



**MALMÖ
UNIVERSITY**

Faculty of Culture
and Society

Exploring regeneration and gentrification on Norra Grängesbergsgatan

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Urban Studies: Master's (Two-Year) Thesis (120 p)
Summer 2021
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Acknowledgement

Norra Grängesbergsgatan has always been in the periphery of my mind. Present to the extent that something always happens there. Today the street seems to have many more dimensions. The area is fascinating, and places like this are hard to find.

Through this study, I have met many interesting people and faced unusual situations that have made this work more than a study. This study has given me new insights into how different societies can be perceived. Depending on various points of view, a view that depends on individual backgrounds and everyday practices.

Finally, I want to thank my supervisor Hoai Anh Tran who has guided me and given me the tools to make this study exciting. I want to thank my study companions Qu, Ellen and Lisa that made my master's in urban studies fun and inspiring. I want to thank my friends that have supported me, and my parents that believed in me.

Abstract

The former post-industrial city of Malmö implemented neoliberal strategies to turn the curve to become a knowledge city with a continental and cultural vibe. Drastic changes have been made in economics, sustainability, and design, to become an attractive city with opportunities in employment and education. In the pace of change, culture has come to play a central role in the process. Former centrally located industrial areas have become a nave of innovation of culture. With industries, businesses, and cultural creatives next to each other. In the hot spot of Malmö is the street of Norra Grängesbergsgatan. The industrial past and the influx of young creatives have changed the narrative of the area. According to Malmö city, there is potential to become a cultural cluster with its post-industrial environment containing works and industries. Malmö city has started to invest in the renewal of the area. The change aims to make the area a cultural destination. The industrial environment, the mixture of people, and the culture is an exciting combination that can be advantageous to the city of Malmö in the meaning to be a creative city. Such decisions can bring some concerns to mind for those who already have a livelihood in Norra Grängesbergsgatan. As in a society, people in this area have an everyday life with daily practices and established communities and networks with connections to the place. To understand the possible impacts of the processes this study aims to understand the existing livelihood. To carry out this research, I have a qualitative approach, where I have used semi-structured interviews with exploratory questions to capture an abundant outmost description of the environment and the spatial practices. Focus is on the community that shapes the street rather than the street itself, to investigate insights from people that are possible game-changers, owing to visionary documents from the city of Malmö. To capture individuals' perceptions of Norra Grängesbergsgatan is to capture hidden aspects and experiences to examine what makes these communities or spaces meaningful. The relationship between people, concerning change is in focus as the study reveals multiple processes of development happening at the same time.

Key words: *Post-industrial, Neoliberalism, regeneration, gentrification, culture, community, Norra Grängesbergsgatan.*

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Introduction & problem formulation

Malmö is Sweden's third-largest city with a post-industrial character that has turned shifts throughout economic investments. Into the pace of urban development in the country, the city is next after the capital of Stockholm. Malmö has undergone evident changes in recent decades, both in the development of architecture, sustainable urban projects to attract new international companies, and investments in sustainable planning. Through the expansion of the Øresund region, and the Øresund Bridge connects Malmö to Kastrup airport and the capital city of Denmark, Copenhagen (Anderson, 2014: 10). The transformations to the neoliberal Malmö involve many changes in the industrial area of Sofielund and at Norra Grängesbergsgatan (Ngbg). From being an industrial street with underground clubs to being transformed into a cultivated area with a unique environment. The industrial legacy, the culture, and the mix of people can be beneficial to the city of Malmö.

The industrial area of Sofielund and Norra Grängesbergsgatan is exciting, and the atmosphere is unique. This makes me wonder of what kind of development vision is in store for on Ngbg? In order to answer this, I have to investigate the spaces in the street and how space is perceived and used to find out what makes the area exciting and why it has to be further developed. I believe it is crucial to understand the everyday life to understand the impact at Ngbg. The experiences and ideas from the communities are significant to capture a contemporary narrative of the street in contradiction to the city of Malmö's plans for Ngbg. The study aims to understand the current everyday life concerning possible consequences that face the cultural presence in the area when Malmö city is an actor in the area. Questions I seek to answer are:

- What are the current spatial practