Practice*, we have to move beyond the ideas of 'participatory design' and 'democratic involvement' of citizens. To formulate (new) kinds of socially (re)produced architecture, we need profoundly innovative and provocative ways of dealing with urban issues. Petrescu and Trogal (2017) expand the discussion of various ecologies of the 're-' in reproduction work, underscoring the importance of spatial interventions such as recycling, reparation, reuse, resilience, and reconstruction of other spatial relations. If founded on such systematic attention to the potential values of *existing* relations in neighbourhoods and communities, architecture may provide radical and innovative avenues for the politics and development of cities (Petrescu & Trogal, 2017: 3).

Emphasising on the 're-' of the spatial (re)production of NGBG hence is geared at avoiding the dichotomy between production and reproduction, consumption and production. I suggest that recognising multiple methods of (re)production plays an important role in sustaining our cities and ourselves. By using/consuming spaces, we also (re)produce new meanings in relation to time, materials, flows, memories, associations, and networks. The 're-' of (re)production is therefore also suggesting *where* we can intervene in various urban processes and imagine a world otherwise, aspiring to an "urban politics of living with difference" (Amin, 2012: 63). The infrastructural (re)productions highlighted in the subtitle of this book not only create room for diverse practices in relation to spatio-temporalities, but also underscore the importance of *interdependencies and care* in the making of cities. They should be read as advocating for the

significance of a genuinely collective and participatory notion of politics, built on collaborative action and engagement. Only from such a point of departure will we be able to revisit the values of everyday urbanism, in opposition to the hegemonic power relations of the neoliberal economy and the spatial banishment of unprivileged groups from contemporary cities.

Approach, Objectives, and Research Questions

Methodologically inspired by urban ethnography, this thesis concerns the nexus of migration and the contemporary city. It is an exploration of how a middle-size city like Malmö is constituted in migratory experiences of spatio-temporal and socio-spatial practices through everyday life. More specifically, the aim is to describe and define the different roles that the *(im)material expressions and forms* associated with these activities can take, and how they mediate these activities in a street. I argue that, through such practices, the normative definition of public and private space is blurred and thus needs to be re-calibrated in situ. I thus pursue ethnographical understandings of the rich layers of time, space, and practices that contradistinguish the streetscape, through everyday life. It is this richness that makes NGBG such an interesting case for exploring how subordinate groups such as migrants transcend transnational and trans-local borders through everyday resilience tactics, and how materiality and design play into these transcendences.

As an architect and urbanist, I have a fascination for how urban space is designed from below and appropriated in the Lefebvrean way, thus transforming and producing new and meaningful places. Accordingly, this study aims at exploring the interplay of the spatial and socio-material life of migrants over time and how this might contribute to the making of multiple, relational, multi-scalar, and flexible locales: places of belonging beyond national boundaries and distances from the country of origin. The thesis investigates how migrants, through the transgression of new territories, produce new meanings in the ambiguous spaces emerging between the countries left behind and the new national setting emerging as 'home'. It studies life in the street as a complex system of in-betweens, interconnecting past and present, here and elsewhere, in

the broader socio-political and economic context of globalisation and neoliberal economy.

In line with this, I do not approach NGBG as a bounded *street*, but as a locale interwoven with other locales within or beyond the street scale, activated and sustained through a complex system of social and temporal relations. Understanding NGBG as a relational place directs attention to the spatial registers of such relations and the resulting (re)production of new and hybrid urban cultures. It provides a lens for scrutinising the processes and practices of extended local-to-local negotiations of everyday urbanism. Such negotiations take place in various forms of bodily inhabitation, material object arrangement, sign-scapes, spatial conventions, and planning regulations, as well as spatially and socially produced atmospheres (Amin, 2002).

Thus, I explore the (spatial) agency of migrants in producing translocal spaces, breaking with the tendency to view 'migrant communities' in terms of immobility, self-containment, and passiveness, and recognising migrants' ability to (re)make, (re)build, (re)negotiate, and resist. Paying attention to migrants' spatio-temporal practices in NGBG illuminates the processes through which the de/re-territorialisation of networks of transnational social relations occurs. According to such an agency-oriented approach, those who are subject to transnational migratory conditions are more than mere heterogeneous 'additions' to the 'cultural landscape' of cities, in the shape of exotic food amenities and street markets, and do not merely adjust to dominant discourses of existing settings. Migrants actively link places and locales (translocally and transnationally) via everyday embodied practices and processes of consumption and appropriation of space, retail and transaction economy, activism, resistance, and solidarity.

Importantly, they do so to provide alternative spatial, social, and temporal infrastructures for themselves and the communities within which they construct belonging, in compensation for the spaces, opportunities, and communities denied to them. In this sense, notions of subjectivity and the agency-oriented aspects of translocality form a backbone for this study, inspired by post-colonial notions of economic geographies. This pertains to exploring the migrant activities in NGBG in its wider range of material, social, financial, temporal, and emotional interchanges, go-

ing beyond 'the economic' (Gibsoon Graham, 2008; Hall et al., 2016).

The thesis focuses on everyday spatio-temporal practices 'from below' derived from the subjectivity and spatial agency of migrants. Such practices so far have been 'off the map', discursively as well as materially invisible in planning and design policies and practices. Migrant spatio-temporal practices are concomitantly the *stage for* and *subject to* processes and practices of negotiations of 'everyday urbanism' (Chase et al., 1999; Mac, 2017; Awan, 2016). Negotiations take place in various forms: bodily inhabitation, material object arrangement, emerging signages, and a new architecture of transgression. Through the (re)production of everyday infrastructures, the opportunities and limitations in the street are negotiated and mediated. Such infrastructures hold marginalised people together and make other imaginaries possible. It is through the everyday (re)production of infrastructures that migrants negotiate their right to the city and their unrecognised 'urban citizenship', encroaching on socio-political processes of urban design and 'integration' efforts formulated 'from above'. By weaving together the stories *of* and *from* the street, I unfold the social, material, and temporal reconfiguration of such relations.

The overall objective of this thesis is to map, contextualise, and analyse the layers of associations underpinning the infrastructural system of NGBG, by unpacking the (post)industrial genealogies, spatialities, socio-economic relations, temporalities, and emotional trajectories traversing the street. Beyond catering to the needs of the migrants by reproducing such supporting infrastructures through socio-material interventions, transactions, and relations, I also unfold how such practices have revitalised the street in ways that have attracted the attention of commercial and political developers – stimulating urban trajectories not always to the advantage of the migrant dwellers and (re)creators of the street.

The thesis attempts to understand how the infrastructures (re)produced 'locally' and 'from below' are embedded in global logics and processes. If translocality is about the flow of goods, ideas, technology, and people, infrastructures are the (built, social, and temporal) "networks that facilitate such flow and allow for their exchange over space", comprising an "architecture for circulation" generating and defining "the ambient environment of everyday life" (Larkin, 2013: 328). Or, to draw on a formulation by Fran Tonkiss (2013: 138-153), this thesis has the objective

to analyse how human bodies – and the spatial practices they instigate in material, social and temporal spaces – serve as "infrastructural conduits" for micro-interactions and exchange.

I pursue such objectives with the following research questions as a point of departure:

o   What are the dynamics, conditions, and consequences of migrants' city making, as explored in a street of Malmö?

   o   How do migrants negotiate their right to difference and their right to the city through the (re)production of everyday spatial, socio-economic, and temporal infrastructures?

   o   In response to what in situ conditions and urban development processes are migrants' everyday infrastructures (re)produced, and urban spaces (re)vitalised?

   o   In what ways do spatial practices *otherwise* stimulate a rethinking of the political and ethical values within the disciplines of architecture, urban design, and planning?

Outline of the Thesis

THIS FIRST, introductory chapter presents a path for exploring the street in focus for this thesis. It then moves out of the street and provides a contextual overview of current urban development strategies in Swedish cities, with a focus on Malmö. It devotes particular attention to how Malmö has changed through the processes of transnational migration and the socio-economic processes of post-industrial cities. The second part of the chapter is devoted to an overview of the state of the art of research in the field of architecture and urban design and planning in relation to diversity.

CHAPTER TWO accounts for the theoretical framework of the thesis as well as the methodology and methods of the research. It sets out by presenting and discussing the main theoretical concepts, geared at unpacking the relationality of place through the notion of *urban infrastructure* as its central theoretical lens, as well as *translocality, everyday urbanism and diasporic territorialities*, *the right to the city*, and *the right to difference*. In its second part, the chapter discusses the methodological design of the fieldwork, the challenges experienced in the field, and the methods used in pursuing this research. Taking a reflexive approach, the challenges, and struggles of doing fieldwork in the margins and the precariousness of the field are addressed. Inspired by urban ethnography, it combines participatory observation, a method of 'walk-along' followed by semi-structured interviews, and archive studies.

The following three chapters constitute the main empirical and analytical chapters of the thesis.

CHAPTER THREE engages with the (re)produced spatial infrastructures of NGBG and unfolds the processes of appropriation, transgression, and de/re-territorialisation in the nexus of migration and urbanisation. Based on the genealogy of the Sofielund area in Malmö, the chapter describes the several layers of spatial transformations and material registers of the everyday life of migrants that have resulted in the revitalisation of the defunct street and industrial buildings. The (re)production of spatial infrastructure creates a multi-scalar architecture and urban design from below, through interior design and decoration to exterior interventions in the streetscape and beyond, (re)making NGBG into a revitalised yet contested urban space.

CHAPTER FOUR is devoted to exploring transaction economies and retail interventions, and how they relate to and are afforded by the physical and architectural environment of the street. It describes how economic activities have developed socio-material infrastructures of livelihood, survival, and belonging, and unfolds the translocal relations in which NGBG becomes connected to other places, nationally as well as globally. It also describes the interrelations between various actors in the street,

the spatial politics of such exchanges, and the several *tactics of permanence* practised by the merchants. Furthermore, the obstacles to migrants' retail and bureaucratic processes, subject to policing and monitoring, are described and discussed, as is how this leads to experiences of discrimination and the creation of inner-city borderlands.

CHAPTER FIVE turns to the temporal aspects of the translocal activities of NGBG, exploring how multiple infrastructural temporalities are (re)produced. The chapter unfolds the opportunities and possibilities, but also the obstacles and contestations, that are created through overlapping different temporalities. Moreover, it discusses how translocal temporalities are articulated and materialised: how temporality creates ad hoc (in)visibility and how it is used as a tactic in confronting structures of power. It also explores temporarily organised infrastructures, unfolding the ritual, cultural, and religious events that function as self-organised social and spatial infrastructure along and beyond the street.

THE SIXTH and final chapter brings together the analytical parts examined in the empirical chapters. Discussing the various dimensions of associations traversing NGBG, it probes an *architecture of associations* as an epistemological concept, an empirical project, as well as an imperative for urban design practice. Here, the chapter makes a call for the importance of radical openness in relation to the politics of place and location.

2

PROBING THE STREET
OF ASSOCIATIONS:

THEORETICAL AND
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

In this chapter, I present and discuss the theoretical concepts related to the research questions I elaborated on in the introduction chapter. This chapter consists of two main sections. In the first, I discuss the notions of *translocality, everyday urbanism and diasporic territorialities*, *the right to the city*, and *the right to difference*. The chapter continues by expanding on the notion of *urban infrastructure* as the central theoretical lens, which will guide the analysis in the following empirical chapters (3, 4, and 5). In the second main section of the chapter, I discuss the methodological approach and elaborate on the methods and fieldwork of the study.

Production of Translocality

Aiming at exploring the spatial as well as social dynamics of Norra Grängesbergsgatan (NGBG), I aspire to detect and understand the complex socio-economic and political relations of the street, which co-construct and affect migrants' subjectivities and everyday life practices. Scrutinising the relationality of the urban areas, I pay specific attention to critical perspectives and post-colonial approaches to urban design and urban studies. These offer a viewpoint aiming at understanding the complexity of power relations in face of urban social problems. Grounded in an antagonistic approach, critical thinking insists that "another, more democratic, socially just and sustainable form of urbanization is possible" and "involves the critique of ideology and the critique of power, inequality, injustice and exploitation, at once within and among cities" (Brenner 2009: 198). Moreover, with the help of a post-colonial approach, I aspire to foreground the voices, epistemologies, and practices 'from below' that might be ignored and negated in the Western modes of knowledge production within the fields of architecture, urban design, and planning.

As Porter (2018) suggests, post-colonialism does not refer to the end of colonialism, rather it is an ongoing phenomenon that occurs wherever colonial relations are present. It is not a geographical site, but it certainly has a geography (Porter, 2018: 169). In critiques of colonial approaches, several scholars have emphasised how 'planning' and 'design' are undeniably Western concepts and practices, resting on particular sets of spatial norms (Roy, 2006; 2009; Varley, 2013; Porter, 2018). Such hierarchical aspects of architectural and design theory have the effect of simultaneously supporting and obscuring colonial regimens and relations of domination and subjugation, while practices and subjectivities falling outside of the central power relations and norms remain devalued and underestimated. In the words of Hirini Matunga (2013), planning is "an imperial scholarly discipline and colonial practice located in the 'West'" (in Porter 2018: 167).

This non-reciprocal mode of knowledge production spurs hegemonic processes of othering, resulting in dispossession, geographic and economic marginalisation, as well as the production of colonial subjectivities, as argued by Frantz Fanon (1967). In critique and methodological elaboration of academic perspectives circumventing such colonial place

and subject constructions, subaltern studies (Spivak, 1994; Guha, 1998; Chakrabarty, 2000) have attempted to formulate theories from 'elsewhere' (Robinson, 2015). Applied to urban studies, such perspectives are only beginning to enhance more critical consciousness, discourse, and practices within the field of urban planning and design. By studying and theorising approaches 'from below', we can highlight modes of knowledge production from 'elsewhere', subverting the hierarchical binary of North vs South as produced, and reproduced, in urban and architecture design practice and theory around the world.

Cities cannot be conceived of as representative of any 'one culture' or 'local identity', or even 'one nation'. Rather, cities are constantly affected by and subjected to a relocating of capital and social production. For this purpose, the thesis relies on theoretical perspectives associated with the relationality of time and space, expanding on Doreen Massey's epistemology (2005), to understand the multiplicity and porosity of the urban. In line with Massey's concept of the relational nature of space, I understand 'place' as a constellation of social, economic, and political relations stretched across time and space. According to Massey, places are neither bounded nor fixed, but constituted by multiple identities and linked to other places and scales, as they accumulate and interact over time (Murdoch, 2006: 20). Massey criticises the dichotomisation of the global/local, arguing that different scales are interconnected and co-constituted not only by flows of capital and labour, but also by culture, meanings, and ideas (Massey, 2005). Several scholars have devoted attention to how globalisation, mobility, and migration, in correlation with the internationalisation of finance and accumulation of capital, affect contemporary cities (Massey, 1995; Smith 2001; Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009; 2018). The geography of production has changed to the effect that capitalist social relations of production expand across space and time. The global processes of mobility and migration perpetually affect cities, stimulating (or, indeed, forcing) migrants into a dynamic of "contemporary place-making" (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009: 178) across cities.

In an attempt to revisit and re-define socio-spatial relations established by transnational migrants in everyday life, *translocality* has been discussed exhaustively in urban studies (Smith, 2001; Datta & Brickell, 2011; Low, 2017). The notion of translocality offers a fruitful analyt-

ical lens for exploring the relationality of space in connection to multiple places and times. The concept highlights that the everyday de/re-territorialisation and materialisation of transnational life is produced through relations between different locales (and locals). On the one hand, they relate to locales such as streets and neighbourhoods by material registers, embodied links, and everyday social encounters (for example within a city, or an urban region), while at the same time they are associated with transnational socio-economical networks and the historical contexts of multiple locales across the globe. Translocal places associate and relate to other locales and places beyond the borders of the nation-state, and through such connections alter the conditions of their own agility. Trans-locality, therefore, has the potential to associate with other mediators; it is in flux (Smith, 2001: 167), relational, temporal, and multiple – yet a place-based practice and process (Oakes & Schein, 2006: 20). It is a place that is not pre-given, but always unsettled by external forces and hence in need of continuous negotiation and invention (Massey, 2005).

Unlike transnationalism, which is an effort to understand the various aspects of mobility across national spaces, translocality provides a lens through which we can revisit the socio-economic and spatial features of mobility from an everyday life perspective. When living translocal lives, and spending time in translocal spaces, migrants have the potential to create contact zones where new ideas, networks, encounters, and materiality are formed and negotiated in relation to other places. Translocality interlinks locales with one another, not only through the continuous transfers of capital, labour, goods, and information, but also through the visualisation and imagination of connections between places. This finds shape (and takes place) through symbolic signification in/of sign-scapes, aesthetics, acquired tastes, consumption patterns, as well as symbolic and ritual universes, traversing physical urban spaces. Translocal processes and practices may strengthen the migrants' agency and their ability to (re)make places, negotiate boundaries and (imposed or self-formulated) identity constructions, and, in the final analysis, resist the power structures and processes defining the places 'from above' – as carried out by city planners, municipal politics, real estate owners, and industry, or with Lefebvre (1991), the official "representation of space". Translocality may thus be thought of as a "transnationalism from below" (Datta & Brickell,

2010: 10; cf. Smith & Guarnizo 1998), which potentially provides an empowering political and social capital, particularly so for marginalised groups with migrant experiences.

By living interlinked with multiple locations, the emotional, linguistic, and material affiliation to 'a place' retain a quality of simultaneity, of overlapping time-space. This said, not everyone takes part in transnational networks in translocal space. As personal relationships develop, people in different geographies become part of each other's networks (Low, 2017). By living translocal lives, and spending time in translocal spaces, migrants create a contact zone in which new ideas, networks, and materialities are formed and negotiated. In short, translocality subverts the very notion of place as a given 'here and now'; places are ambiguous, fluid, flexible, and relational. In addition, technologies and digitalisation (texting, instant cash transfers, mobile phones, social media) facilitate and provide access across different locales. While emplacement emphasises the continuing processes of establishing social relationships within space and time (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2013), "translocal space becomes more than an individual's experience or fixed emplacement. Rather it emerges through a network of multiple localities shared by families, neighborhoods, groups and communities" (Low 2017: 174).

What makes a place unique, according to Massey (2005), is first and foremost its internal heterogeneity. This heterogeneity stems directly from what the author terms as "throwntogetherness" (2005: 140) that defines places. Within a given place, different human agents and non-humans meet without having necessarily premeditated the encounter. This throwntogetherness of place has two major consequences, Massey argues. First, places can be conceived of and measured as carriers of "the chance of space" (2005: 111); the capacity of space to put ourselves in contact with surprise, novelty, and alterity. This confrontation with alterity gives a place its creative character. Herein lies "the productiveness of spatiality" (2005: 94), which – from situated and unexpected encounters – might give birth to something new: "Places, rather than being locations of coherence, become the foci of the meeting and the non-meeting of the previously unrelated and thus integral to the generation of novelty" (2005: 71). Second, place is also a source of conflict. Our presence in a place involves us, whether we like it or not, in the life of the other human

beings, who happen to be in the same place at the same time. It confronts us with the "unavoidable challenge of negotiating a here-and-now" (2005: 140). Conflicts arise from the differences in the way individuals practice and imagine the place in which they meet, requiring constant negotiation. As underlined by Castree et al. (2006: 310), "the fact of geographical propinquity, Massey has rightly argued, does not produce any ready consensus about what local interests and identities are or ought to be." This negotiation lies at heart in the material and social production of places, which is also, reciprocally, a production or alteration of the individuals practising (in) those places. This needs to "confront the challenge of the negotiation of multiplicity" (Massey, 2005: 141) constitutes the second aspect of the "relational politics of place" posited by Massey.

Translocality rests on a theoretical understanding of materiality not atomised into discrete objects that are given a fixed social significance. Rather, spaces are understood as surfacing through combined material and social interactions (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre has insisted on the social nature of space and refers to it as based on three dialectically intersecting processes: perceived, conceived, and lived space. Consequently, "space is to be understood in an active sense as a web of relationships that is continuously produced and re-produced" and "emerges only in the interplay of all three" (Schmid, 2008: 41). In other words, Lefebvre argued against conceptualising space as a given reality in itself; it owns no independent existence outside of social relations. Similarly, in a Lefebvrian way, the social production of space, set in a process of constant making and re-making, is commonly understood as placemaking. I understand such processes of placemaking as perpetually interacting with the "emplaced mobilities" (Smith, 2001) or situated mobility, materialized and embodied (Hall & Datta, 2010).

The idea of the social production of space, particularly as elaborated by Lefebvre, is essential for uncovering how places perpetually are set in a process of making, (re)production and change. To fully account for placemaking, however, the social production of space needs to be complemented with a material perspective (which Lefebvre also acknowledged). Places are constructed by material and corporeal engagement through the everyday production/appropriation of the space, relating also to the daily (re)production of meaning among placemaking subjects.

Places are produced socially, thus materialised and corporally inhabited through spatiality. In doing so, and particularly so among migrants with strong oversea linkages and ties, social spaces and places are appropriated, negotiated, established, and/or invented through a multitude of tactics and subject positions.

Everyday Urbanism and Diasporic Territorialities

In this section, I largely focus on socio-materiality, temporality, and the bodily inhabitation and appropriation of urban areas by marginalised migrant groups. To unpack the negotiation practices inherent to such appropriation and re-constitution processes, the concepts of *everyday urbanism/ architecture* (Awan, 2016; Mack, 2017; Hall, 2021; Tayob, 2019; 2020), form an interrelated theoretical layer for the thesis. In her contribution to the book *Everyday Urbanism* (Chase et al., 1999), Margaret Crawford underlines the many overlapping and contradictory meanings traversing cities that can never be understood from a singular approach. In line with the scholarly perspectives of Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau, Crawford identifies the 'everyday' as a simultaneous site of oppression, resistance, creativity, and emancipation. Crawford criticises top-down approaches to the city, pointing out that "everyday space stands in contrast to the carefully planned, officially designated, and often underused public spaces" (Chase et al., 1999).

The possibilities and potentials of the practices of everyday life have been discussed extensively in urban theory, from temporal as well as spatial perspectives. De Certeau distinguishes between spatial *strategies* from above, imposed by authorities when defining and regulating space, and spatial *tactics* from below, practised through creativity and subversion among city dwellers in/of spaces of manoeuvre. The latter are time-based and "constitute counter-practices to officially sanctioned urbanism" (Chase et al., 1999). Despite their temporary and transitory nature, such tactics might turn into permanent transformations. On the other hand, Lefebvre understands spatial practices as permanently transformative and in a dialectical manner. In this sense, lived experiences 'from below' draw attention to cities as socio-temporal-spatial sites of perpetual and dynamic processes of *urbanisation*. As such, they commonly take (and define)

place in response to – yet beyond the control of – the practices and policies of urban designers and municipal authorities. Or, in the words of Jennifer Mack, "the high politics and planning and low occupation and use of the city should thus be seen in dialectical terms" (Mack, 2017: 14).

In contexts in which refugees and migrants are othered through racialised and discriminatory policies and approaches from above, everyday spaces hence come to carry a particular significance for socio-spatial, dissident practices among marginalised groups. Through everyday practices, citizens on the margin may de-stabilise pre-assigned borders and boundaries practised on their bodies and performances from above. In counteracting such imposed hegemonic relations, these groups actively produce spaces and times, uncoupling relations between state and nation, and creating new meanings of home and nation (Mack, 2017: 13). This results in the production of *diasporic space* (Mack, 2017; Awan, 2016; Hall, 2018; 2021) associated with multiple locales and scales. It is configured of new territories – attributed with various effects according to time or place (Kärrholm, 2007).

In her take on diasporic territories, Nishat Awan (2016) asks how the concept of territories may "be used to describe the production of diasporic space" (Awan, 2016: 8). Awan takes a post-humanist approach to the investigation of territories, from two distinct angles: a "geopolitical perspective of territories seen as the product of the interplay of politics, power, and space" and a biological perspective of territories as the location for the primal need of humans and animals, to make a space of distinction from the environment or others (ibid, 2016: 93). Similarly, Brighenti and Kärrholm (2020) consider that "territorial practice is an imaginative mechanism whereby someone is initially recognized as an intruder or insider in relation to one's territory" (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2020: 24). Such perspectives on space correspond with critical perspectives on territory, understood as an imagined (not imaginary) entity (ibid: 23) of relevance for theoretically exploring the social production of diasporic space.

Thus, territorial practice is always related to power and appropriation – and always accompanied by resistance and subversion: a tactic of survival. Resistance to territorial power finds shape not only as 'formal politics', but also through cultural, social, corporeal, and material

practice in everyday life, where the subaltern may find opportunities for transgression and confronting inarticulation (hooks, 1989) (even if within provisional moments). In other words, the ways in which migrants perceive a new environment is also dependent on what they carry with themselves into it.

I argue that such carried experiences and knowledge – which to some extent may be non-intentional, emerging from contingent and contextual serendipities and historical trajectories – result in (and from) the construction of *embodied, social, and everyday infrastructures*. In the following, I take infrastructure not only to encompass physical systems of water piping, sewerage, and electrical cables; it may also be theorized as an analytical tool for understanding the *socially stabilised interconnection paths traversing translocal urban spaces.*

Urban Infrastructure: Material and Social Perspectives

The term infrastructure has emerged as an analytical concept that addresses the technological materiality of the urban environment and its inter-relatedness with social and political features. The urban technological infrastructure is a backbone structure, facilitator, and supporter. It enables actions and activities to take place and allows connections and disconnections, inclusion and exclusion. Susan Leigh Star (1999) proposes several infrastructural characteristics, and also suggests that infrastructure is both relational and embodied, and carries different meanings to different groups. As it is part of the built environment, it is difficult to separate from it (Star, 1999: 337). According to Larkin, "infrastructures are matter that enable the movement of other matter" and their particular ontology lies in the facts that "they are things and the relation between things" (Larkin, 2013: 329). In relation to urban publicness and commonality, Latham and Layton (2019: 3) explore infrastructure as a background structure that enable our social, economic, cultural, and political life. In that way, social networks usually rely on sharing places dependent on such infrastructures and hard technological systems.

The technological aspect of the infrastructure has been considered an essential means of modernity in building functional urbanity. In recent years, the literature has expanded with a more radical approach to

defining infrastructure accounting for relations beyond the hard assembly of socio-technical networks (Tonkiss, 2013: 153). A large section of the contribution to the literature on infrastructure in urban studies, however, is devoted to the physical infrastructure provided from above, causing splintering urbanism in which some groups are excluded and eliminated (Graham & Marvin, 1996; 2001). Such discussion and knowledge production has been pursued by, among others, Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift (2002), AbdouMaliq Simone (2004; 2006), Filip de Boeck (2011), Ignacio Farias (2010), Stephan Graham and Colin McFarlane (2014). Common to such work are efforts "to rethink the role of materiality and technology in social life", which Marian Burchardt and Stefan Höhne (2015) call the "infrastructural turn" as an umbrella concept (Burchardt & Höhne, 2015: 2).

Brian Larkin (2013), underlines the material forms of infrastructure that allow for the possibility of an exchange over space. By drawing on biopolitics, he traces the anthropological literature on the subject and sheds light on different meanings and structural politics in relation to infrastructure. He argues for understanding how the distribution of urban infrastructures, as well as the politics of provision, is related to inequality issues and the creation of injustice in contemporary cities. Thus, socio-technological assemblages are significant actors and institutions in the context of urban diversities in which urban infrastructures are always sites of struggle over resources and recognition (Burchardt & Höhne, 2015: 4).

Ash Amin (2012) designates urban infrastructures as the "layout of public spaces, physical infrastructure, public services, technological and built environment, visual and symbolic culture" (Amin, 2012: 63). He demonstrates that the relationship between interventions above and common access to urban infrastructure plays an important role "in an urban politics of living with difference" (ibid). Moreover, while Star contends that infrastructures are "by definition invisible" and "they become visible on breakdown" (Star, 1999: 380), Larkin indicates the hyper-visibility of certain infrastructures. He argues that invisibility is only one aspect of infrastructure and suggests that we must see it within a spectrum from visibility to invisibility and other ranges in between (Larkin, 2013: 336). In the same vein, Carse (2012) argues that all visibility is situated, and

what is in the background for one person is a daily object of concern for another (Larkin, 2013: 336).

Thus, as Larkin shows, (in)visibility may be mobilised as hyper-visible and vividly present as well as symbolic as an integral part of urban investments (Barker, 2005; in Larkin, 2013: 336). Moreover, Graham and Thrift (2007) highlight the "deep infrastructural ideologies of the west" (Graham & Thrift, 2007: 11). In line with the Enlightenment and the modernistic idea of 'development' and 'progress', infrastructure is often converted into a tool for domination and subjugation within hierarchical systems not least related to the colonial history of the West. Hence, in the name and promise of modernisation, dispossession and exploitation of humans and non-humans occurs. Urban infrastructures thus facilitate and support some people, by excluding others. In Ash Amin's words, "while the type of technological order discriminates silently and the other more visibly, common to both is the fusion of codes and conventions that simultaneously keep cities maintained and repaired as well as governed as a social hierarchy" (Amin, 2012: 77).

While "infrastructure" thus has proved to be a fruitful analytical lens to conceptualise the urban condition, social aspects of infrastructure have received less attention. AbdouMaliq Simone (2012) raises questions about what a "collective we" can do together, and what holds people together or apart. Simone reconceptualises infrastructure as a social space or force between people, or as McFarlane and Silver suggest, exploring how infrastructures are "peopled" (McFarlane & Silver, 2017: 463). Such infrastructures rest on peoples' agency, skills, and knowledge as well as trajectories and imaginaries, through which they can create and navigate survival tactics. Simone understands *people as infrastructure* as an assemblage of things "facilitating the intersection of socialites" (Simone, 2004: 407), which may result in the expansion of economic and cultural possibilities for those with limited access to resources. People as infrastructure constitute "complex combinations of objects, spaces, persons, and practices… a platform providing for a (re)producing life in the city" (Simone, 2004: 408).

In their analysis of the poverty in a low-income neighbourhood in Uganda, McFarlane and Silver (2017) apply an infrastructural approach to everyday urbanism. They examine "how marginalized urban dwellers

navigate the city in the relative absence of formal infrastructure systems, service provision and state welfare, and in turn exceed those limitations through forging connections, capacities and opportunities" (McFarlane & Silver, 2017: 458). For McFarlane and Silver, social infrastructure is an unpredictable connecting tissue, anchoring urban life in varying forms and content. In a similar vein, Caroline Moser (2009) notes the significant role that social assets play for people, through which they become able to cope with inequality and the uneven distribution of economic and material resources. Hence social infrastructure provides a theoretical lens for analysing how people and their practices and social relations relate to material conditions in everyday life and their (tactical) attempts to exceed such conditions to discover new ways of manoeuvring (McFarlane & Silver, 2017: 463).

In application of a similar approach, Suzanne Hall and her colleagues portray the high street of Stapleton Road in Bristol (UK), analysing infrastructure as a lively system of shared resources that situates migrant entrepreneurs in the city. By applying the concept of *migrant infrastructure*, they raise two main lines of inquiry: (1) how "the street appeared as a loose cohesion of bodies and spaces, coalescing into what we might call a 'collective urban infrastructure'" (Hall et al., 2015: 60); and (2) how the street provides a particular kind of "migrant infrastructure, as a shared urban resource for lively economic and social transactions across residents from many countries of origins" (ibid: 61). In this way, migrants with limited access to public means empower themselves through self-organised economic and social practices.

An infrastructural perspective also sheds light on the *qualities of the places* that have the potential to become inhabited and mobilised through in situ tactics and innovation among marginalised city dwellers, or in other words, the extent to which the built environment *affords* creative and subversive tactics 'from below'. James J. Gibson's theory of affordances probes the "complementarity of the animal and the environment" (1979: 127) and the ways and extent to which the latter can be shaped and enacted by individuals. In application of this perspective to the built environment, Magnusson understands affordances as "action possibilities offered to an actor object in the environment, or as a relational property defined by the association between an actor and the world" (Magnusson,

2016: 58–59: objects are prone to change according to the needs of the actor/perceiver (Magnusson, 2016: 59, cf. Gibson, 1979: 138). Affordance theory hence underscores the site-specific, processual, relational, and socio-material ontology of (life in) cities, where boundaries, as well as subversive tactics, are malleable and open to negotiation. This said, any 'need' or 'action possibility' must be understood in light of the subject positions from which individuals enter into socio-infrastructural negotiations with the urban environment – and particularly so in a context of "situated mobility" (Hall & Datta, 2010). The ways in which migrant individuals perceive and interact with the (built as well as social) environment depend to a significant degree on life stories, migration trajectories, and socio-economic conditions.

Negotiation, Co-habitation, and Production of 'Mutual Knowledge'

Making translocal places by connecting locales simultaneously involves creative adaptation as well as negotiation through material, spatial, and social encounters, as well as imagination. Such arbitration occurs in relation to individuals, authorities, and power structures on various scales (corporeal, street, city, and beyond) and forms (material/immaterial). It is situated, "which constitute the translocal geographies of migrant lives" (Datta & Brickell, 2011: 20), and thus flexible and responsive to the context. Furthermore, translocal arbitration is contested, as "divergent and often conflicting formations of the local are produced" (Datta & Brickell, 2011: 17). Therefore, *translocal placemaking* processes involve conflict, the production of difference, and social negotiation (Smith, 2001: 212) as immigrants reshape their socio-material places.

Such translocal placemaking, however, raises a number of other questions. One of them concerns migrants' potential agency in producing translocality. Agency, to draw on Giddens, "means being able to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs" (Giddens, 1984: 14). Agency and the individual 'empowerment' thus refer to an ability to *act otherwise* (Giddens, 1987: 216). Migrants' interventions in the built environment, indicating a measure of agency, produce new socio-materiality and spa-

tiality, and thus have the potential to inscribe new meanings in (and of) the city. However, the measure to which migrants can act otherwise is related to their ability to relate to socio-material spaces. In other words, "the knowledge that they bring to the table must be negotiable, flexible and shared with others" (Awan et al., 2011: 32). Giddens calls this *mutual knowledge*, and in Awan et al.'s words "it is not determined by professional norms and expectation, but rather is founded in exchange, negotiation, out of hunch and out of intention" (ibid: 32). The production of mutual knowledge occurs in everyday-ness and "by all manners of practical adaptation" (Hubbard, 2006: 95). Hubbard also understands this as meaning to "assert and express" oneself in everyday practices (ibid: 96), while Thrift designates it as a creative improvisation to open up "pockets of interaction" (Thrift, 2003: 103).

Nevertheless, Hubbard emphasises that negotiating the everyday city requires "considerable skill and aptitude" (Hubbard, 2006: 114). I argue that such skills involve social and cultural capital, transaction economies, language abilities, and migratory trajectories and experiences, something Kopljar defines as "carried affordances", which "are the offers perceived in a situation and that are largely conditioned by what is carried into that situation in terms of assimilated knowledge and previous experiences" (Kopljar, 2016: 230). Kopljar thus understands carried affordance as the extent to which a potential perceiver is *sensible* to the offers presented in a given environment, and how this affordance is conditioned by a perceiver's individual history. Affordance theory, as Gibson and others have developed it, thus offers a complementary perspective on individual agency and its requirements and effects through socio-material exchange.

As a result of migrant agencies in such negotiations and spatial territorialisations, (re)production of localities in multiple spatial scales may emerge. Such place and scale production are not pre-given, neither top-down nor bottom-up. These places are rather produced through relations of everyday life and the ways in which this everyday life is entangled in different transnational sociocultural and political-economic agencies (cf. Massey, 2005; Murdoch, 2006). With an emphasis on political and social emancipation, Lefebvre (1996) famously developed the concepts of "the right to the city" and "right to difference" as a participatory right in society through everyday life. These rights are to be defined from below, through

political actions and social relations. Defending multiplicity, Lefebvre sees the right to difference as a complementary and counter-hegemonic action against forcible classification and categorisation by hegemonising powers, resulting in discrimination and repression (Lefebvre, 1978). In current debates regarding the issues of immigration and new citizenships, Gilbert and Dikec (2008) redefine the notions of the right to the city and difference and citizenship. In their words, Lefebvre considers the right to the city to enhance by right to difference, "as resistance to centrality *through* and ultimately *against* marginalization" (Gilbert & Dikec, 2008: 259). Pinpointing political citizenship, and specifically bringing up the case of marginalised groups such as migrants, they argue for new ethics and ways of living. In line with Lefebvre and emphasising multiple identities and affiliations, Gilbert and Dikec reposition the question of citizenship in political, ethical, and philosophical terms. They suggest that "citizens are no longer strictly defined in terms of family, origin, or place with a rather direct and simple claim of representation" (Gilbert & Dikec, 2008: 260). Questioning the sovereignty and nation-state relationship, as well as its borders, they rather define citizenship as directly linked to the experiences and exigencies of everyday life, in which one can claim and exercise various urban rights (Gilbert & Dikec, 2008).

Inquiring as to what kind of infrastructure holds people together in NGBG and its type of materiality, I apply infrastructure as an analytical tool to visualise how the street is neither merely a connection route from point A to point B, nor a regular post-industrial street. It consists of several layers of temporalities, industry, migration, social, and economic processes of marginalisation, emotions, and trajectories traversing the street, constituting its "throwntogetherness" (Massey, 2005). The conjunction of such heterogeneous relations and associations (in this case multiple translocal linkages and networks), as well as bodies and things, affords and negotiates possibilities of living with difference. The power or limitation of such conjunctions is, according to AbdouMaliq Simone, constantly negotiated and mediated, situated and dependent on the conditions and willingness of the actors involved (Simone, 2004: 410). Through such negotiations, however, visible and invisible borders and boundaries become porous and manoeuvrable; space and time become assets to navigate opportunities, especially in an era of neoliberal urban

development resulting in segregation and marginalisation of certain bodies. Networks of reciprocal trust, social collaboration, efficiency, and productivity are thus created, below the fixed, official network defined from above. A primary ambition of my thesis project is to include such counter-stories from below and against the dominant discourse into the biography of the city.

Research Design and Method

This thesis aims at unfolding spatio-temporal aspects of NGBG as a locale in relation to other locales. To unpack the translocal relations of migrants' everyday urbanism, I use *urban ethnography* as the inspiring key method of doing this research. More specifically, I use architectural mapping methods, in combination with a method of 'walk/talk-along' followed by interviews, observations, photographing as well as archive studies. In this section, I also discuss the critical design of the fieldwork as an effort to avoid taking the power relations of the field for granted. I continue with reflections on the challenges and struggles of doing fieldwork in the margins.

I conducted the fieldwork during 2017–2020 in different rhythms and episodes. I conducted seventeen interviews in total, sometimes with the help of an interpreter who guided the interviews in Arabic. I conducted interviews with proprietors (9), association members (3), a city official, and property owners (4), as well as informal and random interviews with visitors and shoppers. My interlocutors were mainly men, and I was only able to have brief chats with three women during the fieldwork. In general, women did not show interest in conversations and, in two of the cases, their supervisors did not approve of their participation in interviews. All my research participants have provided their consent to be part of this study and have been anonymised and exchanged with aliases, whereas public figures and city officials cited from news media are represented with their proper names.

Within the broader discipline of social sciences, and not least within migration studies, there have been debates on defining the field and the

geography of knowledge production. Anthropologists and ethnographers have often been criticised for being too bound to one place and its every-day life, without acknowledging connections between different places. To avoid this, George Marcus has suggested a multi-sited methodology (Marcus, 1995: 106–107). Marcus emphasises the importance of "fol-lowing" (people, things, metaphor, conflict, etc.) to understand the cir-culation of objects, cultural meanings, and identity processes, which may be perceived as ways in which people and places interrelate and connect through time and space. In a recent book, however, Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2018) challenge the multi-sited ethnography and the focus of social scientists on everyday life. Despite the importance of the every-day aspect of human beings' practices, they find it overvalued. Çağlar and Glick Schiller, suggest *multisighted* ethnography in studies associated with "relational and processual" concepts such as placemaking and re-scaling (Çağlar & Glick Schiller, 2018: 8). They emphasise that in under-standing the mundane aspect of practices and processes, we also have to contemplate the various aspects of power involved in the constitution of a place, including its relations to economic restructuring under global capitalism and migration processes.

In the same vein, but from a wider perspective, Suzanne Hall (2013) suggests the concept of *trans-methodology* when studying transnational migrants. Inspired by the concept of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007), Hall highlights the importance of a method in which the diversity of mi-gratory experiences and trajectories is addressed and acknowledged with a post-colonial sensitivity. Thus, she defines trans-methodology in rela-tion to migratory trajectories, experiences, and connections to the previ-ous locations/countries, as well as the places being part of the migratory experiences. In her own words, trans-methodology "aims to connect scale to method and explores what approaches are required to recognize the different imageries, evidence and interpretations of migration revealed within the intersections of intimate, urban, national and global spheres" (Hall, 2013: 4). Accordingly, such a methodological approach sheds light on different kinds of space, (in)visibility, and citizenship produced at dif-ferent scales.

In other words, what Hall and Çağlar & Glick Schiller suggest is mak-ing a connection between scale and method in exploring various aspects

of migration experiences in the production of spaces. Scale production, as a result of placemaking, is also part of the process, which demands closer scrutiny. Scale is situated and open to be explored, neither top-down nor bottom-up. Scale, as a result of either the socio-economical configuration of power or the production of places and spaces, is relational (Çağlar & Glick Schiller, 2018). In the same vein, different categories of space production are embedded in various visible and invisible practices, which need to be explored with more care. In her inquiry on migrants' scale production, Hall (2012; 2021) brings in thoughts on the construction of new citizenships. This type of citizenship arises beyond the dominant discourse of nationality and border regimes; rather than giving *meaning* to different places, translocal placemaking activities *produce* places. In line with this, a relational and multisighted approach to constructing the 'field', and doing fieldwork as part of the knowledge production process, constitutes the methodological framework of this thesis.

Conceiving the fieldwork as a relational and multi-layered experiment (Lancione & Rosa, 2017), I have been in constant dialogue with others and myself: first in attempting to understand what goes on in the field and decide on adequate methods, and second in aspiring to a flexible approach to review and situate the method. This involved failures, thresholds, and obstacles. But also fear, aggression, stress – a constant exposure to emotion in the field experiences. I registered them by taking field notes and memos, and completing them right after the fieldwork.

Constructing the Field: Norra Grängesbergsgatan

The concept of 'the field' is significant in ethnographic research as well as qualitative research methods more generally. To choose the most accurate method, I needed first to understand the field of my study. Just before starting my PhD studies, and during the pilot studies, I observed, documented, and mapped the constantly and rapidly transforming, ethnically-diverse areas in Malmö. Reflecting on my own migratory experience and positionality, I asked myself how migrants perceive, imagine, constitute, and re-make the city. I had identified three areas and I was looking predominantly for the materialisation and spatialisation of transnational migration in the context of the public spaces. It took me quite some time to

set the field and mark it off in space and time. This was partly due to the many renewal processes going on in ethnically/nationally diverse parts of the city such as Rosengård. However, the primary challenge was related to defining the place-based study within the discipline of architecture and deciding on where to draw the line in the field. This process was reflective, flexible, and relational. I constantly shifted between the situatedness of the field and the selected methods, then revised and again resituated it. Several observation sessions, walking by myself through/inside/around the street and the Sofielund neighbourhood, combined with pilot interviews with people from the municipality and public-private organisations helped me in defining NGBG as the field of this study.

It took me a long time to enter the field. There were several obstacles and thresholds to solve before I could start the practice of ethnography. As Chughtai & Myers (2017) discuss, entering the field is a distinct phase from the negotiation of access. How a researcher enters the field is usually taken for granted after gaining access to the field. Entrance is not an unimportant event; rather, it is a gate into a complex practice world. Introducing the concept of 'thrownness' they highlight the fact that "the fieldworkers' own historicity and prejudices affect their entrance into the field". Thus it directs the entire period of fieldwork that come after (ibid., 2017). One of the obstacles was being able to make connections with the people involved in the street and break through certain power relations. This field also had certain complications, such as the predominantly male atmosphere, the authorities highlighting 'security issues', the 'informal economy' of the street, and the vulnerability of some of the businesses, which limited my interlocutors' initial willingness to open to me as an outsider. It took me a long time to build self-confidence within the field. To some extent, I had to harness my own emotions, field affections, and the conscious linking of events and processes in the field to my life experiences. At one point, for instance, I thought that connecting with women working or shopping in the street would be easier. But later when I asked women cashiers working in the supermarket to have a chat with me, they politely refused. I failed and was frustrated.

I also want to emphasise the language aspect here, as I found that having spontaneous conversations could at times be very challenging. At the beginning of the fieldwork, I conducted the conversations and interviews

in Swedish, which is not the mother tongue of most of the participants in my research. It was not a successful experience for conducting in-depth interviews. I can imagine if I was Arabic speaking, the ice would have been broken easier and faster. On the other hand, sharing my experience of *not* being Swedish-born and having a background in a Middle Eastern and Muslim country proved to help establish a better connection with some of the participants. As an alternative, I began a short face-to-face and less formal survey with the shopkeepers/owners to establish contacts. This included shopping for Arabic/Turkish coffee, henna for design, or groceries, and starting informal conversations during the shopping. Once contact was established, I asked for further interviews or talks. This proved more productive, but not all the time. In this regard, Yi'En (2014) critically scrutinises the hidden aspects of intimate and embodied experiences of doing fieldwork. They might be associated with insecurities coupled with occasional distractions and reorientations, which are often pushed to the backstage of research. He suggests that such stories and their poetic and political consequence need to be exposed (Yi'En, 2014: 212).

The Awards and Challenges of Go-along

To understand the processes of changes in NGBG, I had to develop concrete methodological tools to understand both place and practices. With a trans-methodological approach and post-colonial sensitivity to the type of spatialities produced by social practices within the power geometry, I chose *go-along* as an ethnographical research tool. '*Go-along*' has developed among social scientists such as Kusenbach (2003) and O'Neil (2008) for studying marginalised groups' everyday practices. In the cases where a participant was not interested in going along with me (which happened very often), we met somewhere in the street (either their workplace or a public sitting area) to be close to the field, as well as to give an opportunity to the participant not to be seen with a stranger (as I felt was the desire). I elaborate on this in detail below. In a few cases, the person accepted to talk sitting somewhere close to his own place, what I call talk-along. I conducted a few of the interviews with individuals involved in the associations who declined to walk-along with me, for example, at the outdoor sitting area of the well-known *Falafel Baghdad*. One of my

interviewees mentioned that walking with me along the street might not be appropriate, and he was unwilling to be seen together with me as a woman. But all in all, it became evident that women were considerably less interested in having a conversation with me than men.

In recent years, walking has become a common tool and ethnographic method. Degen and Rose (2012) for example, argue that 'walk-along' can "produce richly evocative sensory impressions"(Degen & Rose, 2012: 3281). When applied in ethnographic research, "a walk-along plays out more as a dialogue than an inquiry" as suggested by Helena Holgersson (2014: 223). This helps the ethnographer and the research participant engage in a dialogue-based interaction, which unveils contextual knowledge of socio-spatiality in the field and its extended relationships beyond. This may produce insights regarding the accessibility of the research participants to certain resources, depending on their social and ethnic backgrounds.

According to Kusenbach (2003), a go-along "brings to the foreground some of the transcendent and reflexive aspects of lived experience as grounded in situ" (Kusenbach, 2003: 455) and creates "excellent opportunities to conduct 'unobserved' observations of social settings and situations that happen to be sensitive to unaccompanied outsiders" (ibid: 465). Anderson (2004) addresses it as a conversation in place, a talking while walking with the potential to generate a collage of collaborative knowledge: "using the body in this way has the capacity to access the relationship between people, place and time" (Anderson, 2004: 259). Awan and Langley (2013) use "walking-with" as a technique and a way of mapping 'micro-territories' that "form, dissolve, and overlap around us all, influenced by our specific circumstances and spatial politics" (Awan & Langley, 2013: 231), emphasising inhabitants' affects and moments of agency in the cityscape through bodies, which shapes such micro-territories. Therefore, they suggest, "mapping at the level of bodily detail using, photographing, conversations, walking and finally using computational methods." (ibid: 230). Moreover, walking ethnography has been applied as a multi-sensory, embodied experience (Pink, 2008: 180).

The empirical data collection for this thesis is designed as a *reflexive ethnography*, which is an effort to understand the researcher's own emplacement in the field and his/her role in the constitution of the field.

Pink suggests considering ethnographic practice as placemaking (Pink, 2008: 175), arguing that the researcher's presence in the field is dependent on other peoples' practices, and without 'attuning' her or himself, the researcher might not be able to understand the places they seek to. Considering walking as an act of placemaking (O'Neil, 2008), go-along not only fosters the narratives of the place in relation to people but also builds and sustains a mutual and sensory as well as embodied and sensual practice between the researcher and the participant. Being engaged in this sharing process (shared walking, shared eating, shared watching, shared imagining) in fact constructs 'the field' (Pink, 2008). I believe that addressing such field events and reflecting on them might result in a better understanding of the field's complexities.

In NGBG, the transformation of industrial buildings into shops, garages, and multi-functional faith-based centres has created new opportunities inside the buildings, which were originally designed for other purposes. With the recent transformations of the last twenty years, a number of such buildings (sometimes sized between 500 and 3,000m^2) have been divided into smaller units and sections. Many of these newly fragmented units are rented out to different businesses. In some cases, there is a collaborative dynamic between different retailers in terms of practicalities and the provision of infrastructure. I perceive go-along also as a way of mapping such inward spaces. The rhetoric about the street does not represent the migrants' narratives of the different micro-territories of the street; rather, it adheres to the formal discourse produced by authorities, which often focuses on the problems associated with the street and the racialised discussions around the migrants' 'exotic' or otherwise problematic way of living. Mapping as "a contested practice" is embedded within certain types of power relations (Pinder, 1996). Thus, linking geographic knowledge with power relations can help to discover the businesses, activities, and places, which are not counted as part of the NGBG but are associated in a relation. I think of walking ethnography as a method with the potential to create such critical engagements.

It became progressively clear to me that the translocal practices situated in NGBG need to be critically mapped. The stories of the street must be heard and registered. Thus, listening to the stories of the ordinary actors about everyday uses of the street, the importance of these and the

effect of ongoing changes were the key issues of my data collection. I thus developed methods to track the spatio-temporal and socio-material practices in the street and the relational, imaginary connections to other places. At the same time, this approach helped me to understand the effect of renewal policies, negotiations with stakeholders, and applications of regulations. For instance, as the street becomes more desirable, the public-private associations, as well as property owners (which are introduced in the next three chapters in detail), make renting conditions contested for marginalised groups. Therefore, I found it more suitable to go along the street and inside the properties together with the property owners or tenants to unpack the layers of changes, renovations, negotiations, and social spaces of territories produced by bodily practices as well as meanings.

Being an outsider, I found it difficult to build trust, most particularly with women, who kept their doors more closely shut. What I reflect on here is the difficulties of doing fieldwork on the margins among communities subject to existence in precarious sites. Therefore, I commonly encountered a distinct carefulness or even suspiciousness among my participants. I sensed my participants sometimes conceived of me as a person of 'authority' meeting them in some official capacity. Perhaps they thought of me or associated their encounter with me with difficult experiences in their past. Even though I had clearly communicated that my primary interest concerns the spatiality of the street and its transformations, I sometimes sensed that *they* perceived *themselves* and their economic activities as the focus of my attention and scrutiny. In this context, building confidence proved to be difficult and extended over a longer period than I had anticipated.

The Positionality of the Researcher

Scholars with concerns around power relations in the field and sensitivities regarding post-colonialism are among those to whom I find myself close. Various scholars have discussed doing ethnographical fieldwork with care, awareness, and reflexivity (e.g. Katz, 1994; Miraftab, 2004; Rose, 1997; Hall, 2013; Lancione, 2017; Lancione & Rosa, 2017). The role of the researcher in the process of knowledge production has been

the core of such debates. Positionality, engaging the researcher's identity politics (both consciously and unconsciously) and subjective epistemology, affects the process of such knowledge production. Furthermore, questions such as how to perform in the field, how to present yourself, what to wear, what to say, and how to open the gate and keep the gate open are issues that I have faced during the fieldwork.

In this part, I briefly relate some examples from the field experiences to reflect on the existing power relations of the field, between the researcher and the researched. Through this kind of reflection, I try to show how the fieldwork was affected by different parameters that were out of my control as researcher. Those were the moments of sharing, giving and taking, trusting and being trusted, and positioning and (re) positioning myself in encountering the field in order to question my original position in the first place. Such an approach, in fact, echoes my methodology towards the field, the process of negotiations within the field, and the moments of success and failure.

Discussions within feminist research methodology articulate the importance of reflexivity as a strategy for addressing how geographical knowledge is situated (Pile, 1991; Merrifield, 1995; Thrift, 1996; Rose, 1997; Miraftab, 2004). It highlights how knowledge production is implanted in their locations (e.g. historical, national, and generational) and positionality (e.g. gender, class, and race). This is discussed and described as being 'transparent' to guard against the research process becoming oppressive (Miraftab, 2004). Although research participants can influence the research outcome by refusing to participate or by altering the story they present (Patai, 1988), in the final analysis, it is the researcher who decides to continue or end the research, and who controls its presentation (Wolf, 1996). Stressing the researcher's privileged position in the research process, feminist scholars have warned of the *impermeability of power relations* even for advantaged scholars (Miraftab, 2004).

In one of my experiences during the pilot studies, I was invited to the house of the interlocutor and her daughter, after walking along in the neighbourhood close to NGBG. I accepted, and I was aware of the importance of this invitation from their perspective to show me their hospitality. They offered me cool watermelon with cheese and some bread and tea. The conversation started to become more biographical and intimate

after a while and took two more hours. They were curious to learn about my life in Sweden as a woman living far from her close family. In this context, to draw on Miraftab, more just signifying curiosity, this conversation was interconnected to the "assessment of my positionality" (Miraftab, 2004: 599) vis-à-vis theirs through such questions. The remaining questions concerned similarities and differences between Sweden, Iran, and Iraq. In this process, mutual interest developed and allowed the personal aspects to grow on both sides. The conversation drifted from its initial focus to involve a broader discussion about women's experiences and forms of patriarchy overshadowing 'Middle Eastern culture'. Moreover, coming from Iran, a Shia dominated country associated with many political conflicts in the Middle East, my participants seemed to also assess my 'political/religious identity', which put me in a challenging position and created more complexity in the fieldwork. It may also have affected the ways they evaluate my role as a researcher who was asking them to share their everyday life narratives. Correspondingly, it pushed me sometimes to clarify my own position and to reflect on the politics of my country of origin depending on the nationality of the participant and the political conditions between the two countries. This not only diminished the nationality-based hierarchy as a researcher but also perhaps changed their perception of me.

Such experiences have affected my personal reflections and my position in the male-dominant atmosphere of NGBG. As I explain in my observation description, the street has an industrial character with mechanical workshops and car repair amenities among other industrial functions. Most of the workers are male. Before the walks, I was reflecting on what to wear and how to perform. Being affected by the male-dominant ambience of the area, it was not easy for me to initiate small talk or spontaneous chats with someone working in the street. This was due to my own biased perception of the situation, which may very well relate to my own experiences from growing up, studying, working, and living in Iranian cities – and the daily encounters with patriarchal norms.

Once again reflecting on my subject position constituted in spaces of 'in-between-ness', I noticed that being a white female researcher is very acceptable and natural in most cases, but being a non-white female researcher (coming from the Middle East) brings other complexities,

rooted in conceptions of 'female honour' in need of male protection. In this way, my insider position as a woman from the Middle East some-times created feelings of discomfort. Borrowing words from Katz (1994) about the betweenness of the roles, I am always "a gendered, historically constituted social and political actor" (Katz, 1994: 72), in a racialised capacity of a researcher and a migrant from the Middle East. Feminists have emphasised the two-way exchange nature of research relationships constructed by the actors on both sides (Oakley, 1981). Even though participants' curiosity can be creative and productive, in this specific context, curiosity can also lead to undesired and unsafe effects; "Being an object to the participants' curiosity, effectively turning the interview table" (Miraftab, 2004: 599).

Even though I am an immigrant myself, I do not necessarily adhere to the same patterns of using public space as most migrants might do. As a non-religious transnational person with an Iranian background, I do not follow the habits and cultural/religious customs of many religiously prac-tising Muslims of various ethnicities. While mostly hanging out in some of the most diverse neighbourhoods of Malmö (Möllevången, Sofielund, Värnhem) with academic friends, activists, or artists with multiple back-grounds, in important ways my life is radically different from most of my participants – in terms of education, economy, as well as social capital. This often surfaced in a feeling of uneasiness with the small talk before/after and during the walks. Although we often identified similarities in tastes, associations, and references, I remained something of an outsid-er. From the transnational research standpoint and positionality of the researcher, me, coming from Iran – "another 'poor' country" (Miraftab, 2004: 599) – I am an insider as a migrant, but I am an outsider in so many other aspects.

Summing up, the notion of being a privileged researcher in the field proves to be quite complex and ambiguous in this case, and needs to be reflected on in terms of the complex fields of power associated with my simultaneous 'superior' and 'inferior' position vis-à-vis the participants. To draw on Miraftab, "the attention to the possibility of such an imbal-ance in methodological assumptions is called for particularly in the con-text of increasing transnational research, in which the paths of researchers are no longer predictable" (Miraftab, 2004: 597).

3

SPATIAL INFRASTRUCTURES

A Space for the Banished

In 2004, following new environmental regulations, the municipality of Malmö shut down the Kvarnby scrapyards in Husie, east of the Sofielund area. The scrapyards were portrayed in the local press as sites of clutter and chaos, known colloquially as 'Gaza Strip' (*Gazaremsan*), with a reputation of questionable migrant enterprises that drew the monitoring attention of authorities. But from a users' perspective, the businesses signified economic opportunities as well as community-building functions, linked to the various phases of immigration (Sydsvenskan, 2004-07-03).

Customers had been coming in significant numbers from all over Skåne (i.e., Helsingborg, Kristianstad, Lund, Ystad) to Kvarnby scrapyards to scrap their old cars or to find second-hand spare parts. The importance of the place as a livelihood infrastructure was highlighted and the concerns related to losing such infrastructure were raised by the scrappers. Moreover, with strong kinship relations and co-habitants among the workers, there were indications that the area was more than just a workplace, as the scrapyards hosted community and family gatherings on Saturdays (Sydsvenskan, 2004-07-03). The evacuation process continued until 2008, a point at which there were only three businesses left (Sydsvenskan, 2008-11-30). Most entrepreneurs and labourers scrapping, servicing, and repairing cars were immigrants from the Middle East. In an interview for Sydsvenskan (Sydsvenskan, 2004-07-03), Lasse Billberg, one of the scrappers at Kvarnby scrapyard, pointed out that:

> It feels like the municipality wants to get rid of us because it is so many immigrants who work here. I've never had any problem here; on the contrary, we have good cooperations. It feels like the authorities are threatening us with their raids [translated from Swedish by the author].

Rehman Mohamed, the last car scrapper in Kvarnby, revealed in the local press that he had signed a land-lease agreement with the municipality's real estate office for a substantial plot in Järnåldern in the Malmö neighbourhood of Fosie, where he was planning to build a new office for his business. There had been a reduction in scrap value due to market deflation and market saturation in Sweden and elsewhere. Rather than scrapping, therefore, dealing with spare parts of cars (such as rear axles, lamps, gearboxes, or whole front carriages) exported to the Middle East and Africa had become the chief source of livelihood, according to Mohamed (Sydsvenskan, 2008-11-30).

The colloquial designation of the Kvarnby scrapyard as "Gaza Strip", humorous as it may be, reveals how the irregularity and disorderliness of the place was discursively and translocally interconnected with imaginaries surrounding Middle Eastern realities and conflicts – connected to local Swedish realities through migration. Nominating it Gaza Strip sig-

nified Kvarnby as a chaotic, marginal, and disparate area, non-fitting to the Swedish (imagined and ideal) model of equality and sameness within the integration regime. Interestingly, the same derogatory nickname had been applied to another devalued, and 'dirty' and 'unsafe' location in Sweden. In their study of Kvillebäcken in Gothenburg, Catharina Thörn and Helena Holgersson explore a re-purposed industrial area on the edge of the central city. With reference to Neil Smith's concept of the *urban frontier*, Thörn and Holgersson demonstrate how the former industrial area changed from symbolically peripheral to an attractive but exploited central area, producing a rent gap. In this process of transformation, the city officials and property developers referred to the area as Gaza Strip, a space of disorder and unsafety, 'empty' of valuable material and social assets. The nickname was discursively connected to the informal decision making processes leading to the eventual demolition of the existing structure and the development of the future residential area of 'New Kvillebäcken' (Thörn & Holgersson, 2016).

In July 2009, the blogger Oscar Ponnert posted photos from Sorgenfri, another inner-city post-industrial area of Malmö, where another car repair garage and workshop had been forced to leave due to the new developments. The garage had been located within an abandoned sausage skin factory called Tripasin, in business between 1937 and 2005. In May 2009, a detailed plan for a high school building (with the capacity of 480 pupils) incorporated into the abandoned Tripasin premises was approved by the City Planning Board. The workshop was moved to Norra Grängesbergsgatan (NGBG), as can be seen in Ponnert's weblog posts (Ponnert, 2009), (Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3).

As I develop in the following, since 2000's, NGBG has come to host several of the businesses dislocated from the dismantled Kvarnby scrapyard and Sorgenfri. NGBG is a place not only for displaced people but also for displaced and low valued jobs. Car service premises have been treated and overlooked as disposable places expected to be displaced. Such intersecting notions of material and social uselessness and contamination recall Mary Douglas' reflections on the cultural notion of dirt and its symbolic meanings in her famous study *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966/2002). Douglas takes Emile Durkheim as her cue in defining dirt as "matter out of place"

Figures 3.1 and 3.2.
Östra Farmvägen 18,
July 2009.
Source: *NGBG Web-
blog* by Oscar Ponnert

Figure 3.3. Norra Grängesbergsgatan 24, July 2009.
Source: *NGBG Webblog* by Oscar Ponnert

(ketchup is 'clean' in the bottle or on the plate, but not on my shirt) and ties this distinction to notions of sacred and the profane. Uncleanliness, she maintains, is a cultural matter determined by situatedness in actual and symbolic power structures. The culturally and historically dependent dichotomy between pure and impure, clean and unclean, is to a significant extent a means of reinforcing norms, themselves instruments of establishing social structures and hierarchies. Importantly, therefore, notions of 'uncleanliness' correlate with broader themes of social order:

> Reflection on dirt involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder, being to non-being, form to formlessness, life to death. Whenever ideas of dirt are highly structured, their analysis discloses a play upon such profound themes. (Douglas, 1966/2002: 7)

Dirt as disorder is not necessarily bad, as Brighenti (2010) argues in line with Douglas. On the one hand, it ruins the perception of purity, while on the other provides primary creative possibilities, in which disorder suggests "a problematic visibility that has to be managed in some way" (Brighenti, 2010: 56). Thus, the representation of diasporic spaces as messy and disorderly, contradicting the well-ordered parts of the city, may consolidate the racial stereotypes regarding such places. The result becomes othering the inhabitants of such places, who are considered potential threats to the city and, on a larger scale, to the nation.

With its de-industrialised conditions and spaciousness, affordable rents, and leftover warehouses, NGBG became the destination for many of the displaced scrappers and mechanics. The mechanics who successfully found new premises in NGBG appropriated the small-scale buildings on the eastern edge of the street or within the premises by the railroad. Such buildings provided the physical infrastructure and a place of refuge for entrepreneurs, when 'banished' from previous locations.[6] The number of such auto repair shops quickly increased, and a line of garages and carwashes were formed along the street. The emergence of those garages not only transformed the streetscape but also remarkably modified the ar-

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6   This refers to the term 'Racial Banishment', coined by Ananya Roy (2019), which I discuss extensively in Chapter 4.

chitecture of the defunct buildings, and thus the street itself (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). Today, NGBG is one of Malmö's most important areas for hosting diasporic retailers, whose aspiration to enter the job market and earn a livelihood in Sweden has resulted in the production of new modes and cultures of urban dwelling. Nonetheless – or precisely as an effect of the resettlement of the banished – NGBG has become a place 'off the map'.

In the case of NGBG, such processes have occurred in close interrelation with on-site facilities, potentials, and the transformative agency of spaces and materials. The street provides spatial support at the intersection of historical and (trans)local relations within and beyond the street. On the one hand, the physical features of the street – the industrial materiality of the buildings – afford *other ways* of dwelling. On the other hand, through activating the hidden potentials of such physical features as a support system, (re)territorialisation take place. The street affords a form for spatial investments (supported by other forms of investments such as time, labour, and networks) in the quest for the right to livelihood and permanence for the migrant entrepreneurs.

In the following, I explore the spatial and material reconfigurations of NGBG – in its historical as well as social context. By weaving together the stories from (and about) the street as a place of "simultaneity of stories-so-far" articulated within the power geometries of space (Massey, 2005: 130), the chapter empirically explores how the street has changed and adapted over time, through processes and practices co-constructing its spatial infrastructure. In so doing, I methodologically focus on the "(im) materiality and events of buildings; to trace the complex processes of transformation, inhabitation, renovation and presentation of buildings", to draw on a formulation by Yaneva (2017: 7). To capture the transformation of the street as a whole, we need to zoom in on the details of its physical as well as narrative and performative changes. The following sections describe the emergent line of garages and retail amenities against its (post)industrial historical background, exploring the interior alterations and exterior interventions, displays and material registers. These physical interventions have, however, gone hand in hand with symbolic significations and ritual performativity, underscoring that the spatial infrastructure of NGBG has emerged through social as much as material processes. Hence the chapter explores how NGBG's spatial transforma-

Figure 3.4. A post-industrial building in NGBG. Source: *Norra Sorgenfi Nu* blog, 2009
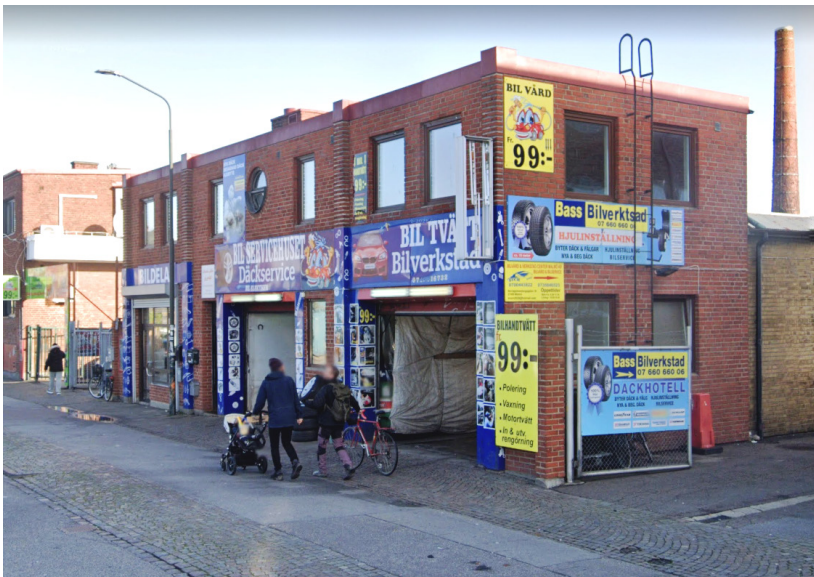
Figure 3.5. The defunct building transformed into multi-functioning garages. Source: Google Street view, 2021

tions intersect with processes of various modalities, in relation to which material changes and social resignifications have taken place at various scales and through multiple relations – as a sum effect constituting part of the spatial infrastructures in NGBG.

The chapter is subdivided into five main perspectives on the spatiality and materiality of the street as supportive infrastructures of diasporic spaces, focusing on (1) its (post)industrial genealogy, (2) the architectural interventions in/of the garages, (3) the garages' functions to afford (and be afforded by) the ritual fixtures of the annual Muharram commemorations among Shi'a-Islamic communities, (4) the paradoxically similar-yet-contrasting function of the same garages as music scenes during the yearly NGBG Street Festival, and (5) the gradual materialising of a suburban 'migrant strip mall' of retail amenities along the street.

A (Post-)Industrial Genealogy of Marginalisation

In the wake of mid-19th-century industrialisation, the industries located in central Malmö needed expansion. The Sofielund farming lands in the eastern part of Malmö, with large plots, proximity to the railway, and good road connections, served this purpose. Original plans to transform Sofielund farmlands into a purely residential area were altered to create new industrial sites combined with residential areas for the labour force (White Arkitekter and Fastighetsägare Sofielund, 2018). Around this time, the derogatory nickname 'Svinaryssland' (a colloquial humorously interconnecting 'swine' and 'Russia') was coined to refer to the newly built residential area. It referred both to the many households keeping pigs in their yards and the slaughterhouses in the area, as well as its eastern location and remoteness from the city centre (White Arkitekter and Fastighetsägare Sofielund, 2018: 28).

In 1903, a city plan for the district was published which, among other things, stated that a church and market hall would be built in the area. In 1911, Sofielund was formally incorporated within Malmö city limits, but it remained undeveloped for several decades (Figure 3.6). The city purchased the whole undeveloped area in the northern part of Lönngatan in 1923 (White Arkitekter and Fastighetsägare Sofielund, 2018: 29), which today comprises the so-called industrial part of Sofielund. NGBG was
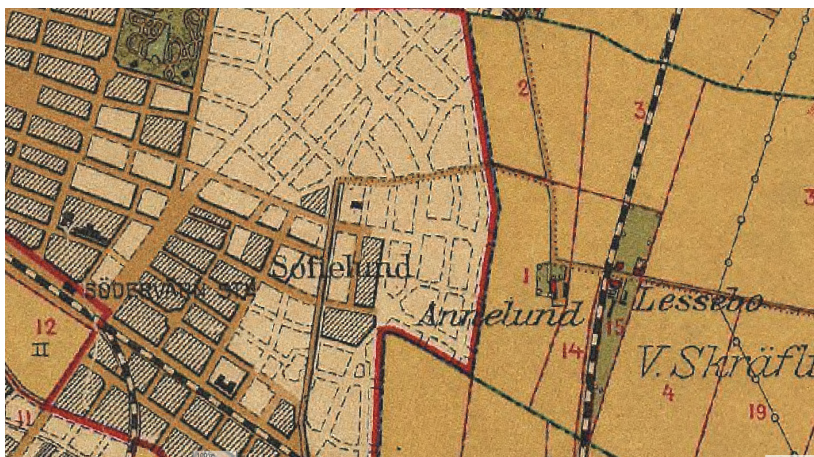
Figure 3.6. Sofielund and Annelund, 1912. Source: Malmö Municipality

built in 1932 on the farmland named Annelundsgården (Dahlberg et al., 2006: 11), envisioned as a central street connecting the industrial area from north to south (Figures 3.7, 3.8, 3.9). A section of the Annelundsgården farmland exists to this day in the shape of a small green area,[7] which is currently planned to be transformed into a recreational area with bars, a music club and other activities – a project launched as part of the ambitions of developing NGBG into an area for leisure and tourism.

Since the 1930s, a long list of companies in the food, textile, and service sectors established themselves in Sofielund. In 1960, the starch factory Stadex AB moved into its current premises in NGBG (Dahlberg et al., 2006). The Sofielund industrial area continued to expand throughout the 1970s, with little heed to the environmental hazards of the expanding city. Over time, the Pågen bakery took over several blocks. Together with Stadex AB, it remains the main industrial actor in the current development of the NGBG area, something which I explore in subsequent sections.

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7   Annelundsgården was an old market garden that ceased to be used in 1967. Three years later, the neighbouring Stadex took over the farm and turned it into an office for the starch industry company. What remains includes a 300 square meter building and 2000 square meters of garden plot. By a collaborative agreement in 2020, Stadex leased the garden to the NGBG association waiving payment of rent for five years. The association plans a new urban/cultural garden with music and food (Sydsvenskan 2020-12-09).

Figure 3.7. Location of Sofielund area in Malmö. Illustrated by Parto Jahangiri

Figure 3.8. Sofielund industrial area. NGBG is marked in red. Illustrated by Parto Jahangiri

Figure 3.9. Bird's view of Sofielund industrial area and NGBG, making the northern-southern connection possible. Aerial photo by Parto Jahangiri

As an effect of globalisation from the 1980s, with resulting changes in the structure and the geography of production, the industrialisation process was transforming with detrimental effects for the large companies in Malmö, and those in the Sofielund industrial area specifically (Dahlberg et al 2006: 12). Moreover, in connection with the financial crises of Kockums[8] shipyards and Malmö's major textile industries in the 1980s, smaller industries and services also faced difficulties. Several service amenities and subcontractors related to those industries located in the Sofielund industrial area, such as foundries, wholesalers, carpentries, paper wholesalers and print shops, gradually vanished.

In parallel to these transformations in Malmö, the global dislocation of the geography of production affected the economy of the countries in the 'Global South', which became new sites of production in the post-colonial political system. This created displaced, underemployed labour forces, with little success in entering the labour markets of the new economy (Glick Schiller et al., 1992: 9), spurring labour migration.

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8   Built using fill material, the Western Harbour served as a dock and port area for the Kockums shipyard and other industries from the mid-1800s to the 1980s. Kockums was the world's largest shipyard in its heyday in the 1950s and 1960s, employing around 6,000 people. However, the shipyard went into decline following the oil crisis of the late 1970s and closed in 1986 (Malmö Municipality Webpage 2022-05-12).

In this context, with its booming industrial economy after the Second World War, Sweden welcomed labour migration in the 1960s and 1970s. Military conflicts and other disasters from the 1980s led to new waves of migration and displacement, which accelerated the demographic changes in Sweden and Malmö.

In the late 1990s, Malmö was going through large scale transformations with several renewal projects in the harbour area (previously hosting major shipyards) as part of the new comprehensive 'Plan 2000'. Abandoning large scale industries, Malmö was shifting from an industrial to a post-industrial city (Holgersen, 2014; Mukhtar-Landgren, 2009, 2012) in pursuit of economic recovery from the 1990–94 crises, devaluing the industrial workforce (Holgersen, 2015: 13). The emerging post-industrial labour market, characterised by high competence thresholds, was not open to everyone. Refugees and migrants faced particular difficulties to enter the labour market, driving processes of exclusion and socioeconomic othering. The new developments of the city, however, were less significant for the eastern parts of Malmö, including Sofielund and NGBG. The area remained peripheral despite its geographical proximity to the southern inner-city area (Södra Innerstaden). Nevertheless, the area was transforming – not as the outcome of development plans 'from above', but as side-effects of several trajectories.

Significant numbers of the newcomers in Malmö settled in the massive housing area of Rosengård, (or similar public housing projects), part of the national 'Million Programme' public housing project (*Miljonprogrammet*). This programme, aiming at the production of one million new domiciles, was implemented from 1965 to 1974 by the Social Democratic government, with the ambition of providing good living standards at a reasonable price for everyone. The project, however, carried unintended effects of internal urban migration, as the majority of Swedish residents relocated to other areas of Malmö, dissatisfied with the Million Programme's top-down planning models and little room for flexibility. Consequently, the Million Programme residential areas became mainly inhabited by blue-collar workers, newcomers, and immigrants who sought cheap rents. A common pattern of depopulation emerged within the Million Programme housing areas all around Sweden, with the consequence that nearly 25,000 new apartments stood empty by 1976.

Such processes occurred alongside the implementation of Swedish multiculturalist policies of integration, which recognised the right of recently settled 'ethnic' groups to develop 'their own' cultural practices, devised at creating opportunities to be "separate but equal", as Jennifer Mack (2017) formulates it. Hence ethnic inequalities remained untouched in the process of eliminating economic and class differences within the welfare state, not least in the spatial development of the Swedish cities and towns (Mack, 2017: 69). In the case of Malmö's Million Programme housing area of Rosengård, the demography of the area gradually changed according to the same pattern. By the 1990s, Rosengård had become an equally (ill-)reputed and diverse residential area, with high unemployment rates and significant social and security problems (Listerborn, 2008: 66).[9] As Jennifer Mack points out, while the integration regime was respectful and encouraged difference within a broader fabric of Swedish citizenship, it ultimately strengthened a secondary mood of citizenship for immigrants and newcomers (Mack, 2017).

The settlement of newcomers in Rosengård coincided with the de-population and de-industrialisation of the adjacent neighbourhood of Sofielund, where NGBG is located. As large industries (and their correlated service amenities and subcontractors) left the Sofielund industrial area, NGBG transformed from a de-industrialised and de-populated street into a pivot for the livelihood of migrant groups who were mostly settled in the adjacent neighbourhoods such as Rosengård.

With the emergent demographic changes and the high density of the migrant population in the eastern part of Malmö, both for working and living, certain areas became targets of stigmatisation. As Holgersen highlights, the eastern part of Malmö, "excluded from the city's growth strategy and employment policy", mainly came to receive attention in media connected to occasional outbursts of riots and social unrest (Holgersen, 2014: 31) as well as crime and (alleged) 'religious radicalism'. There was growing concern, among both ordinary people (mostly Sweden-born citizens established in the area) and Malmö's authorities, regarding the

9   The stigmatised image was reproduced by local as well as international media, in 2004 a Fox News story by Steve Harrigan went viral, providing an alarmist depiction of the areas as "overtaken" by Muslim communities and crime (Stenberg & Lagervall 2016: 5).

growing black markets, tax evasion and illegal nightclubs proliferating in the area. This spurred negative media attention and stigmatisation of NGBG as Malmö's "land of illegal clubs". In response, the police organised a task force to shut down the 'illegal' clubs in 1999 (Sydsvenskan, 2010-02-09).

This forms the socio-economic, political, and discursive context in which NGBG became an area for settlement and business enterprise for migrant populations, and through which the street has been thoroughly redesigned and remodified – largely below the radar of media attention. Immigrants' appropriation of industrial buildings, office suites and defunct spaces along NGBG took place gradually, progressively and in a self-organised way, in response to the macro processes of socio-economical marginalisation and the uncertainties of the post-industrial condition. Towards the end of the 1990s, the well-known and popular Falafel Baghdad, NazNaz bakery (1999), and the confectionery Orient Kakor (1998) had been established, all active to this day (despite changes in the management). And in parallel, NBGB came to host several 'cultural associations' (*kulturföreningar*) serving as 'ethnic' social clubs and/or religious congregations (as further developed in Chapters 4 & 5). The following sections discuss such processes of transformations from below.

The Emergent Architecture of Garages

Before analysing how garages have been central in the transformation of the spaces and meanings of NGBG through inventive and malleable practices, it is worthwhile to review recent research on the role of garages in modernity from broader perspectives. Garage space has been a substantial part of the architecture of modern suburban areas. The creation of garage space in the United States dates to the arrival of Fordism and the first mass production of automobiles. In their book *Garage* (2018), the artist Olivia Erlanger and the architect Luis Ortega Govela provide a historical account of garage architecture and discuss its transformation over time. They emphasise garages as spaces of creativity and invention, from the garage design by Frank Lloyd Wright to garage usage by startups and garage bands (Erlanger & Govela, 2018). As they point out, with his enthusiasm for the newly invented car, and his non-favourable

evaluation of the modern city, Wright accelerated his concept of sub-urban dispersal with the design of Robie House in the early 20th century. Or as Tom Wilkinson phrases it in his article for *The Architectural Review*: "by doing away with the porch and replacing it with the garage, Wright ushered a new relationship between the home, the neighbourhood, and the city" (Wilkinson, 2019).

In the following decades, the US Federal Housing Administration encouraged the expansion of suburbia by promising housing loans to middle-class families. The properties in question had to accommodate a single family, be detached, and include a garage for the car to encourage the mobility and connection of the peripheral zone with the central areas of the cities. Notable here are the racist and exclusionary aspects of such provisions: only white applicants were accepted. As noted by Erlanger and Govela, the architectural technology of garages hence was central for the expansion of a socio-economic as well as racially homogenous suburbia, the effects of which were far from always positive for suburban, middle-class life: "what began as monocultural societies founded on rac-ist practices turned into cultural and ideological deserts, devoid of diver-sity. Life became so monotonous it seemed dead" (Erlanger & Govela, 2018: 62). Even so, Erlanger and Govela acknowledge the malleability of suburban garages and their creative and diverse functions: garages to-day serve as everything from guest rooms, game rooms, home gyms, and wine cellars to secret bondage lairs and workshops for DIYers. In other words, as Stewart Brand (1994) points out, garages have evolved from a mere parking facility and tool storage into places of *incubation,* as leftover buildings from the Second World War turned into the low rent space for start-up businesses, and became the birthplace of Silicon Valley (Brand, 1994: 31).

In her discussion of everyday public spaces, Margaret Crawford sees garages as an example of how places can temporarily transform into spac-es of commerce. As an unforeseen consequence of the collapse of re-al-estate markets and economic decline in the 1980s, semi-permanent garage sales became common even among the affluent citizens of Los Angeles. During the garage sale, the lawn became activated, filled with worn-out possessions and the contents of closets, drawers, and cabinets. Hence front yards transformed into an ambiguous, uncertain, and unsta-

ble space, melding the public and extremely private (Chase et al., 1999: 29). While the garage sale turns the house inside out by representing the household and exhibiting its intimate materials, it also links the domestic and commercial space, blurring the divisions of the domestic, private, and public realms. Garages hence produce generic spaces within the patterns and registers of everyday life, revealing the ambiguity of place, and its potential for new uses as supportive infrastructures.

It is also interesting to contemplate garages from a gender perspective. In studying the commodification of housing, Janek Ozmin (2017) explores how suburban garages in the United States contribute to the production of masculine domesticities and domestic masculinities. Defining the suburban garage as a domestic space, Ozmin understands it as a peripheral and unfinished room in need of intervention, to be transformed beyond its preliminary aims as a parking space into a storage place with multiple roles and meanings (Ozmin, 2017: 259). Garages are performative spaces, activated through the maintenance practices of the household within the patriarchal capitalist system. Men can take part in domestic labour by working inside the garage without compromising their (perceived and normative) masculine role. Hence garages carry material as well as social, psychological, and ultimately political meanings, operating and operated as "a reflexive space in constant transformation with the subjects who inhabit and construct it" (Ozmin, 2017: 263).

The perspectives above illustrate how the apparently banal and mundane place of the garage carries complex social meanings and effects, lending it a pivotal flexibility and malleability. Ranging from a storage place for the car, gardening equipment, or a workbench for home repairs and maintenance to a space for start-ups and garage bands, garage architecture may be adjusted and altered according to the need of its users. The garage can be considered "uniquely situated between public and private realms, house and infrastructure, store and facilitator, place of work and labour" (Ozmin, 2018: 256). Garage architecture's flexible and unfinished nature can support creativity and freedom. It provides an aboveground underground, offering both a safe space for withdrawal and a stage for participation—opportunities for isolation or empowerment (Erlanger & Govela, 2018).

In the following section, I illustrate how current developments in

NGBG provide a fascinating new episode in the history of garage architecture and its socio-material transformation. I also show that despite distinctions, one can find similarities between domestic garages as discussed above and the industrial garages and car services existing along NGBG in terms of their flexible and porous characteristics, which generate peculiar infrastructure for their inhabitants to be associated with multiple localities and temporalities elsewhere. Such characteristics produce ambiguity and blurred boundaries that reveal possibilities of empowerment and subjectivity as well as *supravisibility* and *infravisibility* or invisibility (Brighenti, 2010: 146), lending itself to accommodation as well as subversive practices.

NGBG Garages: Spatial (Re)Production *Otherwise*

Garages are among the most predominant features of NGBG today, occupying a considerable part of the eastern side of the street. Despite their unassuming character, they are a significant part of its visual profile and soundscape (the sounds of water splashing can be heard all through the day) as well as its reputation, particularly for the inexpensive cost of a car wash (99 SEK, equal to €10, still in 2022). The garages further attain visibility by extending their territory onto and into the sidewalks, through vivid material registers such as signages of price and chairs for the customers to sit while waiting. They also sometimes overcrowd the sidewalks, extending the garage area into the pedestrian areas, or are corporately appropriating the garage fronts, as the workers and mechanics are resting, chatting, smoking, and watching passers-by, accommodating the everyday rhythm of the street. The garages become a space of encounter and connection between customers, workers, and passers-by, part of the public domain that mediates socio-political conditions of spatiality and imaginaries in NGBG.

The garages of the NGBG industrial area – just as the domestic garages of suburban areas – provide a peripheral and thus flexible and unfinished type of architecture, afforded by as well as contributing to the streetscape of leftover buildings and the industrial atmosphere of the street. Their out-of-the-way location creates a measure of autonomy, providing opportunities for altering the interiors as well as the exteriors of

the buildings, granting tactical invisibility vis-à-vis the gaze of power. The defunct, one- or two-story office buildings have come to represent an unfinished architecture of continuous change, adaptation, and repair. Paradoxical as it may seem, the very periphery of the location provides a supportive infrastructure for the spatio-material mediations of migrant enterprise – coextensive with the character of the street as a site of displacement and limitation. This infrastructure is navigated and activated through the corporal, material, visual, and temporal appropriations, a ground for (re)territorialisation.

Adrian Forty (2004) suggests that the relationship between morphology and function constitutes a significant element in the formation of an architectural typology. The NGBG garages amply illustrate the transformative processes through which morphology and function speak to each other and develop dynamically – but also in relation to distinct temporal rhythms and scale-making. The architecture of the small defunct office buildings in red bricks offers a garage-like spatiality, resulting in the emergence of a row of multiple small-size units. Often one single building has been subdivided into several units. Each unit is designed and equipped based on the type of services offered to the customers, namely carwash, car service, and tyre service.

The façade changes are significant and aligned with the interior changes that have adapted to cater the function. To allow the cars to enter inside the garages or carwashes, the original openings have been extended and enlarged. The existing physical infrastructure of the building, such as the leaden bearing columns and walls, have been used as partitioning tools for the subdivided sections. These walls and columns, framing the entrance gates, have become part of the façade design with their protrusion and depression. The red bricks, as the common material of façades enduring from the industrial era, are covered with large size colourful signs and panels advertising the type of service and assistance provided (Figures 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14).

As most of the garages along NGBG used to be workshops, storages, or small-scale industries, the buildings were enclosed within loading areas, where large vehicles could unload their supplies. After the alteration of those buildings, the spaces around the buildings became part of the garage design and facilities. They are now mainly used as temporary

Fafa Bilvård

Däck service - Bäst Bilversio

Däkservice - Autospecialisten

Dyma Bil Service

Al Amili Däckservice

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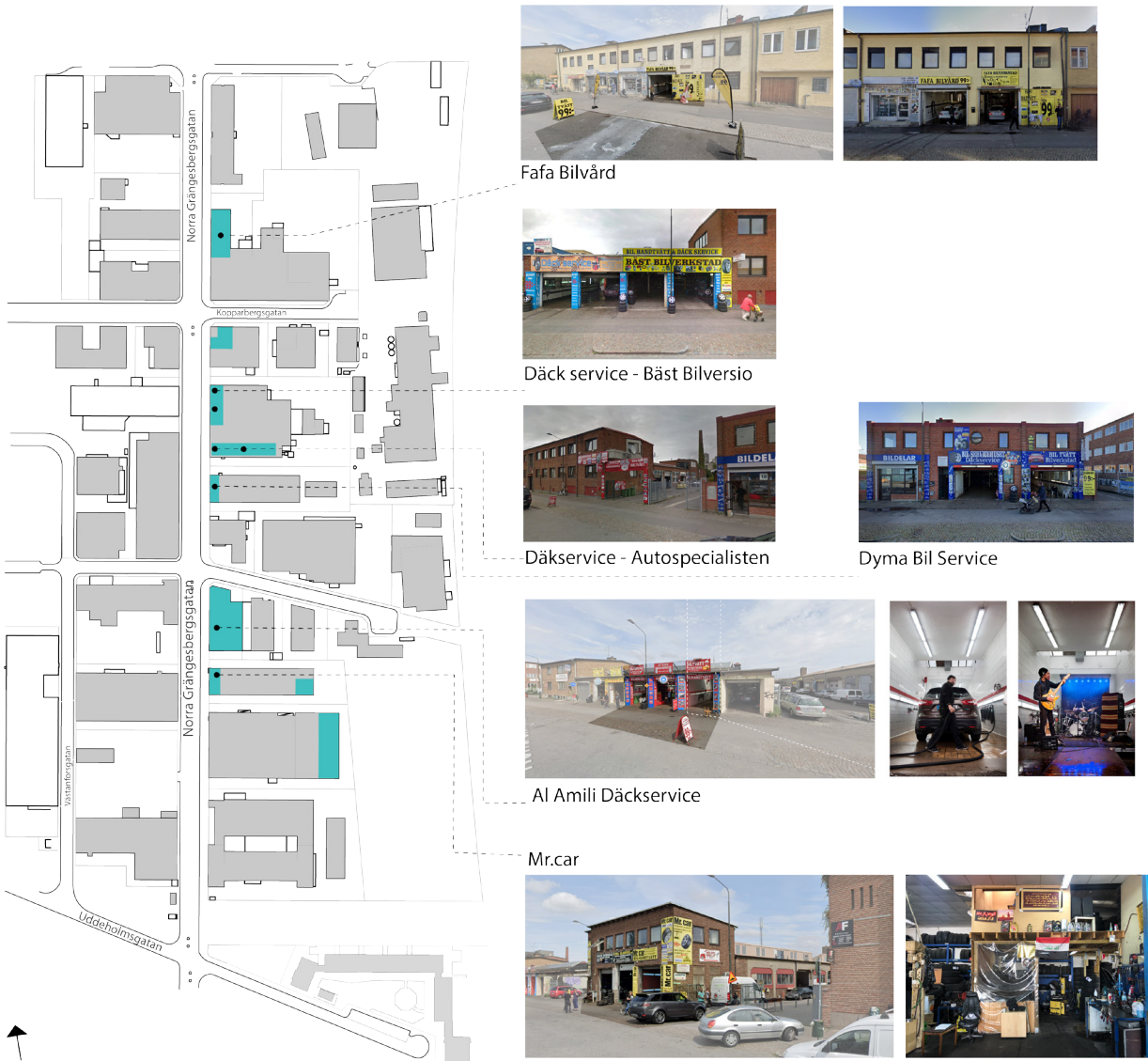
Figure 3.10. Mapping some of the garages in NGBG. Illustrated by Parto Jahangiri

Figure 3.11. A building newly trans-
formed into a garage in NGBG, 2009.
Source: *Norra Sorgenfi Nu* Weblog.

Figure 3.12. The same garage enlarged
in 2021. Source: Google Street View
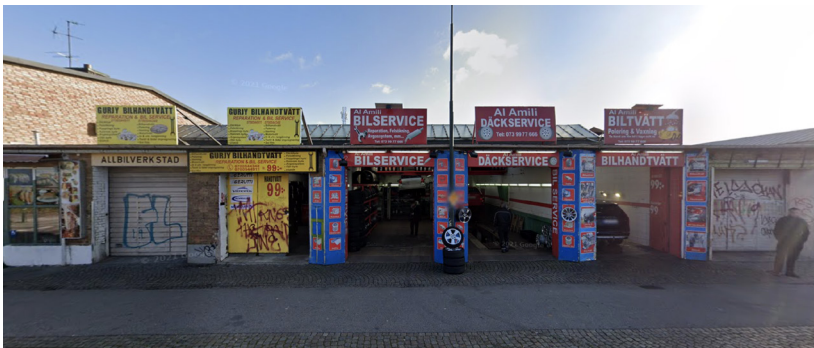
Figure 3.13. A series of carwashes/garages shaping a new typology in NGBG.
Source: Google Street View, 2017

Figure 3.14. A triple multi-functioning garage typology. Source: Google Street
View, 2021

parking lots for the cars waiting to be serviced, as well as storage places for cluttered and scruffy material, which remain hidden from the public gaze. The spaces surrounding the building also make it accessible from other sides of the building and not only the main façade towards the street (Figures 3.15, 3.16, 3.17, 3.18, 3.19). This accessibility supports the formation of supplementary rooms within the buildings, used as garages or supportive infrastructure.

The interior design of the garages is also similar between various units, indicating their industrial past. The use of space has been optimised through densification, and various forms of shared spaces have developed. Supportive objects and physical infrastructure have been modified and added to the structure of the garages to serve the new purpose of the buildings. With its radical interior alterations, spatial and material adaptations have been implanted to make the system work. As spaces for the repair and maintenance of cars, the garages have been equipped with piping, sewers, and electrical wiring, alongside vehicle inspection pits. Walls have been tiled and floors paved. Shelves are filled with tyres, mechanical tools, and repair equipment, and walls have been supplied with individual and personal decorations. The (re)production of spatial infrastructures hence includes the repair and maintenance of the existing and broken infrastructure, converting the defunct industrial architecture into a regenerated site of livelihoods (and support networks) *otherwise.*

One of the garage premises provides a good example of this (Figure 3.20). The owner of the business has put the Iraqi flag on top of his corner office, where it becomes the first thing noticed at the entrance. Together with other mechanics, he is active in organising the Muharram rituals within the community (as I discuss below), semiotically marked with the Shi'a Islamic signage adorning the interior walls. The small corner office for interactions with the customers is constructed with unassuming materials, furnished with a table, a few chairs, and a plastic curtain separating the office from the general garage room. The equipment and tools are placed in an orderly manner, partly on the working bench and partly hanging from the wall. Spare tyres, both new and used, are carefully placed on the shelves around the garage space, which have become an inseparable part of the interior design. The interior design of the garage hence testifies to the (post)industrial genealogy of the building. It

Figures 3.15 and 3.16 (top, middle). The pictures show the sideways-extended territories of the garage typology. Source: Google Street View, 2021

Figures 3.17 and 3.18 (bottom). Views of a garage in NGBG, 2017. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.19. View of a garage in NGBG. Source: Google Street View, 2021

Figure 3.20. The interior of one of the garages turned into a scene for food preparation during Muharram. Source: Google Street View, 2020

also provides a distinct character of translocal homemaking, referencing religious piety and belonging to a diasporic community, something that I develop in the following.

A (Post-)Industrial Architecture of Ritual Performativity

In the everyday life of the street, the function of the garages extends beyond a mere place for livelihood. They are tangible representatives of how a transgressive encroachment and appropriation can be negotiated and mediated. As such, the spatial infrastructure of NGBG and its migrant enterprise is generically intertwined with its social dimensions. The produced spatio-social infrastructure provides durability and possibility, holding bodies together, as pointed out by Simone (2004). Individual and collective involvement in the spatial, social, and temporal ordering of the street establishes an infrastructure for (and of) *solidarity* and *care*. Here, the NGBG garages carry an important role in creating a space of belonging. Such functions are amply illustrated during the annual Shi'a-Islamic rituals of Muharram.[10] During this ritual fixture, the everyday life of NGBG converts into a solemn, sonic, performative, and visually colourful public commemoration, in the context of which several garages are converted into temporary kitchens for the preparation of votive food.

Muharram is considered a time for prayer and reflection. The month of Muharram is particularly holy for the Shi'a Muslims, who mourn the death of Imam Hussein (the grandson of the Islamic prophet Muhammad and known as the third Imam among Shi'a) and his family. The Muharram ritual reaches its peak on the 10th day of the month (Ashura Day) on which Imam Hussein and his family were killed in the battle of Kerbela (680) in present-day Iraq. The commemoration of this event is woven around heroic and intensely emotional themes of the sacrifice of innocent lives. It is considered a time of mourning and solemn reflection

10   Muḥarram *(*Arabic: المحرّم) is the first month of the Islamic calendar. It derives its name from the word *haram*, meaning 'forbidden' – in the meaning 'the period in which it is forbidden' to resort to violence, due the holy status of the month in Islamic history. Muharram, however, takes a particular meaning and importance in Shi'a Islam, denoted by a specific set of public rituals among Shi'a communities, as is discussed below.

and includes various communal rites of commemoration and solidarity (Szanto, 2018). It is a time when people (in observant contexts) would neither hold nor attend parties, weddings, or celebrations.

Muharram rituals have changed over time and vary according to the contexts and traditions of interpretation in various Shi'a communities (and politicised orchestrations). Today the rituals represent not only the religious significance of pious individuals but have turned into a major public event, central to social and communal life (and sometimes subversive appropriation in youth culture) in many Shi'a countries. A central element is a series of public ceremonies including large groups of men dressed in black, marching along the streets for ten consecutive nights, accompanied by loud drums and ritual monodies lasting until midnight, as I recall from growing up in Iran. Parallel to the carnivalesque atmosphere in the streets, groups gather in mosques and shrines and mourn in silence all night. In many Shi'a countries, votive food is distributed at public venues like mosques for those participating in the commemoration, or at private residences of affluent individuals. It is also an event of communal gathering, to meet over food preparation. As one of my interlocutors described:

> I am part of a small religious organisation/association. We participate in various cultural/religious activities among Shi'a communities. For instance, we help with organising and providing votive food, distributing it, and holding religious lectures during the Moharram. To do that, we negotiate with those who have access to a large space in their shop, so that our cooks can use it for food preparations. The best places for this purpose are usually the garages and carwashes along the street, because of the spaciousness and handiness of water for washing and cleaning. For example, we rent a garage temporarily (4–5 days) and use its facility. Usually, the owner doesn't ask for any money in return because what we do here is for Imam Hussein's commemoration. (interview with Tareq, 2018)

Thus, the car service premises as spacious and furnished places occasionally turn into an infrastructure providing for the community needs.

Equipped with water pipes, electricity, and being spatially flexible, they provide a base for activities beyond bread earning (Figure 3.21). As Brian Larkin notes in his piece on the 'poetics and politics of infrastructures', infrastructures are *unruly*: "what distinguishes infrastructure from technologies is that they are objects that create the grounds on which other objects operate, and when they do so they operate as system" (Larkin, 2013: 329). Following Larkin, the NGBG garages are infrastructural in an unruly way, in that they are mutable and malleable. They provide a base for entrepreneurship, employment, and livelihood through the appropriation of the industrial environment – which in turn provides the socio-spatial grounding for the creation and maintenance of symbolic and ritual space, instrumental in creating a sense of community and holding the community together.

Figure 3.21. The interior of one of the garages, 2020. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.22. Cooking and distributing the votive foods in garages as part of the commemoration ritual of Muharram, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.23. Distribution of votive food and snacks in NGBG, Muharram 2021. Source: Google Street View

The Festival Space of Garages

To some extent ironically and contrary to such debates, the garages have been brought to attention by the actors working with the 'cultural upgrading' of the street. On September 24th, 2016, the street hosted the festival named NGBG Gatufest (NGBG Street Party) for the first time. The idea of the NGBG festival was part of a democracy project suggested by Nicklas Johansson, the board member of NGBG association and a representative of Malmö municipality since 2016 (Malmö Municipality Webpage 2021-01-28). Criticising the top-down renewal projects run by the municipality, Johansson suggested a democracy project, where citizens could get involved directly in the process of changes (interview with Johansson, 2020). According to Johansson, an event like a festival in which people could have an active role in the organisation provided a way of realising such objectives. The idea grew in parallel to and in collaboration with the network Fastighetsägarna Sofielund (Sofielund's Property Owners) and BID,[11] who also had plans to have a street party in the neighbourhood aiming to increase its safety. The NGBG festival thus became a departure point in revitalising the area, by uplifting the existing cultural heritage rather than demolishing it or performing any insensitive transformation in the neighbourhood, according to Johansson. The idea was to get the associations in the area to cooperate, participate and get to know each other with the help of the street party (Sydsvenskan, 2016-09-20). In response to the reputation of NGBG as a 'lawless land', the festival was conceptualised as part of a strategy for improving the public image of the street (SVT, 2017-09-07).

The festival is based on an open call for public funds in combination with privately-owned buildings and land lots, free entry, and the emphasis on 'local culture'. It was imagined as a community-driven event, where the community members come together to celebrate, consume food and drinks, and be exposed to (and consume) handicrafts from local producers. It was also envisioned to include and involve the many

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11   BID stands for Business Improvement District. It is a model developed in the United States and Canada for commercial property owners who want to work together to invest in and improve an area. In the context of Malmö, it has been reinterpreted to denote 'Housing, Integration, Participation' (*Bostad, Integration, Deltagande*), as further discussed in Chapter 4.

present rehearsal venues and cultural associations of the area, where amateur, as well as professional musicians, artists, and filmmakers, are active. According to Johansson, the difference between the NGBG festival and other larger events such as the annual Malmö Festival is its adjustability to the needs of those who cooperate and are involved in the process of making the festival happen. Accordingly, the participants are not only consumers of the art and cultural productions, but also encouraged to be actively involved and "make their wishes come true". This idea can be seen in contrast to the pre-decided and top-down processes of other types of events, but also fits neatly into neoliberal models of individual choice and responsibility. During the festival, pop-up urban furniture was also introduced to the street, the types that usually are mentioned as what the street is lacking. In an interview, Johansson pointed out that:

> This street lacks public meeting places. There are no benches, no cafés here. There is really no place here where people can meet. So, the street party is then a giant meeting place for a lot of people who in different ways are in different rooms along this street, but who are not visible (SVT, 2017-09-07).

During the festival, the car service premises become hotspots for music and entertainment (Figures 3.24 and 3.25). The idea of creating a casual, funky, and temporary stage within the garages received lots of attention from the population (predominantly white 'hipster' and/or left-leaning) of Malmö who have continued to visit the street during the festival since 2016. Every year, in the planning stage, the festival organisers start a negotiation process with the garage owners to rent out their places for a full day. Those who agree to collaborate keep their businesses closed for a day and in return receive a rental price of about 5000 SEK (€500). The predominantly migrant-run amenities of livelihood become exotic and appealing in a temporal appropriation and commodification by the festival organisers. The participation of the car service businesses owners is limited to this temporal overtaking of their amenities, and they otherwise remain invisible during the festival, leaving the street to be temporarily overtaken by the 'cool', middle-class (and predominantly white) festival guests. On the other hand, the car service premises have become one

Figure 3.24. A garage on a regular day (left), the same garage during the festival (right). By Henrik Rosenqvist (in White Arkitekter and Fastighetsägare Sofielund, 2018)

Figure 3.25. One of the garages transformed into a music scene during NGBG festival, 2019. Photograph by the author

of the focal topics of the discussions regarding the future planning and vision for the street. The environmental pollution, chemical hazards, and cluttered atmosphere of these garages are among the main arguments for some of the politicians opposing the existence of the car service premises along the street (perspectives which I explore further in Chapter 4).

The organisers assess the NGBG festival as distinctly successful during the years it has been arranged from 2016 to 2019 (it was cancelled in 2020 and 2021 due to the pandemic). More than 40,000 people have visited the festival, and there have been no reports of crime, sexual harassment, or disorderly conduct during the event, something Johansson takes to illustrate the safety benefits of the participatory model for the festival (interview with Johansson, 2020). The festival is seen as instrumental in upgrading the stigmatised image of the neighbourhood and hence is indicative of the changing approach towards NGBG among property owners and the municipal government. It rests on and fosters the future and (re)valued visions for the street, in advertisements as well as material interventions, and strengthens the links between the NGBG Association and private, commercial interestest as well as public government. This, in turn, stimulates other forms of (re)territorialisation, overlapping with or superimposed on the existing spaces territorialised primarily by self-employed entrepreneur migrants.

David Harvey's article "From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism" (Harvey, 1989), provides a perspective relevant for the analysis of the strategies employed for the future of the street. Harvey notes how urban entrepreneurialism considers "speculative construction of place rather than amelioration of conditions... as its immediate (though by no means exclusive) political and economic goal" (Harvey, 1989: 8). Investments in architecture, physical upgrading, festivals, and cultural events are all examples of entrepreneurial strategies of branding. They are geared at transforming urban space to "appear as an innovative, exciting, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in" (Harvey, 1989: 9).

In NGBG, such investments from above including physical upgrading of the street (Figures 3.26 and 3.27), stand in stark contrast with the type of investments migrant entrepreneurs have provided from below. The mechanics and scrappers displaced from their previous locales re-settled

in NGBG, as a local tactical response to the broader strategic transformations across Malmö. During the ensuing years, they established livelihood practices through the devotion of labour, time, assets, and competences, (re)producing spatial infrastructures. The resulting transformation of the street – the migrant's infrastructure – in turn provided an infrastructure for yet another layer of change and renewal from above, carried through the street festival and beautification of the street. In the processes, the values produced through and aimed at improving migrant livelihoods are

Figure 3.26. "Now there are 19 trees on NGBG and soon all the planted seeds will be many flowers. The neighbourhood gets a little nicer with each passing day", translated from Swedish by the author. Source: NGBG Association Facebook page

eclipsed by the values of public-private neoliberal regeneration – ironically underscoring the precarity of the migrants whose labour (re)created the post-industrial NGBG.

To conclude this section: what do we learn by mapping the garages of NGBG? What stories do such 'messy' and 'impure' places tell? As has been clear from the above, the small-size workshops, left-overs of Malmö's industrial era, transformed into car services, gradually forming
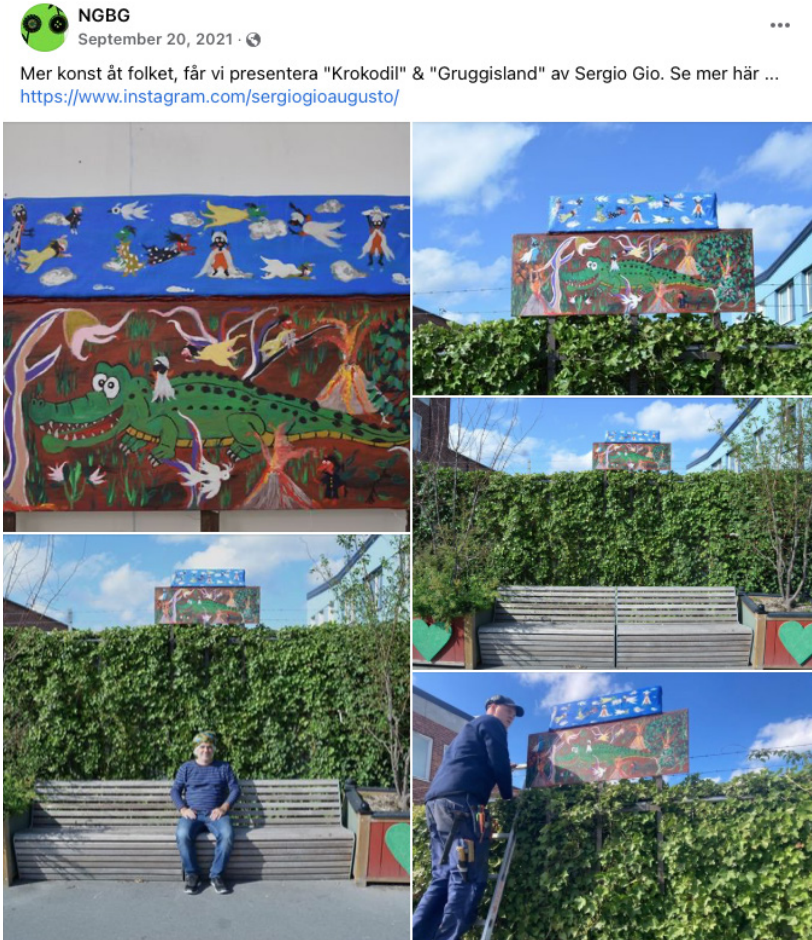
Figure 3.27. "More art for the people, we get to present 'Crocodile' and 'Gruggisland' by Sergio Gio", translated from Swedish by the author. Source: NGBG Association Facebook page

a new architecture of garages and carwashes, accommodating migrant enterprise and labour. The malleable and adaptable spatiality of the formerly industrial workshops made such incremental transformation possible. This spatial-functional-economic resignification of the street has concomitantly altered (and improved) its value – albeit in different versions for different actors involved in and with the street. Their malleability affords their appropriation for sharply contrasting activities, providing a supportive architecture for pop-up kitchens for votive food preparation during solemn religious rituals, as well as musical performances during festivals and street parties. The porous architectural infrastructure of the garages (re)produces such multi-functional and multi-scalar places. Notably, however, it is the labour, care, and maintenance the mechanics have devoted to the garage spaces – as places of bread-winning – that lie behind the attention of the creative sector and semi-private organisers during the last decades. The garages initially perceived as messy, dirty, and problematic have entered the limelight of the (material and discursive) development of NGBG as "the coolest street of Malmö", envisioning the future of the area in the larger scale of urban renewal.

Theorising Diasporic Retail Space

The garages of NGBG were the first example of how the (post)industrial genealogy of the area was appropriated by new users and practices. Equally important for the transformation of the street, however, is the more recent emergence of retail spaces, explored in the final empirical section of this chapter. Before mapping and analysing the diasporic retail spaces in the street, however, it is instructive to discuss some recent research perspectives on 'informal' urban retail from the perspectives of global migration and the commercialisation of cities.

The privatisation of the public realm through mallification, commercialisation, and the occupation of city centres by the supportive infrastructures of shopping malls (such as large parking facilities, food quarters, and bar districts) has been discussed in many studies. Mattias Kärrholm examines the territorialisation of public space by retail activities and amenities (Kärrholm, 2012), through which large parts of the city (and the citizens) become both homogenised and predictable through

commerce and consumption (Kärrholm, 2013). Retail territorialisation hence disciplines and displaces spontaneous activities and groups such as youths, skaters, graffiti artists, festivals, and 'colonises' times and spaces otherwise (ibid, 2013). In line with Kärrholm's discussion of the emergence and ever-increasing tempo of new retail environments in the city, the following section explores the particular tactics and typologies of retail amenities employed among self-employed migrants.

Retail spaces established by migrants are vivid footprints of the global migration, spatialised and materialised as translocal places of livelihood. For those affected by and subjected to accelerated mobility and global flows, merchandising is also part of homemaking practices. Enterprise not only creates livelihood but forges, (re)configures, and materialises associations between various home places, people, and ideas. In this way, new modes of social and economic transactions are initiated and navigated in diasporic retail spaces. Often conceived of as 'diverse' and 'colourful' spots in the cities among middle-class inhabitants and tourist consumers, they constitute a geography of survival economy and belonging for marginalised populations. Diasporic retail spaces negotiate complex practices, perceptions, and politics of production and consumption. A diversified tradescape simultaneously creates livelihoods and market niches, as well as processes of commercial-cultural othering when amenities are branded and reified as 'ethnic' versus 'mainstream'.

The everyday practices in the diasporic retail spaces are intrinsically interwoven with global and local forces. As I demonstrate in the following, the spatiality and architecture design of NGBG retail spaces are largely dependent on in situ socio-political as well as physical conditions. Scrutinising such amenities within the constellations of global (neo)liberal market economy and local power geometries unfolds layers of urban injustice, wherein processes of racialisation, ethno-cultural reification, gendering, and class intersect. Caught in obscure layers of formality and informality, visibility and invisibility, and inclusion and exclusion, such retail and vending spaces reveal the spatial politics and politics of access to infrastructures in support of livelihood practices. While market-oriented regulations combined with xenophobic attitudes seek to banish urban poor and marginalised subjects from the tourist-friendly city centres in most Western European cities, diasporic retail spaces are sites of

subjectivity, belonging, and resistance. Within such a modus operandi, migrants' spatial-commercial infrastructure becomes political and material at once (Amin, 2014).

Street markets and small retail stores initiated by migrants are usually demarcated as 'informal' both economically and spatially; not conforming to the predefined conditions of the hegemonic urbanism. These may be migrants in 'edge territories' in the UK (Hall, 2021), Turkish immigrants in defunct industrial buildings in Germany (Kuppinger, 2010), or immigrant Bangladeshi vendors in the touristic streets of Rome (Piazzoni, 2020). Here, retail ventures do not conform to the 'normalised' and 'standard' modes of trade, falling outside of the proper values defined in a singular system of worlding. From such a perspective, 'informality' is an epistemological as well as an economic concept (Roy, 2009). Informal retail can be understood as a counter-hegemonic politics, in the face of enforced modernistic planning instructions. In the intersection of race, class, and city, notions of informality feed into an epistemological regime that associates whiteness with orderly spaces, designating others as *out of place*. It rests on and co-constructs a hierarchical structure favouring private industry and state power. In face of such regimes, merchants branded as informal face precarity, dispossession, and socio-spatial injustice. As an ultimate irony, the spaces appropriated by *devalued* retail ventures and labour in the large European cities are considered *assets* for urban renewals and vitality, or hubs for attracting tourists into cities and, as a result, diasporic retail amenities face the risk of displacement or removal.

Emphasising the spatial and social constructions of race, several studies explore migrants' livelihood practices and socio-economic transactions within the post-colonial context in the so-called 'Global North' in relation to the 'Global South'. Despite the distinct particularities of the political economy of each context, tracing similarities through 'comparative tactics' may provide a better understanding of global urbanism, as Robinson (2015) suggests. With such an approach, we can trace how urbanisms from elsewhere are re-appropriated by migrants in their inhabitation of new places (Hall et al, 2016). We find an illuminating example in Huda Tayob's study of two buildings in Cape Town that are used and transformed by immigrants. Tayob discerns an emerging spatial typology of black markets where the "complex nature of spaces of refuge within

urban areas" is articulated and markets are "rendered invisible as they lie outside of the canon of architecture" (Tayob, 2019: 351). Not designed by architects but through everyday practices of livelihood, they provide a new spatial typology from below (Tayob, 2020), away from the gaze of power.

Similar processes are in focus in the work of Suzanne Hall et al., with specific attention to the importance of the interior of buildings. Contextualising their study within the colonial history of the UK, they explore the material and situated configuration of multi-ethnic streets transforming several middle-scale cities (Hall et al., 2017). In a study that focuses on Stapelton Road in Bristol, they expand on its history, materiality, and locality by mapping the socio-spatial practices of self-employed migrants. By paying specific attention to the interior spaces of retail stores, the study demonstrates the social dynamic of places and the inhabitants' connections to other spaces and temporalities. Hall notes how this importance devoted to interior spaces creates a distinct form of city-making, conceptualised as *urban mutualism*. It "emerges in the intense subdivision of shop space in which multiple activities and tenures are co-located and in the process are reconfigured", hence generating new spatial practices and struggles for alternatives (Hall, 2021: 138–139).

Either in the form of dense street markets, retail stores on a high street, or a suburban retail mall, migrants establish livelihoods through entrepreneurial skills, localised labour, and translocal relations and associations. When reconfigured spatially and materially, such relations and associations become part of city-making processes. Hence, retail spaces function as infrastructure for other forms of socio-spatial associations.

The Architecture of a Migrant Strip Mall

From the early 2000s onwards, a property owner with migrant background who possessed a large plot along NGBG made a series of major changes of various scales and forms, resulting in the establishment of the Ashirson complex in the middle of NGBG. Once a large warehouse for wholesale, today the establishment is divided into several small shops. The material interventions are not only limited to the interior modifications, but include façade renovations, a parking lot extension, the renovation

of an old storage unit in the parking area, and recently the construction of two entirely new buildings. In recent years, through a major renovation, the main building has been divided into seven autonomous shops, varying in size and type of retail (Figures 3.28, 3.29, 3.30). Each of these rental shops has adjusted to the existing physical structure and followed different strategies for the socio-material appropriation of the space. As a result, a different retail atmosphere has emerged, with the establishment of a range of shops selling spices and nuts, women's clothing, perfumes, and accessories, as well as a kiosk selling tobacco, drinks, and SIM cards. This variety in types of retails and material designs has created different entities, not entirely different from a bazaar or market structure.

The building is built across two levels. Most shops are on street level, and only a few of them have access to the upper floor as well. For example, in two of these shops, a small entrance or threshold area leads the visitor into the main sections of the shop, either up to the second story or down to the basement (Figures 3.33 and 3.34). This threshold area has been materially designed and configured in a way that creates a display/vitrine for retail. By exhibiting the best selection of their merchandise in this space, the shopkeepers display the contents of the shop for the customers (Figure 3.35). This can be seen as a solution to the lack of visual accessibility from the outside to inside the shops, because of noncompliance between the initial purpose of the building design and its current use after the re-appropriation. Other shops, smaller in size and not divided into two levels, have regular window displays. Moreover, the entire façade design of the large building has changed from the original, red brick (the remains of the industrial era) to dark grey metal panels (Figures 3.36 and 3.37). Hence, the changes of the building and its design are afforded by the characteristics of the existing on-site materials. As a result of the re-modelling or changing of old affordances, new affordances appear that in turn can lead to new appropriations and interactions between form and use. Migrants' everyday embodied experiences, in relation to their multiple and hybrid trajectories, socio-political constructions, material geographies and their connections to other scales and places are producing fluid yet physically anchored "spatial registers of affiliation" (Brickell & Datta, 2011: 3).

Figure 3.28. The exterior of Ashirson, 2009. Source: *NGBG Webblog* by Oscar Ponnert

Figure 3.29. The exterior of Ashirson, 2017. Source: Google Maps

Figure 3.30. The exterior of Ashirson, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.31. Construction of a new building in the northern part of the parking lot, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.32. The final phase of the construction, 2021. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.33. The interior design of a retail store in NGBG, 2018. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.34 (left). The interior design of a retail store in NGBG, 2018. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.35 (below). The shopfront of a retail store, 2018. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.36. The shop fronts in Ashirson's retail amenity, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.37. Shop front transgression in the summertime, 2018. Source: Google street view

Figure. 3.38. The strip mall typology of Ashirson and Orient Food. Illustrated by Parto Jahangiri.

The emergent, mundane, and unassuming strip mall typology in NGBG gives us insight into how migrants have left their imprint on the industrial landscape. As architectural products of a hybrid urbanism, constituted through knowledge of city-making forms elsewhere, migrant strip malls are places of spatial resistance, defying the downtown white gaze and nurturing cross-cultural interactions and community building. The migrant strip mall on NGBG, I argue, may also be thought of in terms of a response to demands for market adjustment, in the context of the (spatial, cultural, and economic) hegemony and competition

of chain stores. It becomes even more important as an alternative for self-employed migrant entrepreneurs who cannot afford market regulated rents without falling into the trap of exoticisation within the tourism industry. Migrant retailers cannot compete on equal terms with mega-retailers. In Sweden, non-chain-affiliated boutiques are not only vanishing from the city centres into suburban shopping complexes but also from the modernistic model of the suburban *Centrum* (the community and commercial centre, i.e., Rosengård Centrum). This once again shows the importance of places like NGBG in which retailers still have the chance to make essential alterations through 'urban design from below'. With its porosity, flexibility, and edge location, NGBG remains an asset providing infrastructures in situ. Thus, mapping the street to some extent unfolds the reasons why certain migrants 'land' in certain territories of the city. The migrants' strip mall as well as the small retail stores along the street are still places on the edge, highly visible in front of the shop to the more obscure semi-private spaces at the back.

As should be clear from the Ashirson complex, I do not suggest that the notion of the migrant strip mall is any simple adaptation to a 'global format' of the shopping mall – rather, it is a hybrid and transgressive retail typology on the margins. As a retail typology, it is comparable to the suburban 'strip malls' of North American suburban areas or British 'retail parks', a format increasingly common also in Sweden in recent decades (i.e., Nova Lund, Burlöv Centrum, Rosengård Centrum). Despite similarities with suburban strip malls, the emergent mall typology in NGBG retains an element of 'informal' construction. As such, they constitute unruly vending modalities that do not fit the formal way of constructing, yet are not illegal or unlawful as is the case for some street-vending practices analysed in post-colonial urban studies literature.

NGBG migrant strip mall refers to a line of shops, subdivided from a large industrial building, accommodating various retailers who either personally or cooperatively run the businesses. A narrow pavement is formed in front of the shops for pedestrians. It also offers space for the merchants to transgress the shop fronts with the most attractive merchandise, from a large stand filled with watermelons in the summer to open-air displays of colourful toys. The unruly way of organising the shopfronts (the extension towards the pavement and the concrete parti-

tioners dividing the stores from the large parking lot) altogether comprises an informality and "architecture otherwise" (Awan et.al., 2011). Such subversive, transgressive, and incremental architecture is (re)produced by the support of the leftover industrial buildings. The transformative agency of these buildings triggers material improvisation and renovation. Like the garages, the subdivisions of the stores demonstrate an interiorisation and social dynamic from within, challenging public-private and visible-invisible dichotomies. Adding to this, the multi-ownership of several businesses is constitutive of the different scales of social relations and translocal connections organising diasporic retailers (something I develop in Chapter 4).

We find another example of the gradual emergence of a migrants' strip mall in NGBG in the Orient Food store, run by two brothers with migrant backgrounds since 2017. It replaced the previous Mix Food, which was established in 2013. During the last decade, the building has gone through several changes and renovations by both previous owners. Since 2017, however, the interior and exterior of the building have changed and grown significantly and its parking lot has doubled its capacity (Figures 3:39 and 3.40). The interior of the store has doubled in size through the purchase of additional space. As a result, a new spatial order and material design developed. In addition, a separate opening was added to divide the entrance and exit gates, which used to be shared. The form of organisation, presentation, and arrangement of the sections and even the cashier stands almost follow the same pattern and logic common in global chain grocery store culture that one also can find among Swedish chain supermarkets such as ICA, Coop, and Hemköp. There are, however, distinct differences in the material design, spatial order, decoration, intimacy, and dimensions of different sections as well as in the varieties and brands of groceries. With its markedly simple and modest façade, it appears that the grocery store owners do not perceive any need to advertise their retail.

To influence customer behaviour and the store's profitability, the location of the products matter. The retail tactic is usually to place the most necessary and well-liked merchandise at the furthest part of the shop. For example, for many customers, it would be more convenient to have the dairy department at the beginning and the fruit and vegetable depart-

ment at the end of the store, so that heavy milk packages would not risk damaging the more delicate goods. In article published in the daily *Dagens Nyheter* (2021-07-03), Per Thörnblad, who has designed grocery stores for ICA and Hemköp, explains a different logic for store organisation. In many grocery stores in Sweden, the fruit section is first and the dairy department is at the far end of the store. According to Thörnblad, fruit and vegetables are an important department for the grocery store, thus they are often placed in the first section to create an inviting feeling. By placing dairy, the most well-liked product, at the far end of the store, there is a greater chance of encouraging the customer to buy more products on their path towards the dairy department.

In the case of Orient Food, the dairy department and grilling food are placed in the first section of the store. The arrangement of the vegetables and fruit section follows another logic, located at the far end of the shop and placed in a room with a considerably cooler temperature to keep the herbs and vegetables fresh. This section, sealed off with transparent plastic curtains, is separated from the rest of the supermarket yet is visually accessible. It is set up as a small square market, where customers can easily pick and select fruits, touching, smelling, and testing their freshness. Moreover, the size of the spice section is considerably larger at Orient Food than in a typical 'Swedish' grocery store. The shelves are set on a long wall and used as a display. This indicates the owner's imagination of its constituency of customers and their consumption needs and desires, indicating the specifics and (trans)locality of the business in proximity of residential areas with a mostly migrant population.

Figures 3.39 and 3.40. Interior organisation, Orient Food, 2019. Photograph by the author.

After the second renovation in 2019, the pastry section was moved to the newly extended section of the shop, with significant changes in its design and material. The new lighting design, the wooden panels on the ceiling, and the wooden cross-sections on the partition wall behind the counter create a rustic atmosphere. Various pastries and cookies such as baklava, kunefe, and other sweets are available in the pastry section (Figure 3.41). According to my interview with the owner of the shop, with the new organisation and the enlargement of the place, they were able to import food not only from the Middle East but also from European countries such as France. One may say that Orient Food is a supermarket with a global pattern of consumption and (trans)local patterns of supply. The material ordering of space demands an approach to "social materiality, where social processes and structures and material processes and structures are seen as mutually enacting" (Dale, 2005: 655). Specifically, there are also visual and auditory references to religious traditions. During the month of Muharram, Quran recitals are broadcast throughout the store, and Ramadan decorations adorn the ceiling almost all year around (Figure 3.42).

Orient Food provides a markedly diverse space for retail, popular among migrants as well as non-migrants, not least due to its low prices and broad selection of merchandise. It is also one of the rare places of NGBG where women are employees as well as customers. People come here on foot from the vicinity, or by car from other parts of the city or region. The grocery store is also recognised by the authorities and those actively working to upgrade the street as an important meeting place, which should remain in NGBG. Despite being located in the margins, Orient Food has successfully conformed and adjusted to the 'norms' increasingly implemented from above by various authorities. Despite its accentuated difference as a Swedish grocery story, Orient Food fits the future visions of the street, in which the foodscape of NGBG and the annual Street Party are considered important assets for its development. Contributing to this is also its demonstrated capacity to expand and display economic stability and, perhaps most importantly, to possess and develop the land and buildings of the street, granting it a strong position to negotiate its right to livelihood.

Figure 3.41. The additional pastry section after renovation, 2019. Photograph by the author.

Figure 3.42. Ramadan decorations in Orient Food, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.43. Queuing system in the butchery section, Orient Food, 2019. Photograph by the author

Orient Kakor, established in 1998, is famous for its freshly baked goods. The owner of the bakery explained that when he started his business it was not easy to find a place in the city that would suit the type of work he wanted to do. Thus, during the first five years, the bakery was in the basement of the same building in NGBG, and the shop display where customers could buy pastries was the small room at the entrance. Five years later, he leased the entire place and expanded the shop. Today, the bakery is still small, divided into two sections: the small entrance hall (the previous showroom of the bakery) and then, with a few stairs on the left side, the main section. The fresh pastries are stored inside two refrigerators as displays. The place is simple and well organised. There is a big mirror on the wall that gives the baker visual access to the entrance while sitting in the room behind the displays, from which he can see the customers enter the shop. An old photo of the owner's father is hanging on the wall as well as a large photograph of a piece from the local newspaper, which reads: "Here you find Malmö's best baklava". Besides that, there is a handwritten price list of various pastries and cookies in Arabic put on the wall (Figure 3.45). The outdoor sign of the bakery is written both in Arabic and Swedish. It was important for the owner to continue his father's handcraft even though he was forced to flee from Iraq. Once they settled in Malmö, he established the bakery together with his brother. As he explained: "This is a family thing for us, and it should continue. My father used to have a bakery in Iraq, and my brother and I continued his way when we arrived in Sweden". When I asked him about the reasons for choosing NGBG for his confectionery, he answered:

> In 1998, when I established my bakery on this street, I had a few reasons for choosing this street. First, it was a street with lots of empty parking places, easy to park your car and do shopping. Second, I lived close by to the street. And third, it is close to the Möllan area and Rosengård where many Iraqis live, so people who know this kind of pastries could easily come by. My customers are from everywhere, even from Denmark, even Swedes gradually got to know my place, and they come by to try our creations (interview notes, 2019).

Figure 3.44. Interior organisation of Orient Kakor, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.45. A handwritten price list of various pastries in Arabic, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.46. Exterior view of Orient Kakor after renovation, 2020. Google street view

Firuz is among those who have been around for many years. In 1989, Firuz moved to Sweden from Iraq. He was working together with another enterprise within a kinship network for more than ten years. In 2016, he finally managed to start his business, Carpet Palace, in a former scrapyard/storage unit behind the main street, in a small plot of land close

to the railroad (Figures 3.47 and 3.48). Firuz's store, which remained active until 2020/2021, was a large-scale rental warehouse, creatively combined with shipping containers as storage rooms outside the store, which together created an entity, an informal architectural design. Unlike the unconventional and to some extent messy feature of the storefront, the interior was highly organised, well renovated, and well designed. The interior was divided into various sections filled with assorted types of carpets and rugs. Firuz's wife also worked in the shop and helped with financial management. They both mentioned the importance and high value of the street for their businesses. Firuz stated how attractive and contested the rental places along the street are, because of the lower prices, opportunities to expand, and the fame of the street as a migrant retailing hub. This suggests an ad hoc incremental spatial improvisation to construct infrastructure for his retail activities and possibilities. Firuz's store showed another form of intended or tactical territorialisation, made possible by investment in space and time.

As I have shown by several examples in this chapter, the retail shops and the garages play more significant roles than only being retail or service amenities. They provide a broader network of (im)material supports and possibilities within such a local and translocal network system, through which other forms of imaginaries become possible. I argue that by investing in space and time, different types of territorialisation became possible, even if temporarily. Such processes take place on various scales. Sometimes starting from renting a small space in a basement to moving to the street level after a few years and becoming one of the most famous bakeries in Malmö (Orient Kakor). Or extending the garages in time and space towards sacred places in the Middle East by preparing and cooking votive food during religious ceremonies. There are also constant processes and tactics of spatial and economic stabilisation. Such efforts of stabilisation also become possible by being around and present to grasp opportunities. To navigate and negotiate the emergent possibilities, they must endure and wait. Moreover, I argue that spatial infrastructure is not only about using the existing physical buildings, but also skills of renovation, interventions, tactics of territoriality, the relations, and layers of materiality, (re)produced by dwellers to support their everyday life.

Figure 3.47. The exterior view of Carpet Palace, 2020. Photograph by the author

Figure 3.48. The entrance to the shop from the inner yard, 2019. Photograph by the author

Concluding Notes

What situated characteristics, then, make NGBG a place for migrants to land in? How is architectural and spatial infrastructure (re)produced to support the vulnerable subjects and their everyday life? By introducing a number of retail spaces and their spatial and material configurations, in this chapter, I illustrated the spatial transformation of NGBG in the nexus of migration and urbanisation. In part responding to and in part autonomous vis-à-vis representations of space 'from above', the entrepreneur migrants refuged to NGBG have engaged in a conspicuous modification of the existing industrial environment of the street (such as warehouses, offices, parking lots, and leftover scrapyards). I also illustrated the spatial infrastructure and socially (re)produced architectural support, which has become a ground for the de-/re-territorialisation of NGBG. This architectural infrastructure from below is embodied, embedded and relational. It is not only (re)produced by individual and collective subjectivities of migrants through the navigation and constant negotiation processes over the years, but is also repaired and maintained with *care*; caring for the street and the community.

Two main situated characteristics have provided significant opportunities for displaced, newly arrived migrants and refugees in NGBG: (1) the industrial background and its associated peripheral location, and (2) the spatial and architectural configuration of the same industrial heritage. Based on spatial analysis, I have explored two kinds of emergent architectural typologies: garages and strip malls. Each of these emergent categories supports migrants' various activities, creating new opportunities and prospects for other forms of territorialisation, stabilisation, and (potential) permanence: architecture without architects. As extensively discussed in the book *Infrastructural Love* by Carbonell et al. (2022), in dealing with architectural support systems and the way they hold or fail us, architecture works both as an infrastructure and as a support system for other infrastructures. When at its best, it "maintains the relations between peoples, places, and things" (Carbonell et al., 2022). Thus, by reproducing architectural support, the merchants are aspiring to access other resources and support systems.

The (re)production of spatial infrastructure is a response to the broken or failed infrastructure of the segregated neoliberal city of Malmö

to provide possibilities of co-habitation. Hence, I argue that in the precarious condition at the margins, constructing a support system from below is necessary and at the same time vulnerable, which requires more radical engagement and care. Infrastructure is paradoxically both vulnerable and supportive. The transformative agency of architecture thus becomes an asset in creating such a support system. It stimulates spatial creativities and imaginations and opens new tactics to prevail over unjust spatial politics and negotiate politics of access. By investing in such limited and vulnerable, yet flexible, porous, and affordable architecture of the post-industrial street, migrants aspire to create and stabilise their territories, even if provisionally. The need for access is one of the main motivations in such investments for those who are prevailing on the margins, with limited access to resources and means of livelihood in the precarious neoliberal world. As we see in the next chapter, to ward off the failure of the existing infrastructure and build new ones – a vital act in territorialisation processes – a number of *tactics of permanence* are practiced by the merchants.

4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURES

Vignette 1 (August 2017)

It is getting darker as I arrive at NGBG for another observation session. I park my bike in front of Falafel Baghdad as I did last time. Immediately I hear the drums and guitars from one of the music studios. The street is less active than during the daytime, but despite the ban on traffic from 21:00 to 05:00, cars continue to cross the street. A few men are chatting next to their cars and occasionally people cross on foot or with bikes. I notice that the restaurant and café Khayyam, which was closed during the day, now is open. I enter the building. The second floor is furnished

with wooden benches and big pillows, but no one is around. I ask a guy cleaning the floor for information. He tries to ignore me. I repeat my question and he gives me a confused look. He makes me understand that he does not understand Swedish or English. I ask for the restaurant Khayyam and he points upstairs, towards the third floor. I take the stairs and discover a coffeehouse, furnished in an indistinct but unmistakable 'traditional Middle Eastern' style. A few male guests are smoking shisha and playing cards and backgammon. There are no women around and my presence seems to make them uncomfortable.

I quickly leave the coffee house, return to the street, and walk in the direction of a vague, but increasing, sound of a male voice, amplified through a microphone. I discover that the sound is coming from across the street, from the second floor of the opposite building, belonging to the Nigerian-Swedish Christian association, Restoration Ministries. Looking across, I notice a digital billboard on the façade I had not noticed during the daytime, indicating the times for weekly worship. A family with kids is running to catch the sermon.

Turning into the alley crossing NGBG, I find myself in front of Al-Hoda mosque, housed in an industrial brick building. Through a window I see a few men playing billiards. When I turn back to the main street, I notice five cars are standing idle, with their engines running. The men inside seem to be waiting for something or someone. I try to stick around to figure out what is going on without drawing their attention. I take a detour and when I return, the cars are still there. Then a police car passes along NGBG, and the cars are set in motion and disappear.

I continue some 200 metres up the street and pass two women in their early twenties, sitting on the sidewalk with beer cans and cigarettes in their hands. They ask if I am waiting for the party too. "Which party?" I ask. The young women nod towards the building behind them: "In Plan B". In the basement of one of the low buildings in the centre of NGBG, I discover Plan B, an informal, membership-based nightclub. I find the inconspicuous entrance on the left side of the building, across a small yard, separated by a metal fence and invisible from the street. Several young people are chatting by the entrance. Returning to the main street I pass several others, evidently on their way to tonight's party.

Vignette 2 (October 2019)

I meet Leila in front of Falafel Baghdad, my usual rendezvous point with fieldwork interlocutors. Leila fled from Iraq with her family in 1990, and just like so many other migrants in Malmö, she has settled in Rosengård. Located on the way to the city centre, she passed NGBG daily. When I asked Leila to describe NGBG as we were walking together along the street, the first thing she brought up was the pastry shop *Orient Kakor* (Orient Cakes/Cookies). "I am a regular customer of this pastry shop, but most importantly it is the only place where I can find my favourite Iraqi cookies called *Dehin*". During our go-along, she revisits her memories of the area and its changes since the 1990s. "NGBG was very different from now", she says, "It was almost empty. Garages and carwashes came only a few years later. There was the kiosk selling such a good falafel [Falafel Baghdad] and for us newcomers, it felt like home." Leila also remembers the several cultural associations along the street, some of them Iraqi: "I spent some time there a few years later". She also remembers the well-known vending bus, known as *Polska Bussen* (The Polish Bus) among local residents: "It came every weekend from Poland and sold liquor,[12] eggs and cookies".

Vignette 3 (March 2021)

On 23 March, the police launch a major, unannounced operation in NGBG, targeting organised crime and tax evasion. The raid goes under the name *Operation Vårvinter* (Spring Winter, a Swedish colloquial for late-winter/early spring) and is the most recent of a series of interventions across Malmö during the past couple of years – each dramatically named after natural phenomena: *Operation Solvind* (Solar Wind), February 2021), *Operation Hagelstorm* (Hailstorm), January 2020. *Operation Vårvinter* is organised in collaboration with the Swedish Tax Agency (Skatteverket), the Enforcement Officer (Kronofogdemyndigheten), the Environment Department (Miljöförvaltningen), the Swedish Work Environment Authority (Arbetsmiljöverket) and the Rescue Service (Rädd-

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12   Sweden has restricted alcohol policies, according to which the state monopolises any liquor trade. Apart from in licensed restaurants, alcoholic beverages are only available within the government-owned chain of stores called *Systembolaget*.

ningtjänsten). Checkpoints are set up at both ends of NGBG and a police helicopter hovers over the area. Inspectors enter car repair shops, carwashes, and shops, while all employees are kept outside. Six individuals are detained for drug-related crimes as half a kilo of various drugs are seized, and four drunk drivers are intercepted. In addition, the bailiff seizes cars, jewellery, and cash worth hundreds of thousands of *kronor* (Swedish crowns), while no firearms or wanted persons are seized. Malmö police spokesperson Nils Norling is cited in the local daily Sydsvenskan:

> The concept of unsound competition (*osund konkurrens*) was applied in the planning. The absolute majority are entirely white businesses that behave (*sköter sig*) and play by the rules. /…/ The primary goal of operations like this is that it should be seen as a [sign of] safety (*att det ska ses som en trygghet*) that there are many police officers operating in one's local area (*närområde*). And, that it should create [a sense of] insecurity among those involved in crime. /…/ We have made no spectacular seizures [in NGBG] as in earlier operations. All the same, as a resident in a building we have checked, one can feel safe that there were in fact no narcotics or weapons [discovered] in the public areas. There were no guns that children could mistake for toys. Or drugs that someone may risk ingesting. (Sydsvenskan, 2021-03-23)

The three vignettes indicate two main aspects of NGBG. On the one hand, it is perceived as a source of commodities and forms of social associations with ties to the Middle East, serving the needs of the large migrant population in the vicinity. On the other hand, NGBG is associated with activities defined as 'illegal' or 'informal' by law, and hence efforts of scrutinising, surveilling, and disciplining the area by public authorities. As previously discussed, historically, the post-industrial inner city neighbourhood of Sofielund has been neglected by the authorities for extended periods as an unattractive site. This, combined with the potential, support and affordances provided by the industrial infrastructure of the area, has allowed NGBG to host small-scale self-employed businesses and/or newly arrived entrepreneurs. On the other hand, groups involved in criminal activities also found opportunities in the area. The official

branding of the street as a "problematic area" *(problemområde)* in 1999 (Sydsvenskan, 2010-08-29), contributed to its infamous status and stigmatised the areas as well as the people earning their livelihood there.

To give a comprehensive picture of the (manifest as well as subterranean) processes traversing the street, however, it is important to avoid falling into the trap of over-dichotomising and simplifying complex realities. One must look beyond the dominant discourses related to the informal/illegal presence of the street while also avoiding only highlighting the precarity of subaltern groups, or romanticising migrants' entrepreneurship as inventive practices of 'social integration'.

In this chapter, I explore how migrants' socio-economic negotiation processes surface in a dynamic and dialogic interaction with urban municipal politics and private ventures, as aspects of an emerging diasporic urbanism and architecture. Beyond the dichotomy of top-down intervention or bottom-up appropriation, this chapter explores how such processes are entangled and interconnected. I also show how such socio-economic transactions are a larger part of 'social infrastructure' with a variety of connections that help migrants to reproduce the means of everyday life. Such transactions generate a variety of connections, associations, and coordination, and activate a support system from within, sustaining people's lives on the margin. With that, socio-economic transactions are also interrelated to the material and spatial infrastructures (Chapter 3) as well as alternative temporal infrastructures (Chapter 5). In the following, the relationship between strategies from above, disciplining the space, and tactics from below (both temporal and transformative), counteracting, by-passing, or adjusting such strategies, stand in the centre of attention.

"Safe and Sound, Clean and Proper": A BID-Model of Urban Disciplining

Unprepared to deal with the rapid and 'unusual' form of transformation taking place in a central part of the city since the 1990s, authorities and politicians have shown concerns with the 'illegal' and 'informal' activities emerging in the Sofielund area. The establishment of 'illegal' nightclubs, gambling clubs, and prostitution, side by side with 'irregular' and (allegedly) tax-evading retailers, all contributed to supporting such

concerns (Sydsvenskan, 2010-08-29). The 'Polish buses' had frequented Malmö since the 1980s and were further stimulated with the opening of the Öresund Bridge in 2000, interconnecting southern Sweden with the European continent. The parking lot of Mobilia (a dismantled textile factory turned into a shopping mall in the 1960s) in Malmö became a centre for such transactions. Following constant police raids in this comparatively well-to-do area of Malmö however, smugglers, as well as sex workers, relocated to NGBG during the first decade of the 2000s (Sydsvenskan, 2011-06-21; Ponnert 2009). In local as well as national media, Malmö police authorities received growing criticism for inadequately policing the open 'illegal' transactions (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Malmö police authorities responded by pinpointing the Sofielund area as Malmö's "land of illegal clubs" and set up a task force to clamp down on the clubs in 1999 and onwards (Sydsvenskan, 2010-02-09).

In 2010, Malmö municipality initiated an "Area programme" (*Områdesprogram*) in response to segregation, crime, and social vulnerability in the "exposed areas" (*utsatta områden*) of Malmö, among them Lindängen, Rosengård, Kroksbäck, and Sofielund (Swedish Police Website, 2022-05-11). Within the context of this project emerged the idea of establishing a Business Improvement District (BID) model, to involve property owners in 'development' efforts. The Real Estate Owners BID Sofielund (*Fastighetsägare BID Sofielund*) association was founded in 2014 on the initiative of private property owners and Malmö municipality (Fastighetsägare BID Sofielund Webpage). The BID model ger-

Figure 4.1. Polish bus parked in NGBG. Photo: Karl Melander (Sydsvenskan, 2011-06-22)

Figure 4.2. Polish bus parked in NGBG. Source: Aftonbladet (2004-05-25)

minated in the United States and Canada among commercial property owners in the 1970s, to develop coordinated strategies for investing in and 'improving' urban areas (Malmö Municipality Webpage, 2021-03-31; Sydsvenskan, 2022-05-06).

In the Sofielund area, the BID project aimed at improving the area through "serious property management", as the BID association operations manager formulated it for me in an interview in 2017. The association was set up in partnership with the municipality and interconnected with Agenda 2030.[13] This "serious property management" is presented in terms of efforts at increasing "well-being, safety, and cohesion" (*trivsel, trygghet och sammanhållning*), strengthening the "attraction, levels of investment, and establishment of new enterprise" in Sofielund, as formulated by Malmö municipality (Malmö Municipality Webpage, 2021-03-31). The Property Owners BID Sofielund also works to decrease the costs of its members while increasing "taking responsibility" for the area, counteracting the relocation of residents (*omflyttningen av boende*), and stimulating the construction of housing. As its "focus areas", the association highlights seven keywords: "Safe and sound; Clean and proper; Trafic and access; Urban environment; Sustainable development (ecological, social, and cultural); Member utility; Communication." (Malmö Municipality Webpage, 2021-03-31). In its initial phase, the BID Sofielund faced criticism for failing to include the tenants and residents of the area. In response, the association made an effort to de-emphasise its commercial aspects, by redefining the notion of BID to stand for "Housing", "Integration", and "Participation" *(Bostad, Integration, Deltagande)*. Members of the association pay a membership fee and a service fee, while the City of Malmö finances the development manager and the administration (Malmö Municipality Webpage, 2021-03-31; Sydsvenskan, 2022-05-06).

The final report of the municipality's Area Programme *(Områdesprogram, 2015)* identifies the main problems of the Sofielund area to be

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13   Agenda 2030 comprises 17 global sustainability goals, geared at eliminating poverty, counteracting climate change, and the creation of peaceful and safe societies. According to Malmö municipality, "the goals are integrated in the municipality's budget and governance goals and are followed up in the annual sustainability report." (Malmö Municipality Webpage, 2021-06-15. Translated from Swedish by the author).

crime, vandalism, littering, and the instability of residents due to their socio-economic insecurity. The report highlights the potential for the area's further development, referring to its central location, and envisioning the prospect of accommodating middle-class housing. As pointed out by Stalevska and Kusevski (2018) the central location and the presence of a strong local culture and art scene encouraged the municipality and the local Neighbourhood Improvement District (NID) to opt for the transformation of "Sofielund into a 'creative and entrepreneurial' post-industrial hub" (Stalevska & Kusevski, 2018: 25). They observe a common pattern with three main components in the BIDs and NIDs established in Sweden's three main cities: (1) a low socio-economic status, (2) a high economic potential, and (3) a specific property ownership structure (ibid, 2018. 26). Valli and Hammami (2020), question this type of improved attractiveness, associated with a sense of security and higher real estate values. They emphasise that such improvements are based on the displacement of the most socio-economically vulnerable citizens, as well as on the disciplining of the current residents, business behaviours, and aesthetics (Valli & Hammami, 2020). Similar patterns are observed in the case of Sofielund, as they are taking their strategies from the global toolkit of urban revitalisation (Figure 4.3). As Zukin et al., (2016) highlight, these public-private partnerships often push local

Figure 4.3. The proposed vision for NGBG, which shows "New trade string in Malmö". Source: Property Owners Sofielund, 'The Upscaling' (presentation)

streets to be upscale, 'cool', or 'hip'. The result is often the replacement of inexpensive stores with new, trendy businesses (Zukin et al., 2016). As I show in the next sections, such strategies in the planning stage may result in the extension of 'white space' as an aesthetic sense and value of street life to mandate how the street should be. In this case, I show that displacement goes beyond the unaffordability of livelihoods for a certain class or mere gentrification.

In 2018, a delegation from Malmö went to Lisbon to visit a part of the downtown called LX Factory.[14] Among the members of the delegation were the Malmö city councillor, the Police Chief, and the Eroom property owner (Sydsvenskan, 2018-05-04). The same year, BID Sofielund commissioned White Architects (a large Swedish architecture firm) to survey Sofielund in its entirety, to produce a district development plan for the area. It should be underscored that the BID interventions, justified by the existence of 'unserious' businesses, were launched for a street that is currently providing for a particular population: underprivileged migrants with limited access to resources and infrastructure. This holds for NGBGs merchants as well as their consumer clients. As it appears, the value NGBG conveys for the migrant inhabitants does not sit well with the speculative vision for the street, as a future hub for cultural life and prosperous ('sound') business, which is imagined by the public-private sectors.

According to a representative of BID Sofielund, two main objectives were identified for the area: (1) to remove the 'unserious' property owners and businesses, especially those who do not take care of their tenants and those associated with 'scruffy' or 'crooked' (*skumma*) activities and (2) to create safety and security by the development of NGBG as a 'cultural landscape', with the potential of attracting tourists and providing restaurants, pubs, music, and art scenes in the street (interview with BID-representative: 2017-09-06). Notably, in print material, official statements as well as interviews during fieldwork, the precise meaning of 'unserious' property owners and 'crooked' tenants remained unclear. This spurs questions about who gets to decide what is deemed as 'serious' and based on

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14   LX Factory is a 23,000 square meter industrial area, which has turned into a creative centre and today is seen as a model for what NGBG could be.

what criteria and assessments – does it go beyond hearsay or opinionated claims? As it appears, despite the absence of such criteria, political decisions and planning have largely been based on – and co-contributed to – the construction of a dichotomous value system, where 'good businesses' are cherished and 'bad businesses' are othered, destabilised, and potentially exposed to displacement.

In their discussion of the 'urban frontier' as a myth, Thörn and Helgersson (2016) point to the linkage between geographical and imagined places. Referring to Smith (1996), they suggest that "the more the imagined place is disconnected from the physical environment, the stronger the myth becomes. Such repossession of a place by those who have power and capital is accomplished by civilizing it", through a semiotic process "described as upgrading, safety, sustainability" (Thörn & Helgersson, 2016: 670–671). We see that such semiotic processes define the current management and envisioning of NGBG, making the future of present entrepreneurs, workers, and consumers highly uncertain. At the same time, the expectations of 'civilising' sections of the citizens, and particularly so 'non-Swedes', indicate the colonial and racial relations extended by powerful actors. In an interview with one of the influential private property owners, he hinted that some of his migrant tenants are not familiar with the Swedish system of construction and renovation in a 'modern' way, and thus fail to take care of the buildings they inhabit as required. With a tone of complaint, he described to me how some of his tenants are acting autonomously and irregularly, because of their lack of urbanisation in their home countries. Mildly put, he went beyond a 'politically correct' way of expressing himself, describing how some of the tenants in NGBG "have sold their cows before moving to Sweden". Such statements amply underscore how migrant tenants are imagined through dichotomous categories of civilised/non-civilised, modern/traditional, and a geographical Swedish here/Middle Eastern there.

The close collaboration between BID, police authorities, and private property owners illustrates also what Lefebvre refers to as *representations of space*, i.e., the spaces imagined 'from above', by scientists, planners, architects, and social engineers. Such spaces are dominant, tied to the relations of production of the order imposed by such relations (Lefebvre, 1991: 33). Moreover, the increased presence of police and other author-

ities illustrates the demands on transparency and disciplinary monitoring of the quantity and quality of economic transactions, employment numbers, and procedures, as well as renovations of properties in the areas according to the formal regulations of authorities and normative standards set by property owners. Or, in short, transforming an 'informal' and 'non-disciplinary' neighbourhood into a purportedly 'formal' and 'disciplined' one.

Even so, during my fieldwork, the merchants and shop owners along the street expressed optimism for the future regarding the changes. They seemed positive about creating a 'safe street' for everyone and protecting against serious and petty crime. In various interviews, a narrative emerged about the current safety and the fact that the area has become calmer since 2017. I was aware of the possibility that they might have more complex feelings about these issues, as it could affect their business if the property owner or other authorities learned about their thoughts. In contrast, they sometimes also complained about the constant presence of the police and tax authorities. Several interlocutors voiced the opinion that the monitoring of their businesses and transactions was excessive, attracting more attention than 'chasing the criminals'. Hence, they narratively detached themselves from the organised crime in the area. Even so, in their own opinion, they fall into the same category as 'the criminals' in the eyes of the authorities. They perceive the constant monitoring of the authorities to single them out from 'Swedish' businesses – very much in contrast to the idealised effects of the monitoring expressed by police authorities, as illustrated in the vignette above. The entrepreneurs' distinction of their ventures is further underscored by their characterisation of the current consumers frequenting NGBG – othering themselves in relation to the 'general' landscape of trade in Malmö. Despite the diversity of the customers, 'Swedes' do not show up as shoppers, only migrants, my interlocutors often repeated.

We hence see that processes of distinction and othering concomitantly take place 'from above' and 'from below'. There has emerged a discourse within the NGBG Association (*kulturförening*), the main organiser of the NGBG festival, revolving around a vision of 'upgrading' the street, transforming NGBG into a 'cultural hub' of Malmö. The association introduces itself as:

a hyper-local cultural association that defends access to public places, promotes cultural expression and creates new opportunities in the neighbourhood around Norra Grängesbergsgatan, Annelund, and Sofielunds Industriområdet in Malmö. At a time when traditional retail-based city centres are unsustainable, we artisans & cultural producers try to find common ground with other industries to establish a neighbourhood based on a win-win symbiosis between sports, culture, transport, baking & brewing, education, recycling and retail. The cultural sound zone and the detailed plan for Sofielund's business area will make it possible. (NGBG Webpage (Translated from Swedish by the author).

Again, this spurs questions about *what* and *whose* 'culture' is valued and pursued in the efforts of 'developing' the street. From the perspective of the migrant entrepreneurs active in NGBG, the answer certainly seems to be not *theirs*. The 'culture' pursued by those actors, as well as BID ventures, is defined in terms of market value and 'soundness', spiced up with a measure of 'creativity' and 'diversity'. In response, all actors along the street have to relate to such processes by formulating and applying various tactics, in which a chief concern has been to construct and demonstrate oneself as 'serious' enough to have a future in NGBG. In later sections, I explore several examples of what I have termed 'tactics of permanence' in some empirical detail – and their dependence, as well as their impact on, the (re)produced infrastructures traversing the street.

Irrespective of the stigmatisations and problematisations (re)produced by public and private institutions, the emergent diasporic retail urbanism has kept growing in NGBG. The combination of a peripheral industrial district with economic deterioration resulting in low rents has created opportunities and assets for migrant entrepreneurs to create their own places. NGBG has remained appealing because of its affordable, large-enough storage and loading spaces, and the flexibility of its built structure, lending itself to architectural changes and material interventions from within at need. The newly arrived migrants who were looking for flexible and affordable solutions in the form of self-employment, have gradually settled in NGBG despite – or precisely because of – its challenging and precarious situation, i.e., the uncertain future of Sofielund's

industrial area. It is in relation to such conditions and geographies Suzzane Hall (2021) applies the concept of 'edge economies', where livelihoods are sought outside of formal channels of employment and access to capital – and with customers who also struggle economically. In the words of Hall, "accessing, making, and holding on to work emerges in a messy coalescence of transactional ties, border prohibitions, and economic adaptations" (Hall, 2021: 87). Importantly, however, NGBG not only houses business ventures, but also a number of NGOs, and cultural and faith-based institutions. The latter function not only as places of worship, but also carry important functions of social and economic exchange, in a time of growing anti-migrant attitudes in general, and anti-Islamic sentiment in particular (see Chapter 6). As shall be clear from the following, NGBG is much more than a trading space or 'your regular downtown street'. It is an emerging landscape of support, a vital space for the "newcomer's provisional purchase into the city" (Hall, 2017: 90), those with limited access to the job market, social benefits, material facilities, and established and formal networks. In this sense, NGBG is a platform, an infrastructure for improvised forms of inhabitation and livelihood.

To survive the 'edge economy', as I illustrate below, keeping a low profile, keeping certain things invisible, and keeping the physical conditions of workplace/retail spaces at a comparatively lower standard are inherent parts of the everyday life of the street. The following section explores such tactics in detail and how they have been co-constitutive of the emergent architecture of the street. To make sense of such tactics, however, they need to be understood against the background of central debates over the very definition of this post-industrial area in the making. How can a 'temporary' appropriation of an industrial area be converted into a 'permanent' change?

Trojan Building Permits? Legalising Activities or Permanenting Temporariness?

In official planning documents (*planprogram*), NGBG was and remains categorised as *industrial* (G). Consequently, no permanent permits have been issued for the non-industrial amenities along the street. In addition, the 280-metre 'risk zone' established around the Stadex AB starch pro-

ducing factory meant that all non-industrial activities, such as cultural associations or small retailers within the parameter, were denied permanent building permits. The risk zone, combined with the categorisation of Sofielund as an industrial area, thus strengthened the peripheral status of the street, legally as well as financially and culturally, and prevented its further growth. Even so, amenities were gradually established along the street during the 1980s and 1990s, either informally (without permits) or in some cases with temporary building permits.

While the city authorities and politicians were focused on the development of the prestige project Västra Hamnen, the post-industrial harbour area, they did not consider the rapid demographic and socio-economic transformation of Sofielund in their plans. In 2010, the 'risk zone' around Stadex AB was significantly reduced to 75 metres. "This makes it easier for us to grant temporary and time-limited building permits", commented municipal councillor Anders Rubin, chairman of the city planning committee and politically representing the Social Democrats, in an interview with the local newspaper (Sydsvenskan, 2010-05-05). Thus, despite the categorisation of the area as "industrial" in official planning documents (formally barring housing, retail, and cultural activities), temporary permits could nevertheless be issued for such uses.

The Stadex AB factory was built in 1959, on the east side of NGBG, and connected to the railway, without considering the environmental hazards of chemical waste and emissions (Dahlberg et al., 2006). The factory's harmful effects received no attention until the 1970s and remained unregulated until an analysis of Sofielund's industrial area, *Risk considerations in community planning*, was presented in 1999. The report primarily identified the margarine producer Van Den Bergh Foods AB and Stadex AB (Dahlberg et al., 2006: 13) as risks. To improve the hazardous environmental situation in the Sofielund industrial area, the report proposed altering the transportation systems and relocating Stadex AB to a more suitable location within Malmö municipality.[15] However,

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15   In a programme study conducted by the City of Malmö and completed in 2002, proposals were presented for restructuring and refurbishment of the industrial area. Among other things, it was proposed that the area could be upgraded along Annelundsgatan to provide a comfortable cycle path between Möllevången and Rosengård. There were also thoughts of developing the area's 'multicultural identity' (Dahlberg et al., 2006: 13).

none of these changes were implemented. On the contrary, the bakery factory Pågen took over several blocks and remains in the area with Stadex AB to this day.

In June 1999,[16] following the publication of the Sofielund industrial area risk analysis report, several amenities along NGBG received notice that they should leave the premises due to the lack of a building permit or due to the ending of the temporary building permit, a consequence of the failure to fulfil the required standards for 'appropriate venues' (*ändamålsenliga lokaler*). The main reason for denying or not extending permits was the location within the 280-metre risk zone and their status as non-industrial. Consequently, about 30 businesses and 150 employees were forced to leave the area. Among them were the second-hand shop Sopstationen (a humorous name literally meaning 'The Garbage Station'), a Turkish mosque, and several furniture stores (Sydsvenskan, 2002-02-14).

Sopstationen began in 1995 as a job market assistance project (*Arbetslivsutvecklingsprojekt,* ALU), employing about twenty people (Sydsvenskan, 2017-11-29). Sopstationen left the area in 2002. Another evicted amenity was the Turkish mosque (*Turkiska moskén*), self-described as the oldest Muslim assembly in Malmö, active since 1972. It was established in Rosengård and relocated to NGBG until the 2011 eviction, when it moved to Sallerupsvägen on the eastern outskirts of Malmö (Lagervall & Stenberg, 2016: 34–35). In March of the same year, the building was the target of an arson attack, as reported in the local press, evidently targeting an illegal gambling club. During the following police investigations, twelve individuals were found to be illegally accommodated in the basement of the building and four more on the top floor (Sydsvenskan, 2017-03-12).

As a result of the interventions of the authorities applying the risk zone regulations for inappropriate amenities, only seven associations were left in the area by 2002 (Sydsvenskan, 2002-02-14). Notably, however, the regulations were applied inconsistently and primarily came to

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16   It is worth mentioning that the recognition of the street as a 'problematic area' and 'the land of illegal clubs' happened in the same year as the release of the new report about Stadex AB's harmful chemical substances. Subsequently, the authorities were strict when issuing building permits in the area.

affect the economic and cultural (and/or faith-based) activities of migrants and the ALU-assistance project Sopstationen, while the two public schools (Annelundsskolan and Värner Rydénskolan) were granted permanent permits despite their location within the risk zone. Thus, the most vulnerable groups became subject to the interventions and spatial politics of the authorities, which paved the way for further uncertainty and precarity in future.

In October 2009, on the initiative of the *Kontrapunkt* association, an environmental activist network in Malmö, established the action group *Giftfri Stad* (Non-toxic city). It was formed by residents, associations, and other actors on and around NGBG, with the aim of creating awareness

Figure 4.4 Stadex AB and Rosengård in the background (Giftfri Stad Campaign Webpage).

Figures 4.5. and 4.6. Demonstration in NGBG against the environmentally hazardous activities of Stadex, 2010 (Giftfri Stad Campaign Webpage)

of the dangers Stadex AB posed to the locals living around the factory (Figure 4.4). The initiative pushed for changes in the NGBG area and demanded the relocation of the company from Sofielund (Figures 4.5 and 4.6). The main argument was the factory's production of toxic substances, such as the highly flammable substance propylene oxide. They called for city officials to acknowledge that Sofielund had outgrown its industrial past and therefore had to adjust to the new reality, out of concern for the safety of its residents and with regards to the overall development of the city. To quote its website, "environmentally hazardous companies such as *Stadex* psychologically disconnects Rosengård from the city centre and act as an industrial barrier between the districts" (Giftfri Stad Campaign Webpage). Notably, the initiative also emphasised the diversity of the population residing and working in the area. Its campaign letters were issued in multiple languages, including Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, and a demonstration organised in May 2010 attracted more than 300 participants (Sydsvenskan, 2010-03-13).

Among the most active in the Giftfri Stad network were members of the association *Kontrapunkt* and other local left-leaning activist groups such as *Allt åt alla* (Everything for everyone). The idea of establishing the *Giftfri Stad* network emerged when Kontrapunkt was denied a building permit for their premises in NGBG. The association was planning to rent one of Eroom's properties as their venue (*föreningslokal*). Despite their successful organisation[17] of a large group of activists, artists, and residents, diverse in ethnicity and class, there was a palpable difference between the Giftfri Stad network and the migrant entrepreneurs. In support of the *Giftfri Stad* campaign, the owner of Eroom Kwame Moore actively participated. Moore, who became a property owner in 2007, today owns several properties on NGBG and is thus one of the key actors in the development of the street. Some believed that Eroom's involvement in the campaign primarily reflected commercial interests, as Moore and his business partners had invested heavily in the area since 2007 (around 40 million SEK). Kwame More rejected such claims, as reported in Syd-

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17   Despite their good intentions and objectives of solidarity with underprivileged groups, the network failed to be representative for the majority of migrants since they did not share the same socio-economic status.

svenskan. He was part of the negotiation process with Stadex AB and other actors and, as will be clear later, his presence in the decision-making process was also to increase. In an interview, he highlighted the risk he took by investing in a 'deprived area' such as Sofielund, a risk that the municipality is unwilling to take:

> There are no direct links between me and the network, this is something the association started all by themselves. I have no cunning thoughts about buying any properties, getting rid of Stadex and then combing home the profits. But I have had several constructive meetings with Stadex, to find a win-win solution for the area (Sydsvenskan, 2010-03-07. Translated from Swedish by the author).

In January 2010, in response to the demands by the activist groups, the red-green majority of the district council (*Södra innerstaden*) announced it had taken the protests into consideration and was keen to find a solution. The right-leaning opposition faction reserved itself, questioning the agenda and representativeness of the campaign (Sydsvenskan, 2010). District Council Vice Chairman Carl-Axel Roslund (representing the liberal-conservative *Moderaterna*) highlighted that several property owners would prefer "a completely different kind of business in the area" and said that is naïve to push for the removal of Stadex as well as support cheap premises. With Stadex AB gone, Roslund claimed, "there will no longer be any cheap premises in the area." He instead advocated deregulated and market-adjusted rents (*marknadshyror*), an opinion shared by the CEO of Stadex AB, Jan Venneman (Sydsvenskan, 2010).

As a result, the council decided not to relocate Stadex AB, but to adjust the legislation. The regulated risk zone was reduced from 280 to 75 metres. Council member Anders Rubin (Social Democrats), also serving as chairman of the city planning committee, explained to the local newspaper that the legislation makes it impossible for the city to force Stadex AB to move from Sofielund (Sydsvenskan, 2010-05-05). Yet, the new risk zone parameter allows the municipality to issue temporary building permits:

> I want nothing more than for the area to be transformed gradual-
> ly, but the legislation is completely clear. It is new businesses that
> need to adapt, not the ones that are already in place. Stadex can
> stay as long as they want (Sydsvenskan, 2010. Translated from
> Swedish by the author).

This decision was taken while there was no full-scale redevelopment plan
for the area and the most recent *plan program* dated from the 1950s.
Because of the unclear situation, the city planning office embarked on a
slow but steady intervention "to avoid the market shock" (ibid). Notably,
however, the decision was made in the context of the vision to 'upgrade'
the attractiveness of the street, where industries like Stadex AB and the
main property owners – specifically Eroom – had significant stakes and
took an active role. The reduction of the risk zone provided opportunities
for the retail shops and associations to remain in the area and enlarge their
visibility – if provisionally so. However, certain concerns about the future
remained among the low-scale users of the area, whether such temporary
solutions would "pave the way for economic transformation and social
displacement" (Madanipour, 2017: 1106). Temporary building permits,
short-term leases, and the continuing uncertainty about the future of the
area created a *permanent-provisional state,* to draw on a concept coined
by Olshammar in her research of an industrial riverfront in Gothenburg,
Sweden:

> A permanent-provisional state is the result of the lack of accep-
> tance in the city's central districts for certain types of activities
> or people with low status (purchasing power); their non-perma-
> nence being the only saving grace (Olshammar, 2002: 93).

In the same vein, in their study of Kvillebäcken, a former industrial area
on the edge of the inner city of Gothenburg, Thörn and Holgersson refer
to this as a "state of limbo" affecting both the area and its inhabitants
(Thörn & Holgersson, 2016: 674). They show how the close cooperation
between private real estate owners and the municipality of Gothenburg
has led to the displacement of long-time inhabitants of the area. Apply-
ing the concept of the "urban frontier" (Smith, 1996), a space where

strategic and physical borders meet, Thörn and Holgersson illustrate how plans to create a new city district resulted in producing a rent gap in the permanent-provisional state. Through the processes of gentrification, the edge inner cities hence face downgrading (through stigmatisation) and upgrading (as a hotspot) simultaneously, legitimising and justifying the renewal project in Kvillebäcken (Thörn & Holgersson, 2016: 670). Such processes may well apply to NGBG as well, as the cooperation of public and private sectors increase the future risk of dispossession and displacement of certain groups as the result of market economic strategies.

Conforming to 'Normalcy': Valuation and Devaluation

The article '*Rockklubben som ska rädda gatan*' (The rock club that will save the street) (Sydsvenskan 2018-05-04), reports in detail a breakfast session with the theme "Place for creativity and production in the city", organised by a recognised Swedish architectural firm White Architects. Among the invited guests was Kwame Moore, the owner of Eroom real estate company. According to the article, one of the questions raised in the meeting concerned the lower rents. Moore underscored his involvement in NGBG to be based on business interests and to place "more responsibility on the tenants to fix their premises. We manage to create profits because we bought the properties cheaply". Moore declared himself to be "tired of the word gentrification" and for him "the most important thing is to maintain the value of the place." Even so, Moore states, whenever the future of NGBG is discussed within the municipality, there is one singular activity tends to get all attention: Plan B (all the quotes are translated from Swedish by the author).

The rock club Plan B was established in 2015 within the framework of the record company Kollektivet Records. Plan B moved into a venue on NGBG, a basement in one of the Eroom properties, to create a multifunctional office, rehearsal space, studio, and an instrument workshop, among other things (Figure 4.7). A weekend party with lots of music was organised to celebrate the new setting, and after this, the company began to get offers to arrange concerts in the venue. Before its opening event in September 2015, they had already booked several international bands for the rest of the fall. Several hundred people appeared during the

weekend, and about 40 volunteers helped. During the first three years, Plan B had around 40,000 visitors. All the same, Plan B remained half 'illegal', a so-called "black club" (*svartklub*), without permission to sell alcohol or function as a nightclub. Formally set up as a closed society (*slutet sällskap*) based on membership fees, it was effectively open to all and existed for years under the threat of being permanently shut down by the authorities.

In January 2018, Plan B received the Best Club of Malmö Award at the gala event arranged by Nöjesguiden, one of Sweden's leading events and entertainment magazines and an influential trend setter. By the end of 2018, a Stockholm-based company showed interest in investing in the club so they could shift from a membership-based and informal model into a legal nightclub, with permission to sell alcohol. Finally, in the spring of 2019, Plan B rented a new venue at NGBG, within an old warehouse again owned by Eroom, whose owner Kwame Moore had long shown interest in boosting Plan B as an important actor in the future developments. Later the same year, the club's space was further expand-

Figure 4.7. Entrance to the basement where Plan B was located before 2017. Photograph by the author

ed with several concert halls of different sizes (Figures 4.8, 4.10, 4.11). During the NGBG festival, Plan B usually plays an active role in enhancing the musical profile of the festival by extending its territory into the street, with tables, benches, and a beer station. In 2019, a second-hand market was established for the newly opened sections of the premises (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.8. The outdoor space of Plan B in the new location, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 4.9. The second-hand market during the festival, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 4.10. The outdoor sitting area of Plan B in the new location, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 4.11. Plan B hositng an event, 2022. Source: Plan B Facebook page

In January 2021, a suggestion for the new *plan program* was sent to the City Building Board for consultation, aiming to update the existing planning programme from the 1950s. It proposed to integrate the actual changes of the area, which to date was defined as industrial. While the newly suggested plan remains in favour of the industries, the development of leisure activities and cultural venues are also forwarded, according to a responsible official during a public meeting organised in 2021. The new plan has the ambition to transform Sofielund's industrial area into Malmö's most significant and dynamic cultural, leisure, and business centre by 2040.

Central to the new development plan is the establishment of 'a cultural sound zone' (*kulturljudzon*), a perimeter within which sound levels louder than normally accepted for inner-city areas are allowed – yet too high to comply with regulations for residential areas, hence effectively barring housing development (Figure 4.12). Among those in favour of its establishment was Victoria Percovich Gutierrez, sustainability strategist at White Architects, arguing from a business perspective:

> Many of the actors including [the bread factory] Pågen want to remain in central Malmö. But also, many cultural enterprises have been able to show the good things taking place in the area. The concept of a cultural sound zone is a new concept for Sweden, because here the issue more commonly is to secure business life rather than culture, while in cities such as Berlin, Brussels and Nantes, there are areas that are defined as sound tolerant (Sydsvenskan, 2021-01-21. Translated from Swedish by the author).

In the proposed cultural sound zone, activities are allowed sound levels up to 85 DBA. Experiences from other parts of Malmö are behind the concept. In the central leisure and entertainment area of Folkets Park, several businesses had been forced to shut down in response to complaints from residents in newly built houses in its vicinity. Against this backround, Malmö's principal public housing provider and landlord MKB, strongly objected to the plan, since it conflicted with their plans to build 1,000 new apartments in the area, by Enskifteshagen at the northern edge of the street – plans made impossible with the 'cultural sound zone' estab-

Figure 4.12. The Cultural Sound Zone (*kulturljudzon*), 2021.
Source: Malmö Stad

lished for the area (Sydsvenskan, 2021-01-21).

Sofia Hedén (Chairman of the City Building Board, Social Democrats) defended the suggested plan, criticising how housing is often prioritised at the expense of cultural and leisure activities. Nevertheless, the cultural sound zones do not provide a "carte blanche for noise" (*friskrivning för att tillåta oljud*): cultural activities have to comply with established levels. It is rather suggested as a "branding", devised to encourage businesses and associations to pursue their activities in a less "disturbance sensitive" area. Outdoor festivals and other temporary outdoor arrangements exceeding the new noise norm will still require permits (Sydsvenskan, 2021-01-21).

As an effect of the altered sound regulations in the new programme, Plan B and other actors have the prospect of receiving permanent building permits and avoiding complaints from residents, hence foreseeing a future as an established and permanent actor in the area. As pointed out by Carlo Emme, founder of Plan B:

> For us, this means a more secure future and that our expansion
> dreams can have a chance to become a reality as investments in
> the street now feel a little more secure. For NGBG, it will mean
> more opportunities to create culture and make it an even more
> exciting place for concerts and parties. So, I see nothing negative
> about it, but at the same time it is only the first step on a long
> journey, and we must now ensure that the local community is
> included (Sydsvenskan, 2021-01-21. Translated from Swedish by
> the author).

Notable here is the transformation of the street from one genre (and one
narrative, discursive presentation) to another: from a deprived and stig-
matised post-industrial street to a hub for celebrating cultural events and
leisure activities, with Plan B at its core (as an actor as well as a discursive
theme). Since receiving a licence to serve alcohol in 2018 and moving
into the new and larger premises – where they could creatively expand
their activities – Plan B has turned into an important *formal* player in
the process of transforming the street. Despite being marginal at the be-
ginning, Plan B today finds itself at the centre, symbolically, materially,
as well as socially, as the venture now fulfils the criteria as a player in the
imagined future of the street. The large-scale renovation of the premises
of Plan B and the investments by the property owner, despite current-
ly holding a temporary building permit, testifies to how activities are
valued. Despite – and perhaps in part because of – remaining at best a
semi-formal actor in the area, Plan B has taken a central role in the trans-
formation of NGBG, in close collaboration with key actors involved in
the formal upgrading of the street, including the property owner and the
municipality. Thus, in complying with dominant values, Plan B is being
"pushed into the centre" (Hall, 2021: 119).

The very same facts, however, may raise concerns about the inclusive-
ness of the future planning of NGBG. There are cautionary parallels with
the case of Kvillebäcken's renewal in the city of Gothenburg, where the
demolition of the former industrial area started three years before a new
zoning plan was issued, depicting the area as "empty and abandoned"
(Thörn & Helgersson, 2016: 681). The point of the parallel is not to
suggest that NGBG, as Kvillebäcken, is threatened by demolition. But

the current strategies echo the role of the private sector and their powerful position in the imagination and negotiation of a contested area. In such processes, the segment of migrant entrepreneurs, less familiar with bureaucratic and strategic planning processes, outside of the most important networks for (formal and informal) decision making, with less access to capital and, equally important, nurturing other meanings of the placeness of the street, have remained and risk continuing to remain absent from the planning processes of NGBG's transformation.

Applied to the development plans for NGBG, we may note how key players, from municipality representatives to commercial development actors, from nightclub owners to community activist organisations, share the discourses of 'inclusion', 'participation', and the promotion of 'local activities'. In official discourse, no distinction is made between migrants or non-migrants, between formal or non- or semi-formal economies, between activities recently organised and actors with a longstanding presence in the area. Without specifying individual activities, the growing *retail* is welcomed (supposedly including the migrant entrepreneurs) – indicating that the strip mall format of retail discussed in Chapter 3 is valued in the development vision. Non-commodified ventures (such as garages, wholesalers, and cultural and religious associations) receive little or no attention. This suggests an emergent stratification of the type of ventures that are valued as future activities in the street, where activities are embraced according to market value.

This stratification may be theorised as "racial banishment", as suggested by Anaya Roy (2017), instrumentalised to reveal "how 'race' and racism is spatially produced" (Hall, 2021: 88), which might help to understand the potential effects of such transformations. Using the case of anti-eviction politics to examine the urban land question, Roy emphasises the expanded meaning of possession and dispossession for understanding the expanded meaning of evictions. Racial banishment, she maintains, is "an attempt to understand how the foundational dispossession of certain subjects is constitutive of liberalism and its economic geographies" (Roy, 2017: 9). She frames racial banishment in relation to dispossession, but also other forms of racialised violence like slavery, colonialism, and apartheid, that "cannot be encapsulated within sanitized notions of gentrification and displacement" (ibid, 2017: 3). While Roy

emphasises that banishment is not a new phenomenon, she underscores that the current rebirth of banishment at an urban scale needs more scrutiny. For, as Roy emphasises, such racialisation is much more than racial discrimination and exclusion: "It is about foundational dispossession – the subject whose claims to personhood are tenuous and whose claims to property are thus always a lived experience of loss" (ibid, 2017: 9).

However, the threat of gentrification through creative activities and cultural events remains valid. In the context of such make-shift urban conditions, and to sustain their inhabitation and livelihoods, entrepreneurs of NGBG have deployed spatial and temporal tactics which I coin as *tactics of permanence.* A major point here is a critical assessment of 'gentrification' as a process whereby one category of citizens is pushed out. Notably, for Roy, urban banishment is not merely a result of neoliberalisation but rather fundamental and integral in the ordering of the urban and must be placed under the broader umbrella of racialisation and colonisation (Samayeen & McCarthy, 2019). My study rather underscores how migrant entrepreneurs resist in order to retain and remain in an area, while adapting according to their own subject positions and (relational, symbolic, as well as material) capital. In the following sections, I introduce such tactics and discuss their dynamics vis-à-vis planning strategies imposed through representations of space from above.

Tactic of Permanence 1: From 'Wholesalefication' to 'Boutiquefication'

Despite municipal interventions in controlling building permits for the risk zone before 2010, the entrepreneurs did not halt the transformation of the street for their own purposes; rather, they endured by applying various tactics from below. To prevent being evicted or fined due to lack of building permits, from 1999 onwards, one tactic consisted of changing the signage of the shops to *wholesale*, which could be considered 'light industry' by the authorities (Sydsvenskan, 2010-02-09). This process, which I refer to as *wholesalefication*, became a tactic for subtly transgressing regulations and thus establishing new modes of retail space. Under the banner of 'light industry', the municipality turned a blind eye to the retail development, which, as is developed below, stimulated the develop-

ment of retail amenities later. The new architectural character emerged as a direct consequence of the political and administrative regulations of the economic life of the area, hence affording and supporting an emerging entrepreneurship on the margin in the form of wholesalefication.

Since 2010, following the reduction of the risk zone and thus the relaxation of the regulations for retail labelled as 'light industry', the transformation of the area accelerated as several new independent shops were established, reshaping the retailscape along NGBG. While retailers continued to sell furniture, carpets, toys, and textiles in bulk (fulfilling the criteria of 'light industry'), they gradually created facilities for small-scale stores as well. This implied a shift in the retail culture of the street, towards what I call a *boutiquefication* of the retail architecture. The growth of this hybrid wholesale/boutique retail changed the (interior) architecture of the defunct industrial buildings drastically, and also came to alter the façades, as shown in Chapter 3. This transformation gradually attracted more customers and boosted the reputation of the street. The growing popularity and the increasing consumer base among diaspora communities also enhanced the need for visibility (as I develop below). Despite stimulating trade and affording opportunity, flexibility, and creativity, the ambiguity of the regulations and uncertainty of prospects (due to its formal label as an industrial zone and the issued temporary building permits) has nevertheless left the merchants in a precarious situation.

Today, boutiquefication is becoming trendier among migrant entrepreneurs as well as the other actors associated with the street's upgrading tactics. On the one hand, migrant merchants show interest in boutiquefication with the ambition of attracting more of their community members and improving their amenities into, to draw on the words of one entrepreneur, "the largest Arab retail in Scandinavia" (interview with Ahmad, 2020). Aside from the amenities' importance as parts of livelihood infrastructures, the development of the retail of the street is also imagined in terms of the valorisation and care for the community rather than neoliberal market values. It indicates that the merchants are seeking to produce and preserve a different vision of value in the street. Such (re)-produced values are part of the socio-economic infrastructure in which social and economic are coupled and entangled, activating each other and thus generating an alternative urban value (McFarlane, 2021: 163).

On the other hand, boutiquefication and its associated aesthetics are also encouraged and pursued by the property owners. While this mechanism of migrant ventures is systematically being built and/or regulated away, urban entrepreneurism increasingly put its mark on Sofielund area, replacing the 'informal' entrepreneurship with mainstream ventures. It feeds into their current vision of branding the street as a 'cool' and 'safe' place, and thus aids in 'whitening' the street and the area in future. This process of gradual expulsion, banishment, or displacement, just like gentrification, is not a clear-cut process I argue, but rather works through thresholds. The general 'development' of the area to improve the quality and safety demands that actors adjust to certain imposed criteria and values as a ticket to stay. It is through this process of distinction that purified space (Ahmed, 2000: 22, 26, 37) and thus hierarchy is created. There are more opportunities for 'high quality' renovations, in line with 'Euro-centric' standards and accommodating the tastes of an increasingly prosperous (and white?) consumer base, by encouraging tenants with the entrepreneurial trend. It is also in line with overall planning projects for the area, such as the development and densification project named Amiralsstaden.

In light of these trajectories, keeping the premises in a poor and messy condition to hide from the gaze of power is becoming defunct as a tactic. By keeping the retail shops in a state of low quality, and attracting a minimum of attention, migrant merchants were able to maintain their livelihoods during the establishment phase. In the wake of the shifting regulations of the street and the issuing of temporary building permits from 2010, however, tenants and property owners have invested in the renovation and decoration of the amenities and buildings in dynamic and constitutive processes. In short, the growing and broadening consumer base, and aesthetically improved retail locations, initiated from below, have spurred an increased interest among property owners in investing in the street from above.

The level of precarity differs among self-employed migrant entrepreneurs, mostly based on ownership, building permits, the legality of renovations, and tax and employment records. As termed by Hall (2021), the lack of such regularities constitutes the characteristics of working in 'edge territories' and within 'edge economies'. The unequal socio-economic sit-

uation of precarity raises questions regarding the politics of entrepreneurship *among* migrant merchants as well. Intergroup power relations and dynamics affect the degree to which local enterprises are aligned with – and afforded by – the top-down transformations. Moreover, according to the legal provisions, when renovations of the premises or changes in their function are needed, owners must ask for permission from the municipality. During this process, the municipality sends a letter to the neighbours in the vicinity inquiring about possible conflicts of interest before granting the proposed changes. This process creates risks and inequalities and is not always fairly implemented. Actors with access to capital and influence, who are willing and able to do everything by the book, may create obstacles for others and report to the authorities based on their own business interests. As one of the landlords mentioned during a go-along in 2019, he did not receive a letter about a newly opened restaurant and bakery as a neighbour, expressing doubts about the legal and bureaucratic procedures behind the changes in the street. When authorities evaluate the edge economies as 'informal,' 'illegal', or even 'criminal', unequal hierarchies are imposed on and among those inhabiting the margins by those who aim to order the margins. Ordering space through economic and political domination thus results in practices of valuation and devaluation, of what matters and who matters (Hall, 2021: 119).

Tactic of Permanence 2: Invisibility Within Visibility

A&R Party City belongs to an Iraqi family and is managed within a strong kinship network. It combines both types of retail: wholesale and single sales. The store is packed with teddy bears and dolls, plastic guns, birthday decorations, balloons, and minor home decorations, mostly imported from Turkey and China. In September 2020, I talked to one of the employees with the assistance of my interpreter. The interlocutor stressed that they usually do not agree to be interviewed or questioned, and the only reason that he agreed to be interviewed was because of the Iraqi background of my accompanying assistant.

Women and children are the main customers. The store has a self-wrapping system for presents, the same as many Swedish chain toy stores. There were many signs stating "Photography is forbidden" all over

the store. When I asked about the reason for such a high level of security, he answered: "The competition is very high in this business. It is important for us to sell unique items for a low price. So, we do not want others to learn what we sell" (interview with Saeed, 2020). The store is located on the second floor of an industrial brick building with several windows facing the street. During the interior renovations in 2020, they enlarged the size of the windows, as is becoming a custom along the street. They do not, however, use the large size windows as a decorated shop front. A messy pile of goods showing the wholesale part of the business are seen easily from the outside. The shop has a sensor that rings a bell when someone enters, and there is CCTV at the entrance allowing those entering to be monitored by the proprietor.

This illustrates how tactics of invisibility within visibility are practised on several levels within the retail shop. On the one hand, being unreadable from the street level, the merchants advertise the store through small signage on the façade, indicating that they have their customers without requiring advertisement. In this way, they seem to mainly rely on customers who know who they are and what they sell (relying on a shared sense of cultural values, familiarity, as well as keeping affordable prices). On the other hand, through the CCTV at the entrance, they monitor those who may enter the shop. Moreover, they try to protect their merchandise in a competitive market of multiple migrant entrepreneurs, providing goods at the lowest prices for their customers in Malmö and beyond. In this type of trade culture, without strong support foundations, competition, as well as cooperation, plays an important role in sustaining the ongoing economic transactions.

Invisibility within visibility hence constitutes a tactic of permanence, helping the retailers to protect their business and activities, visually and architecturally marking off their value vis-à-vis authorities, planners, and property owners, and thus retaining legitimacy to remain in the street. Furthermore, it can provide a cover for activities that might not follow the Swedish or European standards regarding economic transactions, the type of renewals and their materiality, or, potentially, exploiting undocumented or newly arrived people in urgent need of a job and network. Enlarging front shop windows of defunct office buildings or otherwise altering the façades is hence becoming a common tactic of permanence,

appealing to consumers as well as property owners and planners (Figures 4.13 and 4.14). On the other hand, this kind of invisibility can be seen by the authorities and property owners as a lack of transparency. For those wishing to have more control over the place, the lack of transparency and failure to comply with normalcy might provide a rationale for ordering the street or pursuing its gentrification.

During fieldwork, together with my interpreter, we reached out to the main cook of a small lunch restaurant/eatery, a subdivided section within a bakery. She was one of the few women working in the street. Despite her accepting an after-work meeting with us, her boss did not allow the interview to happen. It seemed that the employer wanted to make sure that no information was given to us without his supervision. He did not show interest in having a conversation with us either. This can be un-

Figure 4.13. Street view of the toy shop. Source: Street Google view, 2017

Figure 4.14. Street view of the toy shop, with enlarged windows and more organised signages on the façade. Source: Street Google view, 2021.

derstood as another level of precarity in the intersection of gender, class, and ethnicity, where the circulation of the information runs through the channels controlled by those in powerful positions in a hierarchical structure. Moreover, it uncovers the extent to which the entrepreneurs are vigilant about reliance on outsiders.

In one of the participatory observation episodes, I had the opportunity to listen to a conversation and ensuing negotiation process between one property owner and an interested potential tenant (Figure 4.16). During the conversation, the potential tenant was first asked to mention their reference person's name, who was the current tenant of the same property owner. The potential client, who was accompanied by a younger man acting as his interpreter (from Arabic to Swedish), was first asked to explain the purpose of the lease. According to his response, the

Figure 4.15. Enlarged window fronts in NGBG, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 4.16. Negotiation between the potential tenant and the property owner, 2019. Photograph by the author

place was planned to host an organisation for Iraqi orphan children, and potentially also cultural activities. Thus, the rented place was supposed to turn into an office and work environment. The landlord, however, made sure that any divisions inside the large hall had to materialise with light and glassy partitions to create visibility and transparency of their activities. Creating transparency and monitoring tenants' activities is strongly pursued by BID Sofielund and other authorities. More specifically, this landlord owns a significant number of the properties in the area and is an active member of BID Sofielund, involved in working together for the 'vision' of the street in the future. Thus, he applies the procedures and instructions, which are appropriate to the overall vision of the street decided by the authorities.

Tactics of Permanence 3: Kinship Networks and Social Support

NGBG plays a significant role in diasporic entrepreneurial activity, and as a translocal place, it is simultaneously related to other places in time and space. Constituted of various retail amenities and car mechanics, along with educational, religious, and social spaces, NGBG plays an important role in providing means and meanings for many individuals. Inclined to kinship networks as well as translocal connections, knowledge and skills, migrants can grasp any opportunity – even provisional – to pursue their needs. One of the interlocutors, who was raised in Sweden after fleeing from Iraq when he was one year old, underscored the recognition of NGBG in the Middle East and said that he feels proud about it. Tareq appreciates NGBG not only as a local street but as a place that is connected to other places via retail, language, rituals, and images. NGBG is a place where he finds himself at home. In Tareq's words:

> Interestingly, people in Syria, Iraq or other countries in the Middle East know this street without even being in Sweden. They have heard about the street in Malmö from their relatives and acquaintance living here. They know that the street is occupied by car washes and garages, associations, and Falafel Baghdad. They know our famous street. (interview with Tareq, 2018)

The diversity of the shop owners, the customers, and the imported goods of the street is wide-ranging and significant. Although most of the merchants and car mechanics are from Iraq, there are many others from Palestine, Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia, and Lebanon. Such diversity does not linger only with nationality, but it carries along with other features of diversity in relation to skills, merchandise culture, language, life stories and trajectories, as well as the time of arrival. The time of arrival affects the migrants' involvement and establishment in the street; those who have been around for more than two decades are more established to the extent that they could have bought property in the area, while newcomers face more challenges and inequality imposed by the welfare system. Many of the retailers speak several languages (mainly Arabic, but also Kurdish, Swedish, English, and Chinese, for example). Among themselves, the traders converse mostly in Arabic (in different dialects), with Arab speaking customers as well. Thus, the dominant language of the street, including signages and other kinds of information, is Arabic. On the other hand, the customers who come to NGBG to shop are diverse groups from Malmö and beyond. Some living in other cities of Skåne visit the street once a week or month to provide for their basic needs. Items for interior decoration and furniture are also delivered to the northern cities of Sweden and Denmark.

Ad hoc architecture and urban design from Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Afghanistan is re-produced and re-appropriated by migrants in their inhabitation of NGBG, as discussed in the previous chapter. However, this translocal relationship is not only articulated and pursued through spatial appropriation but is entangled within embodied social relations, material culture, and retail conducts and networks. To build a hybrid home somewhere between 'here and there' and 'now and then', diasporic communities constantly calibrate and re-connect to multiple times and spaces. The seemingly local establishments along the street are part of a wider global network of markets and retail. The street has been a stage for translocal spatial and material performance and practices, as well as the circulation of goods, people, and connections. For instance, by following the latest trends in the Middle East, the migrant retailers participate in the production of a consumer culture among diasporas. This generates an atmosphere that holds things in place. It also enables the street to be-

come an infrastructure for the diasporic community's everyday life. This atmosphere also domesticates the post-industrial street of NGBG. The street thus becomes a place of amalgamation of social and economic relations; of livelihood, consumption, mattings, and praying, as well as the formation of different 'counterpublics' (Fraser, 1995). Such counterpublics play a central role for certain disfranchised migrant groups, as they are banished from the 'inner city', as a symbolic place of class and power.

Ahmad, who sells natural oil perfumes as well as women's clothes and lingerie, pointed out that the street is "providing place", where one can find everything. Ahmad, along with other interlocutors, expressed the importance of NGBG and its added value to the businesses in the vicinity. He underscored the retail establishment and the social order of the place, which functions both for the retailers and customers despite the disordered and cluttered physical appearance of the street. Furthermore, he states that "the interior of the shops is not very important, but the items and their prices are". For Ahmad it is significant to have his business in NGBG because:

> NGBG is one of the largest retail enclaves for Arabs. So for me as a retailer, it is important to have my business in NGBG. This street is already established and well-known, so one doesn't need too much advertisement for one's business. Thus, one has a better chance to find customers and become established. (interview with Ahmad, 2020)

He said that he had another store near NGBG for several years and was waiting for a vacant space along NGBG. In 2017, he managed to rent a place for his business within Ashir's newly renovated retail complex (discussed in the previous chapter), based on the kinship and the social network he shared with the owner. Similar patterns of chasing opportunities and prospective approaches for establishing a livelihood within the vicinity of the street were reiterated by various traders in the street.

I was introduced to Muhammad in 2019 through people who work with the creative transformation process of the street and the festival. They presented him as an approachable, open, and trustable person, hinting at the unavailability of the other retailers. When I called him,

he invited me to his newly opened restaurant in an adjacent neighbour-
hood, just south of NGBG. He warmly welcomed me and offered me
a cup of tea. We started to chat in Swedish, mixed with Persian. He
spontaneously started the conversation with his migration trajectories,
his arrival stories to Sweden from Iraq in 1989, and various activities in
the Swedish job market. After working in an American motor company
in Arlöv (a village just outside Malmö), he started a car dealer business in
NGBG in 2006. That work, however, did not satisfy him either. In 2009,
he bought NazNaz bakery from the previous owner, a Kurdish migrant
(Figure 4.17). He kept the former name in order to keep the continuity
of the established bakery, famous for baking the traditional Iraqi bread
samoon. With a great deal of effort, Muhammad gradually expanded the
bakery from one kind of bread to seven various types and employed nine
more employees. When I asked him about the differences between being
a car mechanic, a car dealer, and a baker, he answered with laughter:

> Once I was in a restaurant management course, and I very much
> liked it… But I had worked as a car mechanic, which is such a
> greasy job. As I always say oil is oil, either for fixing the motor of
> cars or baking and cooking (interview with Muhammad, 2019).

Eventually, Muhammad sold a large share of the bakery a few years ago
to another Iraqi man and opened the restaurant where we met. He said
that he has left the street because it was becoming overcrowded with cars
and people. He motivated his decision with the following words: "I have
been working a lot for many years, and now I need to calm down. I didn't
want to start something new, but my neighbour insisted to make this
restaurant together, so I accepted" (interview with Muhammad, 2019).
During one of my visits to the street in 2020, I met him when he was
preparing to open a new restaurant on the street. Either being a business
partner in a collaboration or a friendly supporter of the new restaurant,
he is one of the key actors in the street, connecting people, assisting new
businesses, and developing entrepreneurial visions. Today, the interior of
the bakery section within *NazNaz* is divided into three different sections.
The restaurant section serves breakfast and lunch (Iraqi food), while the
other two sections sell pickles, olives, and pastries.

Figure 4.17 (top left). NazNaz bakery. Source: NazNaz bakery's Facebook page, 2016

Figure 4.18 (top right). NazNaz bread in Copenhagen. Source: *NGBG Webblog* by Oscar Ponnert, 2008

Figure 4.19 (left). Muhammad's new restaurant (Iraqi food), February 2020. Photograph by the author

In December 2008, Oscar Ponnert posted the photo above (Figure 4.18) on his blog, which was taken by one of his blog readers in Copenhagen. The blog reader was asking Ponnert about this bakery in NGBG and why he had not written anything about it yet. The blogger described in the same post that during his exploration of NGBG, he had been looking for the NazNaz bakery, but somehow ended up at the next-door venue, which is a furniture repair shop. Notably, such tactics are common among the retailers and entrepreneurs on the street, who make a distinction between regular and irregular costumers as well as insiders and outsiders. This kind of ambiguity is not an uncommon tactic among NGBG business owners, to hide from the gaze of power and avoid being scrutinised, which connects to the second *tactic of permanence* as visibility within invisibility discussed in the previous section.

The three examples described above illustrate the importance of the persistent presence – being around in general – and patiently waiting to grab opportunities, as well as the importance of social networks and familiarity. The examples once again show the encroachment, extension,

and increments of these small businesses, from being hidden in the base-ment to being visible on the street level and even beyond. The (re-)pro-duced socio-economic infrastructure holds the businesses together and generates grounds for navigating the new prospects through their net-works, skills, and negotiation.

In October 2008, Rafet Mustafa, a 35-year-old Malmö resident, re-ceived the New Builder (*nybyggare*) award of the year from King Carl XVI Gustaf in a ceremony at the Royal Castle of Stockholm.[18] He received the award from the International Business Association in Sweden (IFS). Earlier in that year, he was named "New Builder of the Year" in Skåne. Rafet Mustafa came to Sweden as a refugee from Iraq in 2002. Three years after his arrival, he started his car mechanic service Tigris (named after the river running through Iraq, Turkey, and Syria) in NGBG (Figure 4.20). Before that, he had trained at Lernia and worked at a car repair shop in Lund. The IFS rewards persons of foreign background who, with limited resources and hard work, have become successful entrepreneurs (Sydsvenskan, 2008-10-14). Local news reported that the nomination committee had noted his determination and humble appearance in con-tact with customers. Notably, however, Rafet had to borrow the start-up capital from friends and relatives, as he did not get a loan from the bank.

> I'm happy and honoured. I just want to be able to support myself and avoid living on welfare benefits (*bidrag*). The profit will be invested in the company, and I hope to be able to rent another place (interview with Rafet Mustafa, Sydsvenskan 2008-10-14. Translated from Swedish by the author).

Rafet Mustafa's story illustrates the social and economic networks through which newcomers build their lives. The economic support he received from his social networks – functioning as an informal banking system – provided him freedom and the possibility of becoming estab-

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18   One may note that the Swedish concept of *nybyggare* also associates to 'pioneer' and 'settler'. It was used in reference to the Swedish migrant-settlers in the great American migation during the19th and early 20th centuries, as captured in the novel *Nybyggarna* (1956, translated into English as *The Settlers*), the second part of Wilhelm Moberg's fa-mous migration epos, one of the most cherished works in Swedish literature.

lished. While such transactions are the key stepstone in migrants' lives to earn a living, they could be conceived as illegal and inappropriate in the eyes of the authorities. In the context of xenophobic and/or anti-migration sentiments, many migrants like Rafet Mustafa feel the need to prove that they are 'good migrants' and that they do not cost a lot of tax money. They must compensate by hard work, living and working sometimes under unequal circumstances, to show that they are worthy enough to stay, to become permanent. Hence, it is important to see these sites and activities beyond informal relations of trade, and scrutinise them as an alternative method of network and support.

As demonstrated, the retail history of NGBG entails sociological and economic complexity that falls outside the normative capitalist ways of trading. The main elements in the success story of the street and its popularity among the customers are low prices and high provisions. Pollard et al. (2009) discuss the possibilities of a "postcolonial economic geography", focusing on the practices and values of emerging economies outside of a western-centric frame of analysis. Many of the retailers emphasised the affordability of the goods, specifically for a low-income population.

Figure 4.20. Tigris car service in NGBG.
Source: *NGBG Webblog* by Oscar Ponnert (October 2008)

They want to keep the prices of the goods low, and thus they cannot afford high rents. This may help the material continuity of home for migrants through consumption. Thus, it suggests that the vitality of the street and businesses rests not on profit maximisation (as the market-oriented strategies/entrepreneurism would probably prefer) but on exchange and community structures beyond the financial values only. Examining the urban values generated by various actors, McFarlane (2021) suggests recognising other values that remain invisible if cities are imagined as economic investment vehicles. While McFarlane advocates an inseparable relationship between social and economic transactions, he brings our attention to what Gibson-Graham (2008) designates as the post-capitalist economy. This refers to "economies of self-provisioning, gifting, caring, savings collectives, worker cooperation, feudal enterprises, and reciprocal informal markets", which according to McFarlane (2021: 163) is a "loose ecology of practices and experiments, and which are often under the radar". Reciprocity, kinship, or friendship, as well as having a common language or nationality all are involved in the activation of such an ecology among the merchants, workers, and retailers of the street, binding them together.

Tactic of Permanence 4: Negotiating Multi-scalar Borders and Boundaries

Importantly, however, the material, physical, and symbolic aspects of the transformation of the area also are interconnected with boundaries of invisible yet central importance in terms of economic regulations, structures, and networks. For instance, several of my interlocutors expressed the difficulties they face when importing goods to Sweden from outside the EU. Ahmad drew my attention to the regulations implemented on imported goods. For garments and perfumes from Dubai, Turkey, and Kuwait, the monitoring is intense. Ahmad said that he follows the consumption culture in the Middle East through social media (Instagram and YouTube) to learn what to purchase and bring to Sweden. He also mentioned the pressure to import items from within and not outside the EU. Echoing the sentiments of others about the need to keep prices low for this community of shoppers, Ahmad said:

> One of the reasons they [migrant entrepreneurs] have succeeded in turning the street into one of the most important and largest retail enclaves for Arabs in Scandinavia is the low prices of everything. So, importing goods from the EU will make the final price higher and thus fewer low-income people will be able to buy them. Moreover, such items wouldn't be available or produced within the EU. Besides the price, the type of goods we import from the Middle East is relevant to the requirements and tastes of the customers. (interview with Ahmad, 2020)

According to Ahmad and a few other retailers, they must show the ingredients of each item in specific detail to get approval for their imports, something they find very demanding and problematic. The surveillance system discussed at the beginning of the chapter, inspecting the retail stores, extends to the substances of the merchandise. As they claim, such processes of inspection slow down the processes of importing and sometimes cause economic losses because the delivery containers must remain behind the border and wait for permission to enter Sweden, which sometimes takes several months. Ahmad also claimed that the environmental regulations for importing from outside the EU and the controlling mechanisms are specific to Sweden and not all the EU countries. His example was Germany, where such procedures are not applied to the same extent as in Sweden. The remarkable issue according to Ahmad, however, is the fact that the same item which he could not import from the Middle East could be imported from Germany. In his opinion, as he carefully underscored, this is an indication that the restrictions are not about the imported goods and their substances per se, but how the vendors are seen as 'different', as are the goods they import. He showed me hundreds of printed pages sent from the trader in the Middle East, including a detailed list of ingredients of the natural oil perfumes and other liquid products, which he also provided to the visiting inspectors. He finds such restrictions discriminatory, even though they are justified as an environmental concern. To illustrating his statement, he drew Sweden as a circle on the left side of a paper note. He pointed out that the goods needed to go through several borders (layers) to reach their destination (Figures 4.21 and 4.22). Similar concerns were also raised by Saeed, who works in

the toy store, complaining about the regulations and bureaucratic process of importing, and the long waiting time at the border to get approval: "They want us to import from the EU. We have many products here that we are not allowed to import due to the requirements placed on us, which are sometimes stupid. Many of the things we import do not exist in the EU or are more expensive" (interview with Ahmad, 2020).

From the above, it is clear that two main aspects are important in socio-economic transactions for the merchants: the final price of the goods, which plays a significant role for the main customers of these merchants, and the type of the desired products, which are not available or produced within the EU borders. The environmental or health-related concerns of the authorities regarding the goods imported from the Middle East, which extend to monitoring the substances of the goods, contribute to an *othering* of geographies and populations. The institutional monitoring of the flow of goods hence feeds into a strategy of administration and regu-lation of the life of populations as subjects of political relationality, which Foucault termed *biopolitics*. As Foucault (1990/1976: 138) underlined, the aim of imposing biopolitics through biopower is "to ensure, sustain, and multiply life, to put this life *in order*" (my emphasis). The (over) monitoring of imports such as perfumes and toys under the umbrella of health issues and environmental concerns is justified with regard to their (in)direct effect on the bodies of the customer. Admitting that such
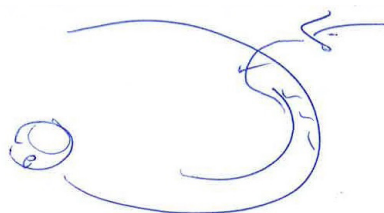
Figure 4.21 (Left). Ahmad is drawing to explain the obstacles to importing goods to Sweden from outside the EU, 2020. Photograph by the author

Figure 4.22 (Above). Ahmad's drawing, 2020. Photograph by the author

considerations are in favour of the consumer populations, however, they do not always seem accurate. Additionally, the less strict rules of other EU countries in comparison to Sweden regarding the same type of goods add to the complexities of the politicisation behind the monitoring of migrant entrepreneurs from above.

In an article about temporary accommodation units for refugees in Gothenburg, Kristina Grange provides a poignant analysis of the utter failures of a municipal project. Aiming to create 1,000 units for newcomers, it eventually resulted in a mere 57. Scrutinising the societal imaginations upon which the project was predicated, Grange illustrates how various "techniques of expulsion" (Ahmed, 2000: 21, 53, 93) can be used to create spatial and temporal estrangement (Grange, 2022). Drawing on Sara Ahmed's concept of "the stranger", Grange shows how "techniques of differentiation" construct imaginaries of migrants as strangers and hence feed into and shape the spatial logic of the city, in which migrants are expelled from urban development plans. In a similar vein, I argue that monitoring the socio-economic transactions of small-scale merchants in NGBG functions as a technique of differentiation, defining who is an insider or outsider, legal or illegal, formal or informal, and ultimately welcomed or not. Those techniques of differentiation are imposed both spatially and temporally on bodies already racialised, providing the grounds for expulsion and banishment.

Moreover, the deceleration of the flow of goods across nation-state borders, through the employment of extra bureaucratic layers, puts these merchants in a vulnerable position in waiting, as subjects to "temporal bordering". In the article "Waiting Bodies in Dictatorial and Bordering Regimes, Shahram Khosravi underscores that delaying is a strategy to keep some people in a racial hierarchy of society (Khosravi, 2021). In another discussion of the temporal aspect of the life of refugees, Khosravi (2014) understands waiting as a manipulation and politisation of the others' (or with Ahmed, the stranger's) time and 'a technique for the regulation of social interactions'. From such a perspective, the prolonged waiting process for obtaining permission for imports constitutes a time stolen (Khosravi, 2018: 34), from the migrant merchants of NGBG. Such waiting also can be understood as a temporal aspect of the techniques of differentiation and thus expulsion by creating feelings of dis-

tress and discomfort (Grenge, 2022) for the retailers and entrepreneurs.

Moreover, such monitoring processes not only constitute an order for a specific type of *estranged* transactions, they also contribute to the imagination of such transactions as hypothetically dangerous, unhealthy, or untrustworthy, as a potential *threat* to the receiving country. Thus, the transactions (and the people associated with them) need to be controlled, monitored, and manipulated on the street scale – and also at the national scale, upheld with a border regime. The result is the production of racialised and politicised bodies forever at the border (Darling, 2011: 264). As stated by several informants, Swedish tax agents accompanied by police constantly visit their shops to track the transactions and other activities, hence extending invisible borders to the street level.

Borders constitute and uphold the margin. They are embodied and effective. When Ahmad, my interlocutor and his colleagues describe their challenges of breadwinning, they constantly resort to terms such as "them" and "there" (contrasting to us and here) in referring to "Swedes" and "their" areas of residence, how "Swedes" never visit the street to shop. This indicates the existence of psycho-social borders, prompting questions about the extent to which the physical borders are internalized by those whose lives are profoundly affected by them (Awan, 2016). Thus, invisible bordering practices – enforced from above – not only informalise and illegalise certain practices but also affirm hierarchies in the society. Nation-state borders extend into the everyday life of those who are marginalised, segregated and unrecognised, accentuating invisible but no less discriminatory borders traversing the street.

Concluding Notes

In this chapter, I discussed the entangled social and economic relations that create a system of support traversing the spatial infrastructure. This infrastructure of transactions functions in a twofold way. On the one hand, it provides opportunities for self-employment through self-organised livelihood practices. This includes the activation of in situ potentials, and the navigation of opportunities and openings in the street in pursuit of partnerships, cooperation, or rental, or saleable places. On the other hand, this infrastructure interconnects and associates local activities with

other places and networks of people through translocal connections. I demonstrated that such interwoven social and economic processes are materialised in the porous architectural spaces reciprocally supporting transactions. As a sum effect, by (re)producing such infrastructures, merchants navigate and negotiate their right to livelihood and aspire to change their vulnerable conditions at the margins.

Despite its supportive functions, resting on activities and relations *otherwise*, the socio-economical infrastructure largely remains unrecognised among developers and city officials. Designating certain activities as 'informal', or upholding them in a prolonged condition of nonpermanence and delay, feeds into a strategy of monitoring and control. Actors in the street are differently disposed to handle such strategies and negotiate permanence and normalcy. Plan B successfully accomplished the transition from temporality to permanence, from periphery to centre, by accommodating the 'proper' market-oriented and culturally endorsed profile of the street. Valued as contributing to the future of the NGBG, the formerly semi-legal rock club was "pushed into the centre" (Hall, 2021: 119), becoming a pillar in the street's renewal.

While incapable of meeting such criteria, the merchants and retail owners of migrant backgrounds employ other *tactics of permanence* to avoid banishment. In contrast to the tactics coined by de Certeau (1984) (to capture counteracts in everyday life), such tactics consist of the forging of social and economic relations. They are devised to stabilise and prolong inherently provisional socio-spatial practices – finding form in architectural transformations of social and economic life. The tactics of permanence become feasible through resting on a (re)produced infrastructure of socio-economic relations, and vice versa.

The first tactic of permanence was explored as a process *from wholesalefication to boutiquefication*, which is a tactic of transgressing the planning regulations of the post-industrial street. Wholesalefication stabilised the retail territories for decades and was supported by in situ, large size industrial architectures. By branding retail as wholesale, the merchants could prolong their presence and evade displacement. Following the 2010 reduction of the environmental risk zone (until then prohibiting non-industrial amenities in the street), a gradual shift towards boutiquefication took place. This had the effect of profoundly altering the archi-

tectural typology of NGBG – merging the industrial architecture into a new typology of diasporic strip malls and garages (as discussed in Chapter 3) – and as such supporting the socio-economic infrastructures.

The second tactic of permanence was explored in terms of *invisibility within visibility*. This tactic is applied to render invisible activities and transactions not considered as 'serious', 'appropriate', or 'sound' by authorities. The tactic has gained significance in the context of the growing efforts to monitor and discipline the street. The defunct industrial and office buildings with brick walls and small openings afford such (sometimes ad hoc) invisibilisation. Hence, interiorisation is a significant aspect of the architectural transformation of NGBG, as many social and economic activities take place inside the buildings – while obscured (non-initiated) externally. During recent years, however, and in line with the increasing ordering, disciplining, and beautification of the street from above, retail owners are implicitly encouraged to pursue more transparency in their amenities. This happens both in terms of façade renovation and the improvement of interior spaces. Transparency requirements concomitantly have the effect of improving the attractiveness for customers, in the context of increasing commodification of NGBG.

The third tactic of permanence operates through *kinship networks and social support*, finding shape in the proliferation of social associations and the materiality it has created. Through this tactic, the migrant entrepreneurs provide means, tools, and resources for their own and others' survival through translocal infrastructures. Such resources are navigated through informal socio-technical channels, supported by common languages, shared nationality, and/or group affiliation (whether conceived in ethnic, religious, and/or cultural terms), overseas economic investments, and knowledge and skills carried into the site. Equally important, translocal socio-economic relations provide an *atmosphere* of familiarity, safety, and solidarity. Many of the traders as well as visitors emphasise the importance of NGBG and describe it in terms of a provider, a place where one can 'find everything'. In this way, the street and its entrepreneurs and users produce communal and symbolic values beyond economic profit. NGBG hence is reputed and branded as "the largest Arab retail in Scandinavia". Such communal-symbolic values, however, remain unseen and unrecognised in the eyes of the city's public-private developers, who

prioritise (and normalise) market-oriented values and strategies. The up-grading of NGBG through urban planning and visioning from above, therefore, has the (intended or unintended) effect of extending 'white space' through the economic, aesthetic, as well as social transformation of the street.

The *negotiation of multi-scalar borders and boundaries* comprises the fourth tactic of permanence. This tactic is devised to handle the systematic regime of surveillance imposed on the street, which takes place at various scales. Its most manifest aspect is the authorities' preoccupation with ordering and 'cleaning up' the 'informal' and 'illegal' activities associated with the street – as illustrated by police raids and monitoring. Exploring the migrants' socio-economic transactions in detail, however, reveals a more profound level of monitoring and estrangement. As this chapter has demonstrated, the social, as well as economic, relations of the street rely on translocal infrastructures, interconnecting NBGB with other geographies and temporalities. This is maintained through trade extending over EU borders. The encounter with border regimes (regulating and delaying the processes), enforces broader mechanisms of differentiation and estrangement. Such intersecting trajectories of monitoring constitute the 'legal' as well as psycho-social boundaries in relation to which the migrants negotiate their socio-economic infrastructure, negotiated in an atmosphere of *otherness*.

5

TEMPORAL INFRASTRUCTURES

On 7 September 2019, I attended the (4th) annual NGBG festival. The festival officially started at 12:00 and I arrived a while after, when the crowd was slowly gathering. Like previous years, a large section of the street was sealed off with roadblocks and metal fences to make it pedestrian-only. The same fences divided the street into different zones, separating various music and DJ scenes, serving areas for locally brewed beer, sitting areas, and public toilets. There were several tents along the street selling handcraft accessories, as well as t-shirts parading radical feminist, leftist, and anarchist slogans. One local fish and chips food wagon and

Figure 5.1. Local beers served in Plan B during the NGBG festival, 2019. Photograph by the author
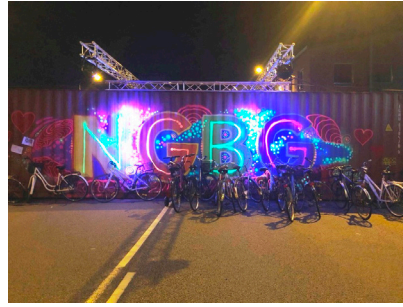
Figure 5.2. NGBG presented with glittery lights during the NGBG festival, 2019. Photograph by the author

one mobile coffee bar were also in place (Figures 5.3, 5.4). As in previous years, various premises within and around garages had been turned into temporary music scenes (Figures 5.6, 5.7). Plan B, the only formal music club in NGBG, had arranged a large music scene and beer serving area in the middle of the street. The newly renovated salons of Plan B hosted a pop-up second-hand area and a local market for bio-organic products.

Walking through the crowd, I noticed a familiar scent. Someone was cooking rice, I thought! But where? Knowing that the street is mostly non-residential (except for its northern and the western parts) and did not host any restaurants in the vicinity, this struck me as unusual. Turning my head around to find the source of the scent, I noticed a different crowd in a different rhythm, outside the immediate festival zone. I passed the metal fences and walked in that direction. Three men in black were coming out from one of the garages, carrying white plastic grocery bags. Above them, black flags adorned the garage front, inscribed with Arabic calligraphy mentioning Imam Hussein, the champion and essential symbol of Shia Islam. The garage door was half ajar, and I could just barely make out what occurred inside. But it was immediately clear to me that the small group of men, also in black, were busy preparing Gheymeh[19] (also known as Gheymeh-e Imam Hussein) in large size pots on a porta-

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19   Gheymeh or gheimeh polo, is a dish common in countries such as Iran and Iraq and includes a thick stew of split peas and chopped lamb cooked with dry lemons and tomato puree, served on a bed of hot saffron rice.

Figure 5.3. Metal fences divide the eating zone and concert zone forming the pathway during the NGBG festival, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.4. Street food wagons during the NGBG festival, 2019, flanked by 'leftist' mottos, reading "FUCK GENTRIFICATION" and "PROFITEERS GO TO *RIBBAN*", the latter referring to the well-to-do seaside neighbourhood of Ribersborg in Malmö. Photograph by the author

Figures 5.5. The street is closed by metal fences during the NGBG festival, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.6 (below). The side-way of a garage transformed into a music scene during the NGBG festival, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.7. One of the music scenes in the NGBG festival, decorated with graffiti, gravel floors, furniture and patio umbrellas, 2019. Photograph by the author

ble burner: the garage had transformed into a pop-up kitchen for votive food (as described in Chapter 3). I was amazed by the mind-bending overlap of a pious and serene Muharram spirit with a festive street party atmosphere, realising that the NGBG festival day this year (2019) happened to coincide with Muharram – in time, space, as well as performance. Having grown up in an Islamic Republic with a dominant Shia culture, I found the collision both intriguing and paradoxical. Despite a thoroughly secular upbringing, I am well familiar with the Muharram commemorations, being one of the most central religious fixtures for pious Shia Muslims around the world and celebrated in a patently public fashion. Second in status only to Ramadan, Shia Muslims observe it during the first ten days of the month of Muharram, in commemoration of the failed rebellion of Iman Hussein and "the 72 martyrs" who met their death on the plains of Kerbela in 680. This event came to be constructed as a paradigmatic moment in the formation of Shia Islam and hence carries particular political importance in the official national calendar of the (Shia) Islamic Republic of Iran. For pious Shia Muslims worldwide, it is observed as a time for solemn contemplation and public mourning – hence, the very opposite in affective register to the joyous festival yet strangely similar in its publicness.

I found myself surrounded by two sharply distinct categories of street visitors – afforded by two equally contrasting sets of materiality and audio-visual registers. A minority of mourners were clad in black, corresponding to black Muharram banners and billboards, green and red flags incurring the tragic heroes of Kerbela battle – and the more or less invisible interiors of prayer halls preparing for a night of ritual observations, food, and socialising within strict lines of demarcation. Around them – or perhaps more accurately upon them – the street had temporarily been overtaken by a majority dressed in party clothes and makeup, moving slowly around along the street, chatting, laughing, and dropping by the various music scenes, saturating the soundscape of the street. The mourners moved according to a different rhythm, men and women dressed in black, eyes fixed on the ground quietly and quickly passing by the provisional bars and music venues on their way to ritual observance in the mosques or returning home.

Learning about the ceremonies to be held in the musalla's[20] women's section, I made plans to visit the ceremonies later in the evening. But before that, I went home to change my clothing to be better suited for the Muharram atmosphere. Recollecting my childhood Muharram days, I chose a "modest" style, consisting of black pants and a black shirt, and put a simple black scarf around my neck, to be able to cover my hair as I entered the mosque. I did so with a slight feeling of ambiguity. For me, covering my head essentially recalls two situations: the state-regulated dressing rules for women in public spaces I face when visiting Iran; and my professional field work in ritual spaces in diaspora, spaces of no religious significance for me personally. I was overcome with a feeling of embodying the very ambiguity of NGBG itself, negotiating its strangely contrasting yet co-occurring sacred-affective and secular-festive personas.

As the night progressed, however, the (spatial, as well as sonic) territorial boundaries were becoming less and less distinct between the contrasting festivals temporally converging in the street. The audiences joining the festival or the mosques for the mourning ritual were both increasing in size. Ironically, the entry of Plan B (one of the main hubs for concerts during the festival) is located across from one of the principal musallas, in a side alley to NGBG. The music was getting louder, artists were playing on every stage, and more beverages were being consumed. Party crowds and Muharram mourners quite literally rubbed shoulders in the alley.

After changing my attire and coming back to the street, on my way to the musalla, passing the alley shared with Plan B, I noticed that the proportion of the sections made by the metal fences had changed when compared to the morning's arrangement (Figure 5.8). The passage to the musalla had been reduced in favour of the other side, devoted to the festival attendants. The musalla entry had been sealed off with movable metal fences (of the same kind surrounding the street bars) and overseen by firm but friendly young men, making sure visitors did not take the wrong entrance. During this night of paradoxical collisions, a distinct tactic of boundary drawing had emerged ad hoc, yet evidently became

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20   A musalla is a place of Islamic worship, usually smaller than a mosque, erived from the Arabic *salla*, "to perform the Muslim worship, *salat*", hence the place where the *salat* is performed on certain occasions (Wensinck and Hillenbrand, 2012).

functional for the attendees. In response to the chaotic situation, particular spatial and socio-material tactics had been implemented by the religious organisers to establish order and avoid any manifestations of disrespectfulness for the commemoration of Imam Hussein. Notably, however, only the musalla organisers had taken measures to draw a line of distinction through the narrow alley, materially as well as symbolically. Or, in other words, the stakes were evidently higher for the mourners than for the partygoers. While the musalla guards were friendly, they were also distinctly alert to the situation, as opposed to the partygoers who seemed hardly to notice the existence of the musalla at all, let alone that this was a night of intense sanctity for the Muharram mourners.

I was stopped by the young men guarding the fences close to the entry of the musalla. Without asking about my purpose, one of them told me: "The festival entry is not here". "I know", I answered, "I want to go to visit the musalla for the ceremonies". They did not seem convinced, despite my "proper" attire, and said I cannot enter all the same: this is

Figure 5.8. Metal fences divide the music scene from the passage to the musalla Imam Hussein during the NGBG festival, 2019. Photograph by the author

the entry for the men's section. When I asked where to find the women's section, one of the men volunteered to guide me to the southern side of the building. We needed to first return to the main street and enter the parallel alley. While walking with the young gatekeeper to the other side of the building, I asked his thoughts about the co-occurring street festival and Muharram ceremonies. He assured me that "there is no problem if we mourn tonight, and they dance because we respect everyone in this street". Yet, he cautiously continued: "of course we are worried…" (Figures 5.9 and 5.10)

Figure 5.9. Illustration of converging zones of Muharram commemoration in the musalla and a festival scene during NGBG festival, 2019. Illustrated by Parto Jahangiri

Street (Con)Temporalities and Temporal Boundaries

In the examples described in the anecdote, we saw a clash between two different temporal infrastructures, the lunar-based Islamic calendar and the Gregorian calendar (as it has been appropriated in a Swedish/European culture). In a dynamic way, they produced their spatiality and atmosphere. In this sense, the overlapping temporalities, and the temporary boundary drawings occurring as ramifications of the festival, created intense moments of social encounter, bringing mourners and festival guests into moments of eye-to-eye-ness: "a mutual intervisibility which
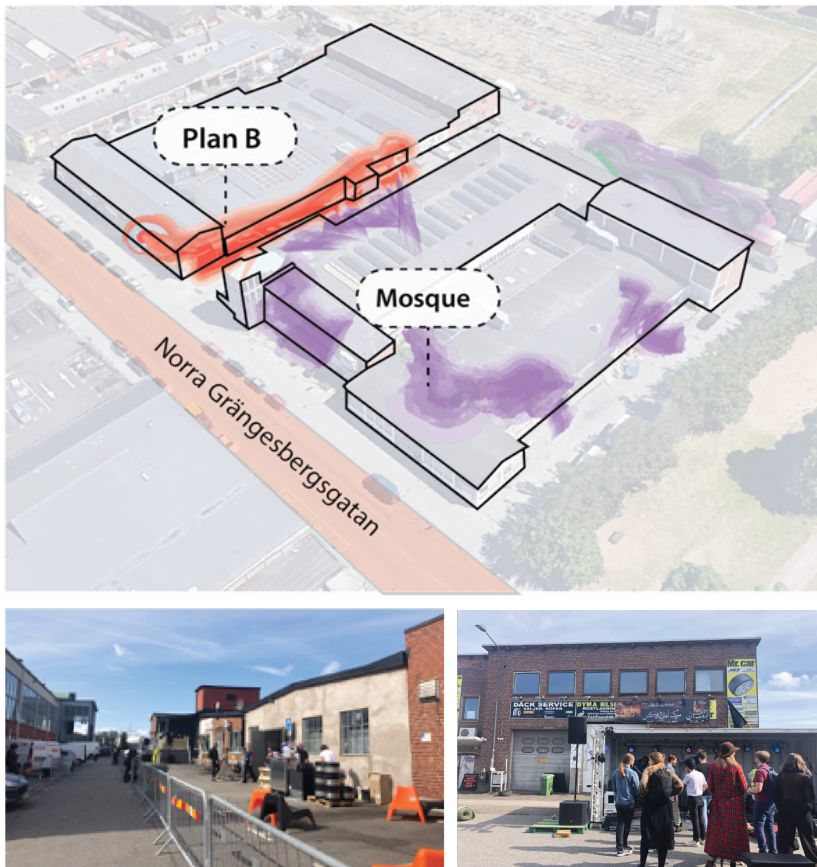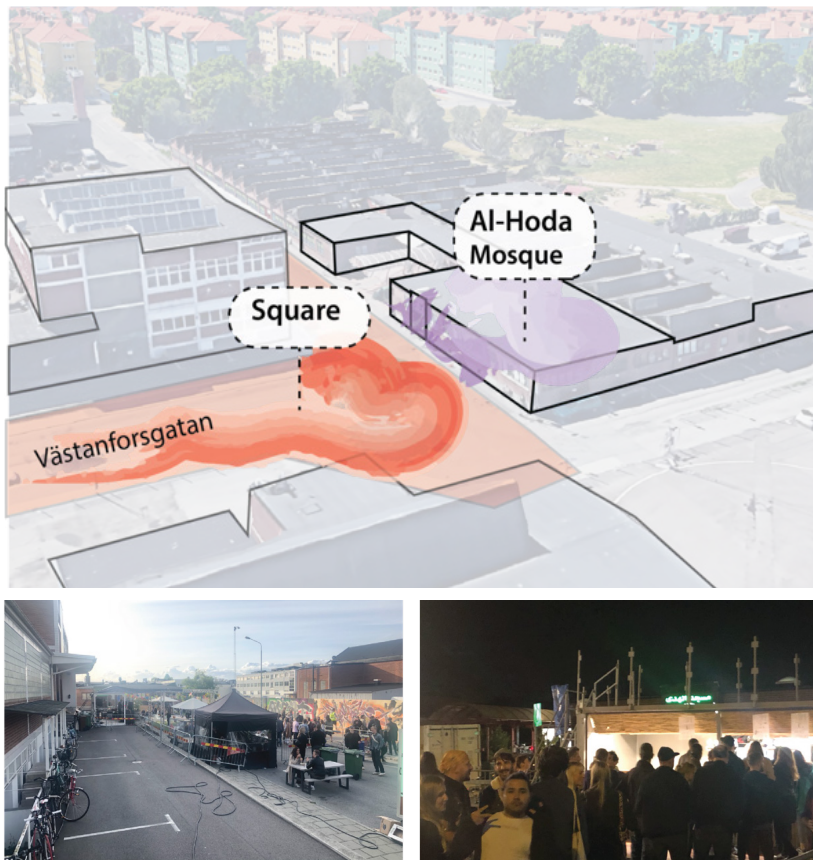

Figure 5.10. Illustration of converging zones of Muharram commemoration in the Lebanese Shia Association and a festival scene during NGBG festival, 2019. Illustrated by Parto Jahangiri

exists only as long as it is immediate" (Brighenti, 2010: 24, cf Simmel 1969[1908]). This temporary proximity worked as the modulator of social encounters (ibid 2010: 24), clarifying and crafting quests for safeguarding territory. Such practices of *walling* functioned as a way of deflecting the flows and rhythms of the festivalgoers, slowing them down and controlling their flow in the proximity of the site of religious worship (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2020: 145). The alley became a mediatory space, structuring latent power relations and counter-power reactions, as the pious guards enforced spatial boundaries to reduce anxiety and the possibility of moral panic. The metal fences represented the material emergence of territorial reconfigurations, producing new orders and regulations in response to the chaotic situation. In all their banality, the metal fences became materialised temporalities, enforced to create distance, avoiding the risk of being 'touched by the unknown'. In this sense, the marking of the entry to the ritual venue did not seal off the migrants vis-à-vis the festival. On the contrary: "Boundaries are not the opposite of flows but rather the moment when flows become visible, inscribed in the field of visible, socially relevant phenomena" (Brighenti & Kärrholm 2020: 27). As a constitutive process of territorialisation, the implicit and invisible act of boundary drawing becomes visible.

The contrasting events, it should be underscored, share several characteristics aside from their differences with regards to hierarchy, spatial politics, and power. Annual events such as the NGBG festival and Muharram commemoration are junctures that affect the everyday rhythm and atmosphere of the street. Despite the distinctions in their size and type, they both bring various groups together and produce temporal and multiple public spaces. There are similarities in the appropriation of space and time, negotiation, as well as the transgression of boundaries, alteration of the interiors and exteriors, whether as sites of entertainment or ceremonies and ritual observance. The diverse and ad hoc solutions are intensified in the emergent landscape of both events.

Yet this transgressive appropriation of the interior and exterior spaces does not occur under the same conditions for the two groups: As previously noted, the NGBG festival is supported by the various private and semi-public actors. Those actors, in dialogue with the municipality representative and BID, also have stakes in creating a future "vision" for

the street – in which the NGBG festival plays an important role as a "cultural hub" for music and entertainment at the heart of the city. The 2021 approval by the Malmö municipality to establish a "cultural sound zone" (kulturljudzon) around the Sofielund industrial area (Chapter 4) is a strong indication of the alignment between the festival organisers and political interests regarding the future and 'upgrading' of the street. Such planning strategies are in line with similar projects in other European cities, where festivals are commonly launched as a catalyst. Seeing through the analytical lens of temporality as an infrastructure, however, makes it possible to problematise hidden aspects of the temporal domination of urban life, which as any other infrastructure, can include and exclude, and enable and constrain, urban inequalities.

In this chapter, I designate temporality as an infrastructural system. As an infrastructure, temporality has the potential to support and/or restrain certain actions. Societies are filled with various temporal infrastructures, as basic structures that cause and shape the form of our social organisation and encounters. Official calendars formed based on 'clock time' are examples of such infrastructures. They can order human and non-human beings and, by imposing certain structures, create or reinforce socio-cultural practices. Temporal infrastructures are sometimes formalised, and as a clock time, they can regulate, exclude, or even manipulate people's life, for example, through opening hours. There is also a type of temporality that is based on lived experiences, produced socially and ordinarily from below. They are informal and sometimes unrecognised or unseen. Such temporalities are constructed through mundane performances and social experiences, such as usual times for supper or lunch. Or they are related to common memories, associating with other temporalities and specialities in the past, affectively causing unity among individuals. Constantly being (re)produced through everyday practices, such minor temporalities can also alter and interact with the temporalities imposed from above. Thus, temporalities are inherently political.

NGBG has temporalities that make it different from any other street. Such temporalities are carried into the street by different actors, but the most distinct ones that differentiate NGBG from other streets in Malmö, relate to the migratory time carried into the street as the consequences of migration. They are constructed and produced through social practices

associated with multiple temporalities and spatialities elsewhere (trans-local). As I argue in this chapter, they are infrastructures that generate new possibilities and support *events*.

As we learn from Henri Lefebvre (2004), time is equally significant as space in understanding everyday life. He emphasises on the repetitive aspect of time, rhythm, which is inseparable from time and thus from everydayness. According to Lefebvre, rhythm analysis hence would complete the elucidation of the production of space (Lefebvre, 2004). He introduces two contrasting but coexisting modes of repetition constituting urban life: the cyclical and the linear. This cyclical repetition is organised according to rhythms of nature, such as days and nights, seasons and years, births and deaths. The linear repetition is mechanical, rational, and quantifiable, such as timetables. This linear time, which Simonsen calls "the dominant temporality of modernity", is "enframed, constrained and colonized by the space of the commodity and the territory of the state" (Simonsen, 2005: 8). Following Lefebvre, Simonsen underscores a third type of time, which is not predictable or repetitive but rather spontaneous, fragmented, and relational. It disrupts as well as constructs daily experiences: time as a 'lived' experience, which can take many forms, physical, biological, mental, social, cyclical, and linear, all of which we encounter in everyday life and in the body (ibid: 7–8). Understanding time and temporalities in their plural aspects emphasises "the diversity of temporal experiences, and the multiplicity of construction processes in and through which these experiences are embedded" (Besedovsky, et al. 2019: 582).

As I develop in this chapter, the temporally and spatially colliding events of the Muharram rituals and the NGBG festival of 2019, indicated the existence and forging of different temporalities in a uniquely dramatic way. Yet the different temporal rhythms also take place on an everyday basis and are patently visible in seemingly trivial but indicative signs and materialities. To give just one of many examples, Figure (5.11) illustrates a bi-lingual, handwritten note, placed in a storefront window, conveying the same message yet referring to different temporalities. In Arabic, the note informs customers that "We are back after the Friday prayer". The Swedish version reads the same but also indicates the approximate clock time. The minimal textual difference indicates the vari-

ous everyday rhythms shaping the spatio-temporality of the street.

As noted by Awan, in the diasporic experience, "this multiplicity is created through the spatial and temporal dislocations that are the result of displacement" (2016: 24). As an outcome of spatio-temporal dislocation, opening hours are bounded by (ritual and embodied) circular time rather than linear clock time – while the diasporic setting makes it necessary to refer to both. Temporal dislocation and relocation create an in-between-ness, handled by the diasporic retailers through the creation of infrastructures, interconnecting the 'here and now' with multiple pasts and localities – and notably often in reference to ritual temporality. Banners, signs, and decorations related to the Islamic calendar regularly transform the sign-scape of the street, and Quran recitation is commonly aired during religious fixtures – all taking place within the daily life of work and retail (Figures 5.12 and 5.13).

From this perspective, we may think of the 'collision' of the Muharram ritual and the street party on 7 September 2019 as the convergence of

Figure 5.11. A bilingual note (in Arabic and Swedish) states that the shopkeeper will be back after the Friday prayer, 2017. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.12. Ramadan greetings in Arabic decorate Falafel Baghdad, 2018. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.13. Demonstration of Muharram commemoration votive food in Arabic by one of the garages in NGBG, 2019. Photograph by the author

two contrasting cyclical calendars: the lunar-based Islamic calendar and a locally founded, 'secular' festival calendar. The two events occurred in parallel but were grounded in different logics of time, sociality, and geographically. The former is associated with the migrants' transnational life, a time geographically anchored in the Middle East (yet translocally defining life in diaspora), interwoven with chronological time, and related to the historical events of Kerbela (according to Shia historiography) and the temporal organisation of Shia communities. The latter is based on urban (European) temporalities, devised to celebrate and strengthen the 'secular' community of citizens and their relationship to urban localities, associated with Saturday's release from the workweek and celebrations at the end of the summer. This convergence was demonstrated socio-spatially, symbolically, materially, and affectively. I argue that the festival-cum-ritual convergence captures a moment in time when the predefined boundaries are destabilised, and social codes are (re)negotiated in new and sometimes surprising relations and serendipities. Such temporal contemporalities create interactions as well as contra-positional distinctions.

Racialised Time and Unrecognised Temporalities

Despite the manifestations of noncompliance caused by the overlap of two different temporal logics, described in the introduction to this chapter, the radically different events of the festival and the Muharram commemoration managed to co-exist. Importantly, however, the spatio-temporal and performative overlap time also unfolded latent power geometries (Massey, 1993), less noticeable in the everyday life of the street. Because of the collision of these two calendars, three garages that had been temporarily lent to the festival organisers renounced their collaboration at short notice (Sydsvenskan, 2019-09-04). They kept their garages closed, covering their fronts with black flags and banners embellished with Muharram calligraphy and signage, in a quiet yet eloquent demonstration of discontent (Figures 5.14 and 5.15). While the NGBG festival took place in the street within the municipal calendar of events and feeds into the official ambitions of 'improvement' of the urban life, the Muharram commemoration made (temporal/temporary) claims on the street from

Figure 5.14. Muharram commemoration visually expressed with a banner covering the business sign, flanked with black flags over one of the closed garages during the NGBG festival, 2019. Banners invoking the memory of Hussain are a central feature of Muharram, here reading *Labbaik Hussain* ('Here I am [in your service/on your path], Hussain'), followed by an advert for the coming Ashura procession. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.15. A row of garages kept closed during the NGBG festival, 2019. Photograph by the author

a marginal below, afforded by *unrecognised temporalities*. They partly do so in resistance, as illustrated by the refusal of some garage managers to lend their space to the street party. The closed garage doors adorned with Muharram signage may be read as muted yet eloquent markers of presence in counter-position to the image of the street as an abandoned, non-functional, and essential empty urban space: there *are* people here, the street *is* in use also during the 364 days between street festivals.

The temporarily colliding events of Muharram and NGBG festival hence illuminated the various time relations, groups, actors, and interests inhabiting and making claims on the street and opting to be seen and recognised. It should be read in relation to a deeper genealogy of the street, appropriated since the 1990s through temporary and transformative place making. The current 'upgrading' strategies of the street as envisioned by BID interests and municipal politics, however, seek legitimacy in an imagination of the street as uninhabited, inactive, disused, and illegal. Hence it becomes a legitimate object for developers, to be *filled* with/through market-adjusted strategies. Within such speculative visions, migrants' embodied and constructed temporalities remain opaque, unknown, or insignificant.

Anchored in ideas of community participation, however, both events share a robust emphasis on collective values and identity building. As the NGBG festival organisers underscore, including every actor with stakes in the street remains a principal goal: it is constructed and imagined as 'being formed' by the users of the street. Quite similarly, the ritual events are also created by the members of the community, and organisers take a welcoming attitude to all users of the street, even in the context of clashing events. Hence both groups commit – at least ideally – to an attitude of respect and tolerance, welcoming the diversity of the street and envisioning a future in which multiple interests are able to organise events in adjacent spaces.

There are, however, also decisive temporal aspects to such power relations. The NGBG festival is part of the official events calendar of Malmö. Its planning begins a year in advance, involving the NGBG Association's board members securing permits and spatial resources from authorities and private event partners. Hence, the planning is afforded by the organisers' access to infrastructures and resources. Again, the contrast is striking

compared to the Muharram organisers. On the other hand, knowing the historical and political importance of Muharram for the Shia population all around the world, the collision with a street festival could have been perceived as an antagonistic act and a source of conflict. The pious groups of migrants, however, are aware of the precarious situation of Muslims, specifically regarding their congregation and worship places, across Europe. Leila, one of my interlocutors, who is also an active member of an Iraqi cultural association, highlighted that the pious groups may realise the limited possibility of reproaching the festival organisers about the collision or asking for the postponement or cancellation of the festival (interview with Leila, 2019).

We may perhaps theorise this precarity and subaltern position as indicative of a temporal racialisation of the rhythms defining the life and venture of NGBG. Léopold Lambert (2021) discusses the significance of time in relation to Eurocentrism, colonial rules, and the temporal resistance of the colonised. Recalling Kanaky's expression ("They have clocks, we have time"), Lambert recognises the temporal aspect of colonialism and attempts to think of time from the perspective of indigenous nation-time, or even a geological time, as a way of resistance against colonialism (Lambert, 2021: 17). Time, Lambert points out, is invisible and its effectiveness is usually taken for granted. It is effective without being visible or materialised – yet it is a central tool for creating and upholding hierarchies and power relations. In the colonial gaze, the time inhabited by the colonised is a homogenous entity, a mass volume that needs to be filled, ordered, and can be stolen and exploited in serving the master's interests.

Invisible as time may be, it becomes patently observable through temporal operations and materiality. Hegemonic temporalities are not only manifested within/through lands exploited by colonisation but also materialised and enforced with the capitalist social time relations. Here the Gregorian calendar and clock time juxtapose to construct hegemonic time forms. Such temporal procedures, Jonathan Martineau discusses, shape the specific forms of historical consciousness, alienating tendencies of the modern temporal regime and the relationship between time and modern economic development (Martineau, 2015). Silvia Federici (2004) also highlights how the leisure time of the working class was or-

dered and restricted in early capitalism, as a strategy for maximum production. According to Federici, once social-temporal activities (such as beer festivals) became restricted and appropriated by the elites and bourgeoisie, the possibility of collective activities organising resistance was denied or undermined. The time of the working class has been in hands of capitalist production, which through the ordering and manipulation of working hours could produce docile bodies. Kevin Birth (2012) notes that "the relationship of time, politics, and globalization involves the interaction of the global imposition of a Western timescale, local ideas of timekeeping, and how cycles of holidays shape sentiments and approaches to political challenges" (in Phillips, 2021: 22).

Temporal infrastructures can also limit and exclude access to resources, power, goods, services, institutions, and knowledge. Through what Michael Hanchards (1999) coins as *racial time* and C. W. Mills (2014) as *white time*, time separates racially dominant and subordinate groups, producing inequalities. Khosravi (2019) discusses racial time as unequal temporal access to resources and powers. He associates the temporal access to the bordering regime and argues that certain people are "subject to differential inclusion not only spatially but also temporally through keeping them in a prolonged period of waiting, constantly delaying them, postponing their arrival and future plans" (Khosravi, 2019: 417). Moreover, Khosravi illustrates that the non-white is *always late* to the white space and time, which is already shaped and pre-exists:

> Racialisation means one arrives to a world in which bodies are already divided. A world where access to resources and power is allocated according to this logic of belatedness. To a white time that is assumed and presented as secular, civilised, modern, progressive, neutral, the racialised other comes always too late. He or she is assumed to be stuck in a historical belatedness and therefore regarded and treated as unequal (Khosravi, 2019: 417).

What I illustrated above was the material and social effects of temporal domination of one group to the other in NGBG. The serendipity of the colliding festival/Muharram may have been extraordinarily dramatic – but in essence not different from the relations and trajectories defining

the everyday practices of the street. The collision only made the differences patently (if temporarily) visible: it *visualised the otherwise hidden* hegemony ordering and traversing the lingering interests and power relations of the street. A central question for the future concerns who will continue to be afforded by and have access to NGBG, both spatially and temporally. Evidently, we are currently witnessing how the street is subject to change from above, encountering a longer trajectory of street-making from below. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the latter will be driven out by changes corroding the very basis for the spatial and temporal affordance of those on the margins. In fact, the subdivision of the street into various zones and territories, various rhythms and temporalities, various communities and socialities, suggests that a future of co-occurrences remains thinkable – if most probably defined by a widening gap provided by power geometries.

As we have seen, one of the distinctive features of NGBG is its hosting of several cultural and religious associations, providing the institutional form for the multiple temporalities hosted by the street – and its associated power dynamics. The establishment of these associations occurred through its own temporal logic and the intersection of Swedish cultural politics and institutional provisions with the unfolding of migrants' needs. The following sections are devoted to the establishment process of the cultural associations (*Kulturföreningar*) of NGBG and its concurrent production of alternative temporalities. The cultural associations have become the institutional umbrella under which distinct temporalities and spatialities have emerged and become part of the infrastructures of the street, created by and supporting migrants' everyday life.

The Production of Alternative Temporalities

> If you take a cab in Malmö and if you ask the cab driver to take
> you to Shari'e al-Jam'iyat (شارع الجمعيات: Street of Associations),
> they will drive you here. Some of us did not even know the official
> name of the street is Norra Grängesbergsgatan because we never
> used it (interview with Tareq, 2018).

Shari'e al-Jam'iyat (street of associations) is an established colloquial term
for NGBG among the Arabic-speaking migrants of Malmö and beyond.
The name reflects the historical emergence of associations in NGBG.
Since the 1980s, the street has come to host various cultural and edu-
cational associations (*föreningar*) and assemblies – reflecting the Swed-
ish policy, institutional model, and support system of 'multiculturalism'
(*mångkulturalism*), established from the 1970s. The nickname Shari'e
al-Jam'iyat is a legacy of the time when around sixteen associations were
active on the street.

The Swedish concept of *förening* (association, derived from the verb
förena, to unite), is a state-sponsored arrangement, usually set up locally.
It had its roots in the working-class social movements of the nineteenth
and twentieth centuries (Mack, 2017: 72). The *förening* functions as an
institutional form for various types of social clubs. From the 1970s and
the emergence of the concept of multiculturalism as the official inte-
gration policy in Sweden, migrants were encouraged to form their own
associations for cultural, religious, and educational activities. In 1974,
the rights of religious and ethnic minorities were recognised and a year
later, a national-level programme for the establishment and financial sup-
port of *immigrant associations* was adopted by the Swedish state, aimed at
stimulating 'cultural practices' among diasporic groups, as a part of the
politics of integration. According to this policy, immigrants were encour-
aged to hold on to and celebrate their 'cultural' and 'ethnic' backgrounds,
conceived as a mechanism for their integration into Swedish society. As
illustrated in a report published by the State Immigration Board and La-
bour Market Department in 1990 (quoted from Mack, 2017: 74):

> The immigrant associations fill an important social function.
> They are a kind of home base where you can meet people who
> speak the same language, or read newspapers from the homeland.
> Newly arrived immigrants can discuss phenomena that seem
> strange in the new country. The associations help their members
> and new arrivals to understand how the society works in different
> contexts. For immigrants who have lived in Sweden for a long
> time, the associations have another function, which is that they
> help them to retain contact with their language and their culture
> and try to make sure that the immigrants' children also take part
> in the common cultural inheritance.[21]

Similar to the retail amenities in NGBG, the low rents and existing large-scale and defunct buildings afforded local amateur youth artists and musicians as well as newly arrived migrants to form a new social and economic life in Sweden. In the case of the migrants, the street's proximity to the 'Million Programme' residential area in Rosengård, which hosted a significant migrant population since the 1970s, made the street a suitable site (backyard) for establishing a social life in diaspora and adopting to the Swedish model of institutional life. In contrast to Mack's (2017) discussion on how Million Programme town centres contained pre-planned meeting places, in the NGBG case, we can see a street in which various cultural associations assembled in places originally designed for other purposes. During the Swedish post-war years, the associations became an "internally organised public" supported by the state (Franzen & Sandstedt, 1981; in Mack 2017: 72), which played a significant role for immigrants, taking place in (and organised according to the normative Western model of) public space.

    With labour immigration from Turkey and former Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 1970s, the Muslim population in Sweden grew significantly. During the following decades, other migrant groups reunited with their extended families and relatives already settled in Sweden. Asylum seekers, mainly from Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey, began to arrive in Sweden in the mid-1980s, followed by Somalians and refugees fleeing the

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21   For original quote, see Hansson, 1990.

war in the Balkans in the 1990s, mainly Kosovans and Muslim Bosnians (Alvall 1998; Lagervall & Stenberg, 2016; Harding, 2013: 346).

As the migrant population consisted of a significant number of Muslims, there was also a growing need for places of congregation and ritual observance. Such needs were met through the Swedish institutional model of 'cultural associations' (*kulturförening*) (Harding, 2013). According to Göran Larsson's (2014) review, *Islam and Muslims in Sweden*, it is difficult to get a comprehensive picture of the Muslim landscape and the way Muslim migrants have organised themselves in Sweden (Larsson, 2014: 112), as 'cultural associations' commonly serve complementary functions as mosques, making it difficult to draw distinct lines between the associations' mundanely social, cultural, and ritual registers. In the same vein, in their report on Islamic associations in Malmö and Lund, Lagervall and Stenberg (2016) note that the difficulties of mapping are due to the swiftly transforming landscape of Muslim associations, congregations, and organisations. As new mosques and associations open, others close, relocate, or change organisational forms. Moreover, misrepresentative images of Islam and Muslims in the West, particularly after the attacks of 11 September 2001, spurred heated debates about the (alleged mushrooming of) radical Islamism in 'cellar mosques' in the Rosengård neighbourhood of Malmö – an issue polarising media discussion as well as academia. Such debates were further intensified in 2008 when images and alarmist reports of riots in Rosengård were disseminated in national as well as international media (Lagervall & Stenberg 2016: 5).

Symbolic materiality, spatial visibility, and façade design are significant features in the establishment of faith-based amenities such as mosques. Located within residential basements, defunct industrial buildings, office suites, or other marginal places, the required exterior material and symbolic expression of such places carry distinct challenges. Today most of the Muslim parishes, congregations, and associations are found in the eastern part of Malmö around Rosengård, but also in the old industrial areas between Rosengård and central Malmö where NGBG is situated (Figure 5.16). Many parishes were originally established in smaller basements of residential buildings in the Rosengård area and later moved to larger industrial premises (Lagervall & Stenberg, 2016: 33). With the limited possibility to highlight their presence through external
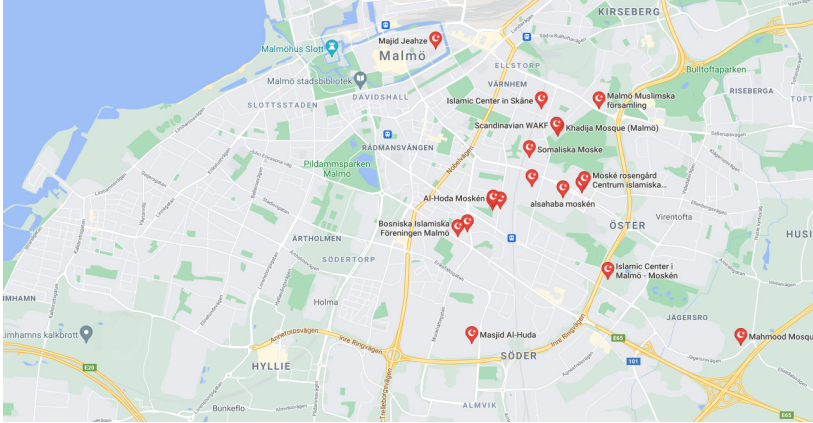
Figure 5.16. The map shows the concentration of mosques and faith-based associations in the eastern part of Malmö. Source: Google Maps (2020)

visibility (due to socio-political situation, lack of building permits, and other regulations), the interior becomes all the more significant for such cultural associations on the margins, stimulating spatial interference and renovations. Since purchasing a designated place of worship and congregation or initiating a purpose-built mosque or assembly centre remain unavailable options for most, a state of impermanence has become the general norm for such associations and faith-based congregations.

In her book *The Construction of Equality* (2017), Jennifer Mack studies how spatial and social practices of Syriac migrants have altered the Swedish town of Södertälje. Mack explores the processes through which Syriacs have created their ritual infrastructures, among other types of space-makings, through temporary and transformative spatial practices from below. As Mack notes, most Syriac banquet halls are found in the commercial or industrial zones on the edge of the city. Such edge areas provide an infrastructure for Syriac weddings, funerals, and sports amenities which might be otherwise restricted or impossible in the central areas. Those activities require large scale facilities to host large groups of people, who descend on the area at once and make noise into the late-night (Mack, 2017: 148).

In her studies of the social, cultural, political, and economic situation of Muslim communities in the city of Stuttgart, Petra Kuppinger (2010;

2011) underscores the marginal location of the mosques (in the industrial zone of the city) and the *inward spatiality* of the faith-based amenities. By highlighting the importance of interior spaces, Kuppinger draws attention to the time, capital, and care devoted to the interior design and maintenance of such places, while the exterior manifestation often remains restricted to small signs. Such inward focus does not evoke the withdrawal of those communities; rather it indicates the precarious political, social, and cultural position of Islam and Muslims and their communities in Germany (Kuppinger, 2011: 79). Kuppinger shows that most of the Stuttgart mosques (as in many other German cities) are located in defunct industrial complexes, out of the way warehouses, marginal office complexes – hence transforming an old industrial complex into a religious, cultural, social, and economic centre. In Kuppinger's words: "the hidden and make-shift nature of many faith-based associations, which nevertheless have become social institutions and actors in society, downplays the role of Islam and Muslims in the city" (Kuppinger, 2010: 85).

In both examples, the edge areas of the city bear witness to the transformation of such off places by migrants' efforts, agency, and creativity. Migrant groups have altered the existing infrastructure of these peripheries, adjusting and/or rebuilding them according to their needs. The process hence carries a shift in perspective, where marginal places (as defined from above) become central in providing opportunities for homemaking in diaspora – and notably commonly so in buildings and settlements discarded as 'informal dwellings' by the authorities.

Thus, the hidden architecture of sacred spaces can be seen as a tactic of self-exclusion to navigate and (dis)engage with the street where necessary (Vearey, 2010). Despite constituting a normalised modus operandi, such manoeuvres of being invisible are sometimes subject to variations and distinct temporal rhythms. As captured in the anecdote at the outset of this chapter, certain socio-religious rituals in certain times create opportunities for visibility (and its ensuing encounters and negotiations of contemporality and spatiality) in public space, embodied and materialised on the street and beyond. In that case, temporalities as infrastructure create opportunities for episodic visibility and the appropriation of public spaces in the street (Figures 5.17 and 5.18).

Figure 5.17. Celebration of Eid-al Adha/Eid-al Qurban in NGBG, 2019.
Photograph by the author

Figure 5.18. Celebration of Eid-al Adha/Eid-al Qurban in NGBG, 2019.
Photograph by the author

Temporal ad hoc Ritual Infrastructures

Returning to the Muharram commemorations of 2019, my fieldwork in the various religious venues of NGBG, formally set up as cultural associations, gave ample evidence of how the ritual temporality affected the spatial and social organisation of the street. The Lebanese Shia Association is located on the top floor of Al-Hoda mosque, which is a significantly larger and more visible mosque association than others (yet without the representational symbols traditionally associated with mosque architecture). It was founded in 1992 under the name Imam El Sadek parish. It belongs to the Ahlu Bait parish in Stockholm. Reflecting the Islamic principle that believers should assemble during the Friday prayer, members of the other Shia congregations often visit the Lebanese Shia Association for the Friday prayer. The congregation offers religious lectures specifically aimed at women, children, and young people, as well as Arabic language instruction.

I visited the association on two occasions during the same day: once in the early afternoon and later at night during the Muharram commemorations in 2019. From the small entrance, furnished with shoe shelves on opposite walls, I entered a long corridor with a large room on the left, divided from the corridor by several columns. The large prayer hall at the end of the corridor, as well as the smaller adjacent sections, were all covered with a communal prayer carpet, marking individual prayer locations. Apart from a small section with chairs, the room was sparsely furnished, covered with big pillows and cushions. Windows were covered with black textiles to minimise the view from outside (Figures 5.19 and 5.20). Few visitors occupied the room at this time. A small group of women were chatting, and some others were quietly reciting the Quran. In a corner of the prayer room, a small assembly of children was getting ready for their religious lessons under the supervision of a man who seemed to be their instructor. One section of the Muharram ritual had just finished, and most people had gone home to rest and prepare for the night ceremonies. Despite wearing a headscarf and simple attire, I noticed that my presence was drawing attention and I could not escape the curious (or suspicious) gazes of those present. I initiated a conversation with a few teenage girls who seemed eager to chat with me in Swedish, though I noted this was not appreciated by the older members. One of

Figure 5.19. The main prayer room of the Lebanese Shia Association, which turns into a men's section at night, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.20. Women gathering at the Lebanese Shia Association, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.21. During the Muharram commemoration, votive food and snacks were served outside the association, 2019. Photograph by the author

the main responsible women approached and interrupted our conversation in Arabic, clearly objecting to our interaction and uncomfortable with my presence.

When I came back at night, there was a large crowd inside. I could barely find a spot next to a young woman who was nursing her baby. I noticed that the women's prayer hall was now significantly smaller. The new interior configuration resulted from the entire second floor being shared between a men's and a women's section, separated by provisional panels and with separate entrances at the northern and southern sides of the main building. There was no visual access between the two sections, and only children were allowed to cross from one section to the other, from one parent to the other. Women were in the smaller section, while men occupied the main praying hall. A male voice was reciting a ritual monody from the male section, amplified with loudspeakers in the women's section. Outside the building, in front of the women's section, there was a large table covered with votive food and snacks offered to those exiting the night ceremony (Figure 5.21).

Evidently, the reactions to my presence in the daytime were related to a temporal aspect. The early afternoon time was devoted to an inner circle of the community, a more intimate space and time, where and when my presence became imposing. It was a temporal, territorialised zone, regarded as sacrosanct and loaded with significance and social exclusiveness, in the context of which any non-member became a threat or intruder. In contrast, as the formal part of the ritual developed during the night, the atmosphere of the mosque became more public, spacious, and communal – if no less intimate and intense. This lowered the threshold between insider and outsider within the broader framework of ritual attendance – making my presence less conspicuous and imposing.

The same night, I visited musalla Imam Hussein, where the commemoration of Imam Hussein was also held (Figure 5.22). The musalla was established by migrants mostly from the city of Samawah in Iraq. The musalla is a complex owned by a migrant who rents out its various sections to several tenants, including a toyshop, a municipality building, a large food storage unit, and a small workspace for pickles manufacturing. Similar to the Lebanese Shia Association, there is no recognisable symbol or indication of the musalla on the façade, apart from a tiny sign

at the northern entrance.

As described in the introduction to this chapter, a young man guarding the entry behind the temporary fences guided me towards the women's section. I had not recognised the women's section in my previous visits to the area, because of its invisibility and hiddenness but also because it is open mainly during the holidays and certain events (Figure 5.23). The entrance door to the women's section was next to an old loading dock. A set of staircases took me towards the large basement of the building, where I removed and shelved my shoes. After this liminal hall, occupied by children chasing each other, I entered the main room, which was almost jam-packed with dozens of women in black sitting on the carpeted floor. The room was decorated with flags and ornamental textiles with slogans related to Muharram. A plasma screen displayed the preacher (mullah) physically located in the men's section of the musalla (Figure 5.24). The volume was very low and it was almost impossible to make out his words through the crowd. Women were chatting or sat in silence and appeared not to devote the recital much attention. Occasionally, a woman entered with baskets of votive food and sweets, carefully decorated with flowers and ribbons. The baskets were placed on a tablecloth in front of the main scene (Figures 5.25 and 5.26). Women were busy chatting and greeting, and the crowd was growing bigger. I felt that I drew less attention in this place and taking photos did not raise objections.

As described earlier, the musalla with its separated sections for men and women and its specific location (hidden in a secondary street of NGBG) and spaciousness, serves the ritual as well as social purposes. Despite the formally religious nature of the amenities, they also serve broader functions. As such, they serve as alternative places, or counter-publics, in which social relations are built and strengthened. Such functions are further underscored by experiences of anti-Muslim and xenophobic sentiments in society at large, not least by women wearing hijab in public spaces, against which the religious associations can provide a socio-cultural safe haven. In this sense, the peripheral geographical location and semi-invisible status of the associations offer alternative and malleable spaces. If little attention is devoted to the exterior, the remade, renovated, and well-maintained interior design is all the more vital, affording rituals as well as cultural, social, and educational purposes. The

community members transform and improve the spatiality of those asso-ciations, creating communal homes and representations of their commu-nities (Figures 5.27 and 5.28). Temporality plays a significant role in the events held by cultural associations; time binds and supports people and places here and now, there and then.

Figure 5.22 (above). Musalla Imam Hussein's entrances to the women's section and the secondary entrance to the men's section in the basement (decorated with banners and flags related to Muharram), 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.23 (left). Women's section entrance in musalla Imam Hussein with modest and largely invisible signage, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.24. Muharram commemoration in the women's section of musalla Imam Hussein, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figures 5.25 and 5.26. Votive food/snack distribution in the women's section of musalla Imam Hussein during the Muharram commemoration, 2019. Photographs by the author

Figure 5.27. Entrance to the men's section of musalla Imam Hussein, where temporary infrastructure for votive food preparation was made during Muharram commemoration, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.28. Men's gathering in the roofed section at the entrance of the musalla, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.29. Entrance to the main prayer room of the male section in musalla Imam Hussein, 2018. Photograph by the author

Saeed is a young man who is associated with musalla Imam Hussein and is active as a volunteer during the Muharram commemorations (Figures 5.30, 5.31, 5.32). He works within a family business located in NGBG. He is well familiar with the commemoration and its rituals since he grew up in a Shia family in Iraq. For him, the preparations for the rituals are rewarding, because "we know that we are doing something valuable in the service of God". The chores of decoration, shopping, and cooking carry multiples challenges and labour he says:

> We can never predict how many guests we might have when we are planning, no one knows! People come from other places and even other cities to our musalla, so we should always be prepared for receiving many guests but also for unpredictable things which might happen. We are preoccupied with the Muharram rituals for about two months, from the planning days until the 40 days after Ashura, which is called Arbaʿeen (interview with Saeed, 2020).

Figure 5.30. The roofed section of musalla Imam Hussein, ad hoc infrastructure for votive food preparation and serving, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.31. An ad hoc kitchen was installed for votive food preparation and serving, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.32 Barbeque section for votive food in musalla Imam Hussein, 2019. Photograph by the author

Shifteh is a young man who came to Malmö from Iraq about fifteen years ago, following his father who had fled to Sweden years before. Shifteh lives in the neighbourhood of Nydala with his wife and his two-year-old daughter, where living costs are lower and the rest of his family reside close by. Shifteh's father holds a prominent position within the Shia community, is active in several faith-based organisations in Sweden, and has played an instrumental role in Shifteh's establishment and life in Sweden. The faith-based associations have served as nuclei for migrant support initiatives, he says. Describing his father's social position within the community, he said:

> My father has helped many immigrants here in Sweden, both the newly arrived ones and later those in need to help to be established. Once they murdered an Iraqi man who did not have any family or relatives in Sweden. My father organised a support funding event to collect the money needed to transfer the dead body to Iraq and to hold a decent funeral there.

Shifteh says that many among the Arab and Muslim community are content with a simple life, central to which is interpersonal connections to the community life. "The place does not need to be luxurious" he mentions. "We Muslims are used to simplicity because that is how our prophet taught us." He also quotes his mother, who enjoys visiting NGBG: "one can find the whole Malmö in this street, both things and people. My mom feels at home here." Shifteh emphasises the familiarity and safety he experiences in NGBG:

> There are lots of Arabs in NGBG, who understand our culture and value. When I do shopping from [the major Swedish food chain] Ica Maxi, for example, people look at me strangely, which makes me uncomfortable. I have Swedish friends who find it strange when a woman is veiled. The café we are sitting in right now is what I prefer, and not the good looking one at the main square downtown. I feel comfortable in this street (interview with Shifteh, 2020).

Shifteh volunteers in the faith-based youth group, Al-Qasim Youth Board of Sweden-Malmö or Shabab al-Qasim (Hayat Shabab al-Qasim al-Suwid-Malmö; هيئه شباب القاسم السويد-مالمو), the purpose of which is to "revive the heritage of *Ahl al-Bayt*"[22] according to their Facebook page (Shabab al-Qasim Facebook, 2014). Shifteh states that the original group was the largest Shiite youth group in Europe with about three hundred members. Following conflicts in the group, it divided into four branches, one of which was Shabab al-Qasim. There are several congregational venues devoted to Muharram commemorations (known as *Hussainiya* in Arabic, *Hoseiniye* in Persian) in Malmö, associated with various Shia communities and countries. Sometimes groups without their own permanent places share the infrastructure with others and collaborate during events.

Shifteh mentions that, as they cannot afford to rent a permanent place, they organise the Muharram ceremonies in different places every year according to the available resources and opportunities, either in NGBG or other areas in Malmö. Between celebrations, furniture, decorations, and kitchen equipments are kept in a rented storage facility. Every year, as Muharram approaches, Shabab al-Qasim begins preparation, planning, and negotiations to find a place and move the furniture and ritual ornaments (Figures 5.33, 5.34, 5.35). Besides decoration and spatial alterations of the temporarily rented place, food preparation on large scales is also a significant part of the group's activities.

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22   *Ahl al-Bayt* is a central Islamic notion, particularly in Shia Islam. It literally means 'The People of the House', referring to the family of the Prophet Muhammad, particularly his daughter Fatimah, her husband Ali (who was also Muhammad's cousin), their sons Husayn and Hasan, venerated in both Sunni and Shia Islam. According to Shia, Ali and his sons comprise the first three Imams, followed by lines of descent (in different versions according to various Shia traditions). The Imams are considered the legitimate historical leaders of the faith community, and function to this day as paradigms of Shia ethics and jurisprudence. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the notion of *Ahl al-Bayt* gained a specific significance and was claimed by the institution *Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly* formed in 1990 under the auspices of the Supreme Leader (Ayatollah) Ali Khamenei. It functions as an educational and propaganda organisation with a global reach, devised to strengthen "Islamic culture" in general and Shia communities in particular (as defined by Iranian state interests). The organisation supports many diasporic Shia organisations in Europe by appointing religious functionaries and disseminating resources. For an analysis of the transnational influence of the organisation on mosque associations, see Rizvi (2015). It should however be underscored that Shia communities follow different Ayatollahs, located in various regions of the Middle East.

Figures 5.33 and 5.34. Muharram preparations of Shabab al-Qasim group, 2014. Source: Shabab al-Qasim Facebook page

Figure 5.35. Muharram Commemoration of Shabab al-Qasim group held in NGBG, 2014. Source: Shabab al-Qasim Facebook page

Due to the pandemic and its restrictions, the 2020 celebrations were permitted to assemble no more than 50 people indoors. As a solution, the group decided to hold the ceremonies in a large tent, structured in a private garden, hence drastically re-scaling and adjusting the ritual presence at NGBG into a less publicly-visible, domestic event (Figures 5.36 and 5.37).

Figure 5.36. Votive food preparation by volunteers from Shabab al-Qasim group, 2020. Source: Shabab al-Qasim Facebook page

Figure 5.37. Muharram commemoration held by al-Qasim group in a private property due to the pandemic, 2020. Source: Shabab al-Qasim Facebook page.

> So based on the type and size of the place we rent every year, we think about the design of the room. In the design process, we think about where the stage should be located and how to make the room so everyone will be able to see the stage. Because the stage is where things happen. We also think about lightning, since it is important for our rituals. Then we think about the places where we can cook the votive food (interview with Shifteh, 2020).

The association Rassoul al-Azam (Assembly of the Greatest Messenger, مجمع الرسول الأعظم) primarily carried a mediating role in facilitating and supporting various ceremonies. It was set up in 2007, and was initially subletting a venue on the top floor of one of the garages on NGBG to other associations, managing to turn the Muharram celebration into a large, collaborative event. As my interlocutor Tareq told me, however, it was unable to secure state funding or support from donors and so lost the venue. As one of the initiators of the association, Tareq now primarily works as a mediator, tasked with facilitating activities as well as negotiating with proprietors interested in participating in the event. He deals with practicalities, facilitates financial support for votive food, and invites imams from Europe or the Middle East to lead the rituals within *the translocal social network*. Tareq describes the process as following:

> Sometimes we [the association] rent a garage temporarily (4–5 days) and use its facilities, spaciousness, and access to water. Usually, the owner doesn't ask for any money in return because what we do here is for Imam Hussein's commemoration. If someone wants money and doesn't know Imam Hussein, like Swedish retailers, then we negotiate a price range which suits both parties (interview with Tareq, 2019).

Just as my other interlocutors, Tareq emphasised the familiarity and affective value of NGBG in general and its transformation during the Muharram commemorations in particular: "When I see all those signs and flags, all in my language, I feel this street has been moved from the Middle East to Malmö". He underscored how Arabic functions as a common language for the street among most of the (migrant) actors involved in NGBG. When making new acquaintances, he pointed out that he intuitively starts conversations in Arabic, even without knowing the background of the other. In bell hooks' (1989) words, language functions as a place of struggle for the oppressed. She underscores how words should be perceived as action and resistance. Through marginal linguistic positions, we can invent spaces of radical openness and the possibility to survive, to move beyond the boundaries of domination. As counter-hegemonic cultural practices, language is central in a struggle to recover, reconcile, reunite, and renew. As the mother tongue for many of the migrants, Arabic forges an immaterial translocal connection (Gibson-Graham, 2008), an infrastructure interlinking association through linguistic references and "shared imaginary… building community through shared knowledge" (Trogal, 2017: 171).

The Ritual, the Carnival, and the Visualisation of Time

The ritual culmination of the ten days of the Muharram commemoration is Tasua and Ashura, the ninth and tenth days of the period, when religious sermons, songs of lamentation, processions, and performative re-enactments are the central fixtures. Of particular importance is the dramatic re-enactment of the Battle of Kerbela and the death of Imam Hussein and his companions. Stages are constructed for dramatically per-

forming the long and emotionally intense tragedy in gruesome detail – in streets and town squares or within the mosques and musallas. This epic drama known as *ta'ziyeh* has attained a socio-political significance as a symbol of resistance against oppression and the quest for justice in Shia theology (and the political appropriation thereof) (Gilsenan, 1982; Tambar 2011). In the modern era, *ta'ziyeh* as ritual performance has transformed into a form of entertainment – if orchestrated in mourning and solemnity – a modern religious-affective street theatre bringing people into public space and forging new forms of encounter and belonging (Anvar 2005; Mottahedeh 2005). In NGBG, the dramas are performed within the faith-based associations and mosques and sometimes in the street. Actors are all amateur and all (men) are invited to participate in or around the performance with activities ranging from playing the drums to holding a microphone or distributing candles (Figures 5.38 and 5.39). The costumes are delivered from abroad to Sweden.

Shifteh underscored that while the central rituals of Muharram are observed more or less in the same way across the Middle East, their orchestration in Malmö requires several central adjustments in relation to the norms of the society – and particularly so when the commemorations take place in public space. On Ashura day as well as on Arbaʿeen, ritual processions take place through the city, albeit along different routes. While Ashuratåget (Ashura Parade) ends on Möllevångstorget, the congregation takes a wider and longer tour with the destination of Stortorget, the main square in the downtown heart of the city (Figure 5.40).

> We gather on NGBG and then walk together towards downtown. During the walk we are silent and just carry the flags and placards. We usually end the demonstration in Möllevången square, where we distribute votive food to the public. We choose the most crowded road, because we want to convey our message to others, especially non-Muslims, but at the same time, we do not want to convince anyone (interview with Shifteh, 2020).

Figures 5.38 and 5.39 (above).
Karbala battle performance
during the Muharram com-
memoration by Shabab al-
Qasim group, 2014. Source:
Shabab al-Qasim Facebook
page

Figure 5.40 (bottom). Ashu-
ratåget gathering at Mölle-
vången, Malmö, 2018.
Source: A*shuratåget i Malmö*
Facebook page

Shifteh also reflected about the public opinios and his own expeiences of encountering others while participating in such rituals as following:

> We receive some critiques from others, from Arabs as well. They think by doing our rituals, we do not respect the Swedish culture. So, we compromise a lot with how to organise the rituals, because we are not in our country, and we do not want tension. They do criticise us because they do not understand what Hussein means to us. Imam Hussein is not only for Shia but for humanity. We want to be inspiring for others, even if they hate us (interview with Shifteh, 2020).

Literary historian and theorist Mikhail Bahktin's reflections on the temporality and counter-power of the carnival and carnivalesque in his famous work *Rablelais and his World* (1984) provide thought-provoking perspectives on the temporal rhythms and social relations traversing NGBG and its migrant communities, epitomised by the solemn-yet-vivid Muharram rituals and the garages turned into music scenes during the NGBG festival. As noted at the outset of this chapter, the two fixtures stood out in stark contrast during their serendipitous temporal-spatial co-occurrence in September 2019. Even if this collision was unique, it no less catches important aspects of the temporal as well as relational conditions in which migrants exist in NGBG. The Muharram commemorations (or other religious events linked to the faith-based associations), as well as the NGBG festival, are both *times* when the rhythms of the street change and new forms of practice emerge. It is also a time when authorities condone behaviours otherwise irregular or unlawful, a carnivalesque 'release' from everyday life.

During the carnival, Bakhtin maintains, the invisible becomes visible, and power relations are inversed and transmuted in burlesque, pastiche, and chaos – and such travesty is tolerated precisely because of its temporariness (Bakhtin, 1984; Gembus, 2017). Chaos provides a ritual infrastructure spatially and socially for such events. Ordinary rules, inhibitions, and obligations of social interaction in everyday life are replaced with transgressive practices and embodiments. Different from theatrical burlesque and satire Bakhtin notes, however, the carnival is more than

a performance since it does not distinguish the spectator from the performer. The carnival may be read as a collective act, embodied by everybody in various ways. In this way, the carnival becomes a spectacle of suspended and inverted social hierarchies, "a world 'turned inside out'" (Bakhtin 1984: 95). Bakhtin also notes that the carnival is restricted in time and not in space: the carnival site stretches across the town squares and streets because it embodies and symbolises the carnivalesque idea of being universal and belonging to all people.

New Arrivals, Same Temporariness

Rituals and ceremonies in NGBG hence serve significant functions through social gatherings, mingling, and networking, supported by the institutional platform of state-funded cultural associations. Here migratory alternative temporalities activate other rhythms and practices. As temporalities are materialised and spatialised along the street, they also activate acts of care from within the street stretching beyond, illustrated for instance by the interior interventions and charitable activities during the ten Muharram days of ritual commemoration. Apart from the cyclical-ritual rhythm of the street, however, other (acutely political) temporalities, flows, and corporalities also make a mark on NGBG and its inhabitants – involving various actors. This became particularly evident in 2015, as the atrocious war in Syria brought a marked increase in the arrival of refugees. In this context, NGBG turned into one of the principal places providing assistance and care for the newly arrived refugees – facilitated by the infrastructures already in place in the street. Tareq underscored how their association took a particularly active role in responding to the situation, providing shelter and food for refugees. Saeed, a pious retailer, also explained how people in NGBG and those associated with the musalla were activated:

> Syrians, Iraqis, and Afghans were hosted in the faith-based associations on NGBG, where the refugees were given food, clothes, and information about how to stay or continue on their way to other destinations. Many of us took people to our homes and provided a temporary shelter (interview with Saeed, 2020).

Notably, however, it was an association of an entirely different background that became the principal and temporarily most visible actor involved in the 2015 relief work: the cultural association Kontrapunkt. It was founded in 2009 to organise multi-cultural events, and found a spacious venue for rent in NGBG (Kontrapunkt Webpage: 'Om oss'). The post-industrial location and character of the new premises made it flexible for renovation and alteration, and geographically close to the Möllenvången hub of left-leaning activism and cultural activities. After organising a couple of fund-raising parties to finance their cultural activities, the place was closed by the authorities, since it had not obtained proper permits for activities in this area classified as 'industrial'. In the autumn of 2009, the association initiated the Giftfri stad campaign (as discussed in Chapter 4), protesting the toxic pollution of the city's industrial neighbourhoods and aimed at altering the classification and regulations limiting the street. After the changes in the regulations in 2010, Kontrapunkt renewed the sublet and continued its activities, which came to include a variety of cultural events (such as movie nights and live concerts), creative workshops, providing a meeting place for various groups, and eventually more charitable work such as a soup kitchen and night-shelter for the homeless. Johanna, a co-founder of Kontrapunkt, underscored that the organisation aspired to create cultural events rather than becoming a nightclub:

> We started with the soup kitchen in 2013. This was when we had the capacity and resources to grow, both in number and energy of the organisers, allowing us to do more than only parties. The soup kitchen was not for only a specific group of people but for everyone. And successfully, it turned out to be a meeting event hosting a mix of people as we wanted. From artists rehearsing in the street to social and political groups in Malmö, all were gathering and meeting in Kontrapunkt (interview with Johanna, 2021).

In 2014, however, two things happened that draw more attention to Kontrapunkt. First, the Kämpa Malmö movement started after a deadly knife attack on one of its activists based in Möllevången, committed by a member of a Nazi group. In the aftermath, Kontrapunkt became the centre of the anti-Nazi campaign. Several support activities and infra-

structures such as support parties and food preparation were organised for the mobilisation and sustaining of the campaign. As Johanna recalls, "this helped us and other groups to realise what kind of capacity we have to serve as infrastructure for social movements". The second event was the establishment of the Sorgenfri camp in 2014. Located in the Sorgenfri area, it served as a makeshift residence for a Roma community from southwestern Romania (Persdotter, 2019). Together with other local solidarity groups, Kontrapunkt was involved in providing for the Roma squatters. As Maria Persdotter emphasises in her study:

> The organization came to strongly influence the direction and strategy of activists organising in and around the settlement. The organisation thought it is important that the squatters should organise collectively to self-manage the settlement and step forward as activists in their own right. They encouraged the community to articulate their claims and to organise demonstrations (ibid: 126).

The City of Malmö however, did not offer alternative solutions in the end and decided to demolish the settlements in November 2015, leaving the community on the street with minimal access to shelter (ibid: 132) (Figure 5.41). As a result, some of the evicted squatters found shelter in Kontrapunkt's facilities in NGBG for a few months.

In response to the rapid influx of migrants in 2015, Kontrapunkt committed to organising a new support infrastructure for the following six months (Figures 5.42 and 5.43). Most of the organisations and individuals in the street contributed to the solidarity activities. Collaboration with the already present associations of NGBG, however, remained scant: "The closest collaboration was when a volunteer from one of the receiving mosques was sent to Kontrapunkt in order to learn how to organise a large group of people and sheltering", Johanna recalled (interview with Johanna, 2021). Kontrapunkt's activities were marred by conflicts and controversy. In 2017, the organisation had a falling out with its landlord, prompting a rent strike and a legal process eventually won by Kontrapunkt (Figure 5.44). The organisation relocated to another venue in 2019, only to find itself in yet another controversy the following year. Accused of failing to follow the statutes of its two principal funders, the

Figure 5.41. Kontrapunkt invites the public to join the protests at the Sorgenfri camp against Roma people's evacuation, 2015. Source: Kontrapunkt's Instagram Page

Figure 5.42. Kontrapunkt welcomes refugees in NGBG, 2015. Source: Kontrapunkt's Instagram Page

Figure 5.43. Kontrapunkt offers free counselling for asylum seekers, 2017. Source: Kontrapunkt's Instagram Page

Figure 5.44. Kontrapunkt went on a rent strike due to a conflict with the property owner, 2017. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.45. Foodbank fridge, located outside the Kontrapunkt's new location in NGBG, 2019. Photograph by the author

Figure 5.46. Kontrapunkt's new location, where the roofed terrace was used as the food bank, 2019. Photograph by the author

Malmö Municipality and the Workers' Educational Association (Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund, ABF), the organisation lost its funding and left the premises in NGBG.

Kontrapunkt provides a different yet parallel case of how temporal infrastructures affect the associational life of NGBG. While the organisation did not conceive of itself as a charity, rather as a facilitator of activism and political agency, it was nevertheless dependent on a (provisional) project economy defining NGO relief work. Driven by a different political-economic logic (responding to the absurdly temporal 'onslaught' of migrants on national borders), the establishment, humanitarian commitment, and eventual demise of Kontrapunkt nevertheless provides yet another example of the challenges in establishing permanence of life and work in the street. It also underscores the synchroneity – and political interdependencies – of transnational, national, and local realities, spatialised in the land- and timescapes of NGBG.

Concluding Notes

I started this chapter with an anecdote describing an extraordinary episode from the everyday life of the street. The temporal collision of two events in 2019 had effects that manifested territorial and material production in different ways. As such, despite its temporariness and uniqueness, the co-temporality unfolded several aspects of the permanent and latent contradictions, tensions, and socio-spatial politics of the street. As I developed in this chapter, temporality functions as an infrastructure. Different temporal structures and regularities bind, hold, and connect places and people. I argue that temporality is infrastructural, embodied, relational, plural, heterogeneous, and also political. It is invisible but has the power to mobilise. The different temporalities of NGBG demonstrate contrasting purposes and agendas.

The inward spatiality and hiddenness of the faith-based associations, congregations, and mosques and musallas of NGBG is indicative of the socio-political challenges many Muslim migrants face in Swedish society. If sharing the same post-industrial genealogy, the religious associations and the festival organisers radically differ in power positions and effects. While the street festival is an opportunity for strengthening the brand of NGBG as "Malmö's coolest street" and celebrating the success of the applied strategies, the Muharram commemoration is a time of *temporary and non-recognised* visibility and distinguishability for the marginalised groups. Based on the lunar-based calendar and embodied temporalities, migrants organise time according to different and often officially unrecognised temporalities. This is subversive as well as precarious. It is subversive in being tactical, creating meanings and opportunities. It is precarious in being non-recognised and un-valued. It remains overlooked in the planning of the city, which is organised according to Eurocentric and modernistic time relations. Thus, the ritually/socially produced temporalities are inherently racialised and othered, creating an urban experience of non-belonging.

Temporal structures affect, enable, constrain, and preconfigure the social (re)production of space. The temporal access to resources and spaces is constantly in navigation and negotiation through various practices, amply illustrated by the process through which the dominant temporality of the NGBG festival in 2019 altered the 'rules of the game' for the

migrants' appropriation of space. The festival imposed negotiation, acceptance, and resistance – eliciting tensions but also opportunities to be (in)visible. Such negotiation processes take place "through migrants' personal histories, memories and a spatialized politics of difference" (Datta & Brickell, 2011: 73). The pious groups arranging the rituals were aware of the existing potential of the street and its affordances. Pragmatically and collaboratively, they tactically and carefully adjusted their religious observances through in-situ boundary negotiations, to maintain ritual fixtures, values, and principles. It demonstrated that the faith-based associations were able to co-habit and share the overlapping space of the street with festivalgoers and organisers, even when facing social norms and practices in contradiction with their moral and religious beliefs.

NGBG embodies multiple temporalities. An important result of the (dis)junctures between the temporalities of diasporic life and Swedish (and EU) laws, bureaucracies, and regulations is *waiting*. As demonstrated already in Chapter 4, waiting is the condition for many of the merchants and workers with migrant backgrounds in the street. Such waiting is twofold. First, it relates to the uncertain future of the street in relation to planning programmes and visions decided from above, which non-migrant actors may experience as well. Thus, while waiting for strategic decisions and development changes, the retailers have to be flexible and accommodate expected but uncertain changes, resulting in the *tactics of permanence* discussed earlier. The second waiting process relates to their merchandising activities, imposed from above, prolonging the importing processes and consequently delaying the livelihood processes. Even so, while waiting, the merchants of NGBG continue to invest – supported by other the trifold social, spatial, and temporal infrastructures – in places, labour, buildings, networks, friendships, and emotions. The notion of waiting, tactics of permanence, and negotiations between associations following different logics also show how the temporal infrastructures of NGBG are produced intentionally, and through frictions and obstacles that to some extent are unwanted or unplanned, but still need to be dealt with.

In this chapter, I specifically demonstrated how alternative temporalities may function as counter-time, strengthening communities through ritual-temporal infrastructures, and imbuing space with meaning and visibility. Such alternative temporalities from below are aligned with

chronologies of bodies and memories from the (collective or individual) past, of communal or individual events. Sustained by such temporal infrastructures, migrants de-stabilise the naturalised and normalised temporalities of NGBG, grounded in white time. Anchored in non-recognised temporalities (yet supported by Swedish cultural-political and financial provisions), cyclical/ritual time serves to disassociate from linear white time, and re-associate with memories, familiarities, and translocal belongings. The temporal-spatial collision described at the outset of this chapter hence not only (hyper)visualises the existence of other, less recognised forms of urban dwelling, but also the politics of white time and space itself.

6

TOWARDS AN ARCHITECTURE
OF ASSOCIATIONS

Norra Grängesbergsgatan is a place of 'heterogeneous associations' (Maseey, 2005: 137). The processes by which such associations are translated into the spatiality and materiality of the street form the core of this thesis. The street is continuously built and rebuilt through a constellation of trajectories that are central to understanding the *placeness* of NGBG. It has been created at a distinct historical moment in space and time where/when multiple individual human and nonhuman trajectories intersect. NGBG is situated at the intersection of its industrial past, continuous territorialisations, and recently envisioned and imagined futures. This

has transformed the street into an object of interest for actors of various financial and political positions, starkly contrasting with the (migrant) actors inhabiting the street. The worldling of NGBG hence finds shape in the interchange of (national and global) urban political economy and the processes of migration. While NGBG in some sense comes across as an ordinary street in a medium-sized Swedish city, it is connected to many other places and scales through migration and urbanisation from elsewhere, as captured in the words of Doreen Massey:

> A relational politics of place, then, involves both the inevitable negotiations presented by throwntogetherness and a politics of terms of openness and closure. But a global sense of places evokes another geography of politics too: that which looks outwards to address the wider spatialities of the relations of their construction. It raises the question of a politics of connectivity (Massey, 2005: 181).

The present and future streetscape of NGBG is foundationally shaped by the multiplicity of such trajectories, which define its architectural becoming. In this final chapter, I suggest that we conceptualise such processes as an *architecture of associations*, comprising three different yet intertwined modes. We may discern associations (a) in terms of the *formal* organisations shaping the life and materiality of the street; (b) in terms of the *informal* and largely unrecognised relations traversing the street, providing its (spatial, socio-economic, and temporal) infrastructure; and (c) as the different (and inherently political) *imaginaries* that have guided the very definition of NGBG as a place among various stakeholders – and hence their forms and degrees of involvement.

   I develop the notion of an architecture of associations here as a means of concluding this study of NGBG specifically. It may, however, also be understood as a concept to capture the broader processes by which cities emerge, through the intersecting trajectories of neoliberal urban policies, migration, social marginalisation, and the everyday practices of the ordinary people. By breaking down the processes of place-/city-making into these three categories, we may ask what kind of architecture (in its broader sense, including both urban design and urban planning) can respond to such challenges.

A Street of Formal Associations

NGBG was renamed the 'Street of Associations' (شارع الجمعيات) among local (Arabic-speaking) migrants of Malmö. This refers to the many state-funded cultural associations (*kulturföreningar*) which have historically assembled in NGBG. In this sense, the Swedish organisational model of the cultural association has made a deep impact on the street – with several (and partly contesting) characters and scales. Among them, we find several cultural associations formed by migrants, some functioning in practice as religious congregations. We find the associations set up and funded as study groups (*studiecirklar*), mainly organising young, cultural actors in the form of music and art studios. We find the NGBG Association (Kulturföreningen NGBG), a dialogue-based network and forum for various actors envisioning cultural opportunities and future development. Another cultural association was Kontrapunkt, set up as a hub for cultural exchanges and increasingly defined by left-leaning activism and refugee support. We also find Plan B, the formerly semi-legal and member-based association, which expanded and upgraded into an entirely legal music club in 2018. We find another type of formal organisation in Property Owners BID Sofielund, an association for 'increasing well-being and security in the neighbourhood'. In addition, there are a number of business associations, most of which are owned by and employ migrants. All of these may be characterised as formal associations, based on established and official institutional models, and all have had a distinct impact on the socio-spatial transformation of the street.

The Swedish model of the cultural association (*kulturförening*) was created to provide meeting places for various groups. They were commonly based on national-cultural markers, yet carried multiple functions (not least religious). Cultural associations were part of the Swedish integration policies from the 1970s, establishing and institutionalising multi-culturalism by financing culture-based activities for migrants in the context of (the hitherto largely mono-cultural) Swedish society. Proximity to the ethnically diverse residential areas, and the availability of affordable venues for let, afforded NGBG as a hub for migrant-based, cultural associations since the 1990s. This provided the setting for the establishment of several faith-based organisations, facilitated by Swedish institutional culture and deployed in hybrid forms. Afforded by strong

translocal ties, they have provided a counter-publics for marginalised and underprivileged groups and activities.

In this sense, the cultural associations have become the institutional umbrella under which distinct temporalities and spatialities have emerged and become part of the infrastructures of the street. In the European socio-political atmosphere, faith-based associations such as mosques and other congregations have remained largely invisible vis-à-vis the dominant society. Hence, interiorisation is a common approach within faith-based associations and mosques, as illustrated by the associations established in the vicinity of NGBG. Their hidden nature and modest exterior features are indicative of the current social, cultural, and political situation for practising Muslims in Sweden and across Europe at large. Their activities only take public and visible shape in the street episodical-ly, in the context of specific events and religious commemorations with vivid material and corporal effects. As such, they capture the 'displaced temporalities' consequential of migration, adding yet another layer to the multiple temporalities of the street. Such temporalities, which were dis-cussed in detail as 'alternative temporalities' in Chapter 5, are shaping the spatio-temporal organisation and moments of negotiation of the street. They also reveal power relations, as an effect of which certain temporal-ities are undervalued or otherised and racialised. Such temporalities are manifested and materialised in different forms, affecting the everyday rhythm of the street.

The year 2010 marks an important moment in the history of the street. Up to this point, many of the migrants' cultural associations (and Kontrapunkt) with rental amenities had been unable to be formally and permanently established in the street, as they were denied building per-mits as a consequence of the street's categorisation as *industrial* in the planning documents. Activities without permits were banished by the authorities from time to time. The 'Toxic-Free City' (Giftfri stad) cam-paign, initiated in 2009 by Malmö-based activist groups such as Kontra-punkt, was successful in prompting Malmö municipality to reduce the risk zone of the Stadex factory from 280 to 70 metres. With this decision, authorities showed flexibility in allowing the non-industrial amenities to stay in the street.

Notably, 'culture' has become a keyword for the strategies (both discursive and applied) initiated from above in the current transformation of the street into a hotspot of leisure and activity. In this context, music events, festivals, and entertainment venues are instrumental in creating a 'cool' image for the street, with the ambition of attracting the interest of a white and financially well-to-do middle class. One of the main actors pushing for such agendas is the NGBG Association (Kulturföreningen NGBG), working based on network management and public-private collaboration. Claiming to have a bottom-up and dialogue-based approach, the association has close cooperation with Malmö municipality and the local BID-association, as well as a few, selected property owners. The association mainly works with 'upgrading' the street through cultural events and beautification efforts. In 2016, the NGBG Festival was launched by the NGBG Association, branded as a 'dialogue-based' festival, providing an opportunity for participation of 'everyone' involved in the street. In combination with this emphasis on participation, the spatial organisation for the festival builds on the idea of activating spaces along the street in ways *different* to their daily uses. Notably, however, the 'active participation' of the migrants owning the garages for instance, is limited to temporarily letting their working spaces to the festival organisers – while they otherwise remain absent from the party. In other words, the involvement of locals remains unclear and uncritical – while conceived by the organisers in terms of a lacking interest on behalf of the migrants to take a more active role in the festival.

Another formal association is the BID-inspired Property Owners Sofielund (Fastighetsägare Sofielund), known in everyday use as BID Malmö. Launched in 2014, the association aims at 'uplifting the distressed neighbourhood of Sofielund', transforming the 'problematic area' (*problemområde*), as it was defined by police authorities in 1999. BID Malmö works in close collaboration with urban governance actors (municipal politicians, the city planning department, and public housing actors), real estate companies, media, as well as local residents and businesses. They have been involved in several joint operations by authorities such as the police and the tax and migration agencies, monitoring 'unsound' businesses. The main aim of such operations has been, on the one hand, to remove 'non-serious' tenants and non-formal activities, and, on the

other hand, to discover new opportunities for developing the area. Part of the agenda is the regulation and ordering of the street, through the establishment of criteria such as transparency, openness, and seriousness. The same agenda is also pursued by private property owners through the selection of 'proper' tenants. The effect (and intention) of such 'uplifting' through ordering and disciplining is, in all likelihood, the gradual displacement of the most socio-economically vulnerable and racialised residents and businesses. It also extends to disciplining the modes and socio-spatialities of existing businesses, suppressing the different ways of dwelling.

A Street of Informal Associations

NGBG is a place of refuge. It is a place of makeshift dwelling. It is shaped in the interstices of the growing post-industrial city. It is a crack where possibilities can emerge, despite limitations and obstacles. Being an in-between space, at once one thing and another, dwelling in NGBG is at once a risk and a chance, to be covered and exposed, to be exposed and exploited, to feel at home and simultaneously at the edge, to feel intimacy and being othered, to be visible and invisible. NGBG is a place of negotiation of such in-between spaces, positions, and situations.

Since the 1990s, besides accommodating cultural associations and newly established artists, NGBG has also come to host newly arrived migrants and refugees, including the car mechanics and scrappers. Migrants venturing to establish businesses found a favourable environment in NGBG, initiating the process of the gradual transformation of the industrial features of the street through an incremental modification over time. Such transformations from below were to a large extent concealed, invisible, and inwardly directed, guided by various *tactics of permanence*, as discussed in Chapter 4. The tactics comprised (1) a transformation from wholesalefication to boutiquefication, (2) the dynamics of invisibility within visibility, (3) the facilitation of kinship networks and social support, and (4) a negotiation of multi-scalar borders and boundaries. They were all established as efforts to withstand the unstable condition of lacking building permits in the industrial zone, which kept retailers in a permanent provisional condition for decades. The tactics were devised

to stabilise and prolong inherently provisional socio-spatial practices. For the retailers, permanency means *prolongation* of remaining and lingering in the street. While negotiating the conditions of enduring in the street, the retailers aspire to negotiate their right to inhabit differently, despite the monitoring and ordering processes operated by the authorities.

Life in NGBG thus requires a system of support that can confront the precariousness of such marginal space, in the aspiration of permanence. As demonstrated in this thesis, a three-fold *spatial*, *socio-economic*, and *temporal* infrastructural support system has been (re)produced by migrants at an informal level to ensure inhabitaiton in NGBG, traversing the official, institutional, or regular infrastructure systems. These infrastructural layers are relational, entangled, and interwoven, affecting one another, yet vulnerable and yet to be completed. Those three-fold infrastructures are (re)produced through *informal associations*. They make 'moments of negotiations' possible and thus stabilise dwelling through relying on and (re)creating relations, translocal connections, and spatial interventions. Such informal associations find shape in horizontal networks, embodied knowledge, and agentive, generative processes. They are *informal* in the sense of being initiated from below, less recognised, and part of everyday architecture/urbanism outside of formal, institutionalised practices. They are *associative* in the sense of being constituted by local and translocal connections, relating to other places and temporalities traversing the street, making life possible in the margin.

The *spatial infrastructures* discussed in Chapter 3 are made through the in situ potentials and affordances of the buildings, the atmosphere, and the location of the street, all facilitated by its industrial past. Requiring repair and maintenance, the buildings present a type of unfinished, flexible, and porous spatiality that supports necessary mediations and transformations. Spatial infrastructures are incremental since they are built on the existing spatialities – offering both material and immaterial resources. New relations between interiors and exteriors are established and the re-scaling of the spaces is produced, making the tactics of permanence possible. We saw, for instance, how the porous architecture of garages makes them multi-functional to accommodate new socio-temporal relations, as the garage becomes a multi-scalar space connected to multiple time-spaces.

This takes us to the *socio-economic infrastructures* discussed in Chapter 4, emerging in close interrelations with the spatial infrastructures. As economic practices are interwoven with social relations, they are materialised in the form of architectural spaces reciprocally supporting such transactions. In sum effect, by (re)producing socio-economic infrastructures, merchants navigate and negotiate their right to livelihoods and aspire to change their vulnerable conditions at the margin. This is a way of bread-winning for many who find job opportunities in self-employed and self-organised modes of working. Through such practices, other economic and ethical values emerge, not always aligned with those that are normalised and dominant. Thus, the street orchestrates encounters where multiple values are negotiated in the form of differently forged spatial and temporal relations.

Chapter 5 explored how *temporal infrastructures*, entangled with spatiality, do not only generate new socio-spatial relations, which reveal and contest as well as infringe on obstacles and power relations. The temporalities introduced and carried by migrants change the everyday rhythm of the street, and thus counter-temporalise the dominant Eurocentric calendar. The migrants' embodied temporalities stabilise their territorialisations, either by transgressing the defined boundaries or constituting new ones. Through the (re)creation of alternative temporalities, new possibilities of resistance and openness on the margin can emerge. On the other hand, other temporalities are imposed on the everyday life and livelihoods of migrants. They face various forms of waiting processes through multiple border regimes (across nation-state borders, in the process of asylum-seeking, entering the job market, receiving building permits or permits for their imported goods). We may thus think both in terms of an *infrastructure of temporalities* affording and defining the circular rhythms of life and work (such as Muharram), and a *temporality of infrastructures*, the linear temporalities and events shaping the conditions of the street (such as the re-classification of 'cultural sound zone' or the increasing refugee influx post-2015). In this perspective, informal associations support the unmapping of fixed spatio-temporal values from above, by making other spatial, socio-economic, and temporal relations possible.

A Street of Imagined Associations

NGBG has been associated with different imageries and meanings since its creation and appropriation by different actors. With the industrialisation and urbanisation of eastern Malmö in the early 20th century, the area became known as Svinaryssland among the locals. This signified the far-off location of the Sofielund area in relation to central Malmö, indicating the poor living conditions of the working class, living and working among/within the pig farms. It was indirectly suggesting the uninhabitable, uncivilised, and messy condition of the area. Such unattractive images persisted until and even after the de-industrialisation of the area, and were particularly associated with NGBG.

During recent decades, as part of the Sofielund neighbourhood of Malmö, NGBG became perceived as a 'problem area' (*problemområde*), as termed by the authorities. By the 1990s, in the wake of the dismantling of the industries, the demography of the street changed through the appropriation of new users, particularly the newly arrived migrant population. NGBG became re-territorialised and invested with new meanings and imaginations by those aspiring to establish livelihoods and social lives in the defunct and left-over buildings. The abandoned atmosphere, as well as ambiguities in planning documents' definition of the street as an industrial zone, afforded ways of dwelling not necessarily in line with those that were conventional and recognised. In this context, associated with the proliferation of 'informal' and criminal activities in the area, the newly established migrant practices in NGBG became perceived as 'illegal', 'black', and 'informal', making the street an object of constant policing and monitoring. This stigmatisation fed into political efforts and official documents, media images, and police practice and discourse, ultimately spurring reinvigorated strategies of revitalisation and upgrading, geared at *fixing* such problems. Once more, NGBG was associated with and perceived as characterised by blackness, dirtiness, messiness, crime, and unsafety. In parallel with the increasingly xenophobic and racialised public debates and imaginaries regarding migration (in general) and Muslim minorities (in particular), the business owners, workers, customers, and social groups spending time in the street became the targets of such sanitising and inspection, directly and indirectly.

On the other hand, in line with the application of such strategies,

NGBG also has been increasingly represented and imagined as a 'cool' place during the past decade. This image sets 'cultural' events as the driving force through which the dark image of the street can and should be transformed. For this purpose, the very roughness of the post-industrial street ironically becomes an asset and object for financial as well as political investment, epitomised by the existence of the several rehearsal and art studios, local breweries, and Plan B. The interest 'from above' is, however, limited and fraught with distinctions. Actors such as Plan B are important for the re-branding of the street and thus enjoy active support to remain as permanent 'attractions'. On the contrary, many retailers and faith-based associations find themselves in a precarious situation with a constant threat of expulsion (or uncertain conditions regarding their prospects).

In line with the strategy of using cultural events for upgrading the street, with the NGBG Street Festival and Plan B as its 'flagships', the municipality took the unprecedented step of establishing a 'cultural sound zone' (*kulturljudzon*) in the Sofielund industrial area, included in the city's *planprogram* in 2021. Creating touristic attractions has also been influential in envisioning the street. As developed in Chapter 4, such strategies illustrate how entertainment and market values (and constituencies) are valued over other objectives and practices – and hence define the current spatial politics of the street. Through such imageries, NGBG is associated with the 'best practices' in European cities, which (supposedly) have been successful in dealing with the post-industrial condition. While the stigmatised, 'dirty' image of the street authorises various public-private associations to interfere, regulate, and sanitise the street, the 'coolness' image legitimises and triggers the re-defining and re-envisioning of the street through financial, political, and cultural investments. NGBG hence finds itself in a paradoxical crush of securitisation and domestication on the one hand, and cultural exotification and fun-washing on the other, concomitantly driving whitening.

As an ultimate irony, such visions from above are largely the outcomes of the infrastructures produced by the migrants, who transformed the defunct post-industrial street into a lively site of enterprise, care, and social meaningfulness, away from and beyond any strategies of representations of space from above. In other words, the (re)produced everyday (spatial,

socio-economic, and temporal) infrastructures were not only instrumental in supporting life in the margin, compensating for a broken (or non-existent) support system; they simultaneously stimulate the commodification and re-branding of the street. Few events visualise such processes better than the (so far temporary) overtaking of the garages during the NGBG Festival, transforming mundane, everyday sites of migrant livelihood into carnivalesque music scenes for the young and hip. Such resignifications of space and reforging of associative patterns expressively capture the potential of the area in the imaginaries of developers and commercial interests, once straddled by 'attractive' and 'proper' events.

Contrary to such images and visions for the future of the street, but no less eloquent, NGBG has been renamed and known as the 'Street of Associations' (شارع الجمعيات) among the local (Arabic-speaking) migrants of Malmö. These imaginations comprise an altogether different field of associations, where NGBG is known as a diasporic street where "one can find everything" and feel at home. Some insist that NGBG is well-known in the Middle East among their relatives. Others imagine it to become the largest retail street in Scandinavia. Here, the street becomes a stage of socio-spatial (re)productions and translocality, materialised in buildings and merchandise, and embodied in everyday practice. The street is not only associated with memories of 'home' for many of the migrants. It is transposed into *active* processes of homemaking and care, here and now. The construction of a (material as much as affective) familiarised atmosphere has domesticated the industrial street (in a sense very different from the efforts of securitising domestication from above) and turned it into a place of belonging as well as support. Struggling for their 'right of appropriation' and 'right to difference', migrants have invested in this place, over time, one building after another, in a patient and expansive effort of encroachment.

Although the sets of imaginary associations traversing NGBG are different, at given instances in time and space they may find themselves in immediate proximity. The collision of the Muharram commemoration and the street festival in 2019 unfolded the mutual tensions and contradictions of the imaginaries,, representing two different approaches towards urban life and its complexities. One is conceived from above. It is foundationally concerned with the ordering and disciplining of unruly

practices, drawing a marginal street into the centre by means of beautification and market processes, where difference is accepted under the condition of being 'culturally' exotic and cool. As such, the effort relies on formal and informal associations already present in the street, imposing urban order through commercial processes as much as an institutional (and purportedly democratic) apparatus. The other image emerges from the margin. It is founded in and predicated on the everyday life of the street, in direct connection to the labour and livelihood of migrants. This image captures a set of practices and relations through which the right to appropriation and difference is constantly negotiated, despite its limitations, stigmatisation, and socio-spatial marginalisation. It is an image of a marginal space that envisions a "politics of in-between, a politics of the minor – not because they are a minority" (Lancione, 2016: 280). In short, is an image of socio-political participation in the society through 'self-management', the realisation of which is aspired through the establishment of infrastructures, which have been the empirical focus of this thesis. It vividly illustrates the words of Henri Lefebvre: "each time a social group refuses passively to accept its conditions of existence, of life or of survival, each time such a group attempts not only to learn but to master its own conditions of existence" (Lefebvre, 1978: 35).

An Architecture of Radical Openness

All in all, I propose we devise an *architecture of associations* as an epistemological concept, an empirical project, as well as an imperative for urban design practice. This entails the recognition of, and open-ended engagement with, the heterogeneous associations involved in architectural and urban processes – of particular importance in contexts defined by difference and social marginality. It takes as its cue detailed attention to the *existing in situ* life in cities in all its quarters, scales, and levels of agency. It explores the full register of formal and informal associations among urban dwellers and seeks out the spatial practices and relational interactions through which personhood and senses of belonging are constructed – in a constant interplay of power strategies from above and creative manoeuvres from below. It conceives, in short, of cities as *dialogically and relationally* (re)produced. Furthermore, an architecture

of associations explores the translation of such processes into *material* (re)production. It detects the interplay of exterior and interior interventions, conventionally disregarded among city planners and developers, dismissed as unruly, ugly, insecure, and inapt. It discerns the relevance of material (re)production in relation to its meaning among its users, expressive of spatial, temporal, and affective relations *otherwise*. It frames the juxtapositions of such material-spatial-temporal manifestations as spaces of possibility, as new ways of imagining urban lives.

In other words, I argue that an architecture of associations insists that co-existence and co-habitation are possible, in its attentiveness to different voices and spatial articulations. It provides no quick fixes. It makes no quest for social engineering. But it is an imperative *to see and to listen* to difference, in order to make a crack in the wall of architectural disciplines. An architecture of associations insists on the porousness and flexibility of architectural processes and juxtapositions, interventions, negotiations, and interpretations. It is architecture in the making.

The stakes and complexities of architectural processes increase in a time of precarity. In a global condition of systematic exclusion, dispossession, and racialisation, architecture and urban design cannot afford to conceive of itself as a monological enterprise predicated on ethnocentric and binary notions of order, citizenship, 'development', and aesthetics. Throughout this thesis, I have suggested that an architecture in the making is what holds social groups on the margin together. It creates opportunities for self-management and self-organisation. Places of meaning and value are (re)produced. Subjectivities and agencies are activated through practices *otherwise*. Multiple voices are articulated.

An architecture of associations, I suggest, provides a first step towards opening for that "space of radical openness" that bell hooks (1989) envisions, in the epistemological conception as well as the practical endeavour of urban design and planning. It is a space where individual and collective agencies can be articulated through (re)production, work, imaginations, and resistance, without being routinely discarded as worthless, informal, and insecure. Without being *marginalised* and *enclosed* in the ready-made boxes of architectural convention, normalcy, and hierarchy.

More than *recognising* that other architectural processes exist 'on the margin', an architectural space of radical openness *reevaluates* the very

notion of marginality. It conceives of spatial (re)production beyond hier-
archical notions of the 'functional' and 'rational' spaces of modernistic
architecture; beyond the participatory and 'community based' design
processes of neoliberal and neo-colonial discourse. It acknowledges the
inherent politics of place and location traversing any building, any social
relation, any web of transactions, any temporality, and any street. It is
aware of the *necessity* of an oppositional position (hooks, 1989). Built on
(and aspiring to build) radical openness, an architecture of associations
acknowledges and sustains "a new location from which to articulate our
sense of the world" (hooks, 1990: 149, 153).

It imagines, builds, and (re)produces a street to stay in. A street to cling
on to. Enter that space.

SWEDISH SUMMARY

Hur förändrar migration svenska städer? Hur kan en gata omvänt förändra migranters vardagsliv, sociala relationer, organisationer, ekonomiska liv och uppfattning om tid och rum? Och hur gestaltar sig sådana processer arkitektoniskt längs med en central – men likafullt perifer – gata i dagens Malmö?

Som en följd av förändrade geografiska, sociala och ekonomiska relationer i en marknadsekonomisk värld har världens städer kommit att husera allt fler migranter. Dessa har ofta drivits till att migrera som följd av arbetslöshet, väpnade konflikter, klimatförändringar och politiskt förtryck. Detta har även gjort avtryck på svenska städer. Samtidigt har den förändrade demografin i svenska städer sammanfallit med en nyliberal stadsplanerings- och förnyelsepolitik, något som lett till en fördjupad social och rumslig polarisering av det urbana rummet i (post)välfärds-samhället. Inom stadsplanering och stadsgestaltning är begrepp som inkludering, integration och urban rättvisa centrala. Likafullt står dagens svenska städer inför stora utmaningar och problem i form av segregation, social marginalisering och rasism, i migrationens och den nyliberala urbanismens efterdyningar.

Världen över erfar migranter och andra underordnade grupper en systematisk exkludering och marginalisering i och ur städernas planerings-processer och rum. Marginaliserade urbana områden definieras och stigmatiseras vanligen som "oanvända", "tomma", "smutsiga" och "sjaskiga". De sammanknyts med informella bosättningar, informell ekonomi och brottslighet – och ses därför vara i behov polisinsatser, övervakning, ordning och utveckling. Malmö är inget undantag. Staden har under senare decennier genomgått en djupgående förändring från en industriell till en postindustriell stad, inriktad mot serviceekonomi. Omställningen har gått hand i hand med segregation och diskriminering, vilket fördjupat utsattheten bland underordnade grupper med begränsad tillgång till den

nyliberala ekonomins marknader. Å andra sidan är dylika platser ofta meningsfulla och värdefulla för sina brukare, då de möjliggör och investeras med "andra" versioner av självuppfattningar, relationer och liv i staden.

Mot bakgrund av sådana tvetydiga processer fokuserar denna avhandling på Norra Grängesbergsgatan i Malmö (eller i folkmun: NGBG). Gatan är belägen i stadsdelen Sofielund, i utkanten av Malmös sydostliga innerstad. Trots att Sofielund genomgått en avindustrialisering sedan 1980talet klassas det fortfarande som "industriellt" i stadens officiella planeringsdokument. Dess halvindustriella och perifera karaktär, med förhållandevis låga hyresnivåer och icke-ändamålsenlig bebyggelse, har inneburit att NGBG blivit ett nav för affärsverksamheter drivna av migranter, kulturföreningar och religiösa organisationer – men är också känd för att husera rockklubben Plan B och den årliga festivalen NGBG Gatufest.

Avhandlingen bygger på en kombination av arkitektoniska och etnografiska metoder för att förstå hur NGBG har förändrats i tid och rum. Genom att lyssna på brukarnas berättelser om att arbeta, bo, handla och umgås längs med gatan, och kartlägga deras förändring av den postindustriella byggda miljön, sammankopplas migranternas berättelser och arkitektoniska praktiker till områdets historia. Metodiken sammanväver därmed stadens förvandling i förhållande till migrationsprocesser, såväl som till de lokala, nationella och globala politiska processer som definierat gatans karaktär.

För nuvarande är Sofielund och NGBG föremål för en intensiv uppmärksamhet och "stadsförnyelse" från politiskt såväl som kommersiellt håll. Inspirerad av den nordamerikanska BID-modellen (*Business Improvement District*, lokalt omformulerad till "Boende, Integration och Dialog") pågår en process för att göra området säkrare och "mer attraktivt" för boende, fritidsliv och underhållning. Centrala för dessa satsningar är både Plan B och Gatufesten. Ansträngningarna innebär samtidigt att områdets brukare blivit alltmer utsatta och deras framtid längs gatan alltmer oklar. Trots sin framgångsrika etablering i området, hamnar migranterna "utanför kartan", osynliga i stadens planerings- och förnyelseverksamhet. Trots sitt centrala läge i Malmö, förblir NGBG en perifer plats.

Avhandlingen visar hur NBGB inte bara sträcker sig mellan två punkter i staden. Gatan sträcker sig även mellan andra "geografier": sociala, politiska, kulturella, känslomässiga, tidsmässiga och religiösa. För att

tydliggöra de många (synliga och osynliga) "vägar" som genomkorsar NGBG, utforskar avhandlingen det system av *infrastrukturer* som upprätthåller gatan, dess byggnader, brukare och föreningar; dess och vardags- och maktrelationer; dess möjligheter och begränsningar. Genom att i detalj studera hur migranter har (om)format gatans vardagsliv och arkitektur, kan infrastrakturer av tre slag urskiljas:

- o *rumsliga infrastrukturer*, dvs. migranters arkitektoniska förändringar av NGBGs lokala arkitektur vilka samtidigt bygger translokala relationer med andra platser;
- o *socio-ekonomiska infrastrukturer,* dvs de lokala såväl som transnationella relationer som skapas och upprätthålls genom arbete, handel, föreningsliv och religiositet; samt
- o *temporala infrastrukturer*, dvs de olika tidsmässiga uppfattningar, cykler och framtidsvisioner i förhållande till vilka liv, arbete och byggnader på gatan definieras.

Dessa infrastrukturer konstituerar det livsuppehållande systemet för gatans sociala, ekonomiska och kulturella vardagsliv, genom att de underhåller och (åter)skapar *andra* platsuppfattningar, sociala kopplingar, ekonomiska relationer, temporala rytmer och föreställningsramar – som inte ryms i staden i övrigt. Dessa infrastrukturer har inte uppstått automatiskt. De är resultat av migranters investeringar längs gatan – i tid, arbete, pengar, förmågor och transnationella nätverk – genom vilka NGBG mödosamt (åter)skapats, underhållits och omdefinierats. Bristen på erkännande "ovanifrån" för dessa processer innebär att gatans användare befinner sig i situation präglad av utsatthet och risk för uteslutning och fördrivning. NGBG har därför definierats av migranters verksamheter, föreningar, solidaritet, entreprenörskap och nätverk – men också av fruktan, utsatthet och motstånd.

Denna tvetydighet präglar de förhandlingsprocesser och praktiker som tar gestalt i gatans *vardagsurbanism*. Det är i vardagens motståndspraktiker och taktiker som migranter förhandlar sin *rätt till staden* och sitt icke-erkända *urbana medborgarskap*, vilket utmanar officiella, sociopolitiska integrationsideal om samlevnad. NGBGs framtid inte kan med andra ord inte fångas av frågan om gatan håller på att "gentrifieras" eller

inte. Avhandlingen visar hur migranter tvetydigt navigerar anpassning och motstånd för att stanna och utforma meningsfulla liv längsmed gatan. De infrastrukturer och praktiker som därmed (åter)skapas är både *betingade av* och *riktade mot* den tillfällighet, utsatthet och förvisning som definierar gatan och dess brukare – ansträngningar som paradoxalt nog kan bli nyckeln till en framtid längs NGBG.

Studien ger röst åt *historier* som inte hörs och synliggöra *platser* som inte syns i stadens berättelser och visioner om sig själv. Dess fokus på *urban design underifrån* och *vardagens infrastrukturer* tydliggör att diasporiska rum tar gestalt i ett dynamisk förhållande mellan "praktiker underifrån" och "strategier ovanifrån". Avhandlingen bidrar därmed till centrala diskussioner inom stadsplanering och design, men visar också hur insikter från arkitektur och stadsgestaltning kan bidra till diskussioner om migration, medborgarskap, sociala relationer och gränser i samhället i stort. Vilka *förmedlande platser* kan skapas i befrämjandet av en inkluderande urbanism? Och vilka *förmedlande praktiker* kan skapas i förhållandet mellan vardagens urbanism och nyliberal stadsplanering och stadsgestaltning?

ABSTRACT

As global migration alters the demography of Swedish cities in the post-welfare era, socio-spatial polarisation and discrimination present acute challenges. In recent decades, Malmö has transformed from an industrial into a post-industrial, service economy-oriented city. The neoliberal urban planning and regeneration policies guiding such processes carry detrimental social and economic effects for unprivileged groups with limited opportunities and access to recourses, such as migrants.

The focus of this study is the post-industrial street of Norra Grängesbergsgatan (NGBG) in the southeast part of Malmö. Geographically central, yet peripheral and long associated with crime, surveillance, and 'informal' economy, it has transformed into a hub for migrant breadwinners and entrepreneurs, as well as artistic and activist groups. NGBG provides a complex case of how migration and urban marginalisation intersect with neoliberal policies, and how migrants have responded creatively to such processes through spatial and material interventions. By weaving together the stories of and from the street, the thesis unfolds the translocal associations created in this nexus.

Based on a combination of ethnographic and architectural methods, mapping the in situ post-industrial conditions of NGBG, the thesis explores how migrants have (re)produced infrastructures in support of their aspirations to remain in the street in face of the risk of banishment. The spatial, socio-economic, and temporal infrastructures in focus of this study reveal how migrants negotiate their right to difference and their right to the city. In the face of obstacles and limitations, spatial as well as temporal, places of belonging, care, and survival emerge *otherwise*. Paradoxically, however, these transformations from below have placed NGBG in the limelight of commercial development interests, intent on 'revitalising' the street into a hub for leisure and entertainment. Hence, migrant practices remain 'off the map', discursively and materially invisible in planning and design policies and practices.

This thesis argues that other ways of city-making require a revision of the value systems guiding planning institutions, which engage with multiple voices and subjectivities in the pursuit of co-production and co-habitation. It suggests an *architecture of associations* as an epistemological and empirical project, as well as an imperative for urban design practice.

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How can a street transform the lives of migrants? How is a city transformed through the everyday practices of migrant subjects? And what architectural processes emerge through the flows of global migration in a central yet peripheral street of Malmö?

As global migration alters the demography of the Swedish cities in the post-welfare era, socio-spatial polarisation presents an acute challenge. By weaving to-gether the stories of and from Norra Grängesbergsgatan (NGBG) in Malmö, this book unfolds spatial and material reconfigurations in the nexus of migration, urban marginalisation, and neoliberal politics. Long associated with crime, surveillance, and the 'informal' economy, NGBG has transformed into a hub for migrant bread-winners and entrepreneurs. In their aspirations to remain in the street, they have (re)-produced spatial, socio-economic, as well as temporal infrastructures, feed-ing into the architectural transformation of the street. Paradoxically, however, such transformations have placed NGBG in the limelight of commercial interests, intent on 'revitalising' the street into a 'safe' place of leisure and entertainment. Hence, migrant practices remain 'off the map', invisible in planning and design policies and practices. In the quest for co-production and co-habitation, such *other* ways of city making call for a revision of the value systems guiding urban planning and design.

This book is a doctoral thesis in architecture with a particular interest in urban theory and spatial politics. It aims at anyone with a general interest in issues related to migration, contemporary cities, and everyday life.

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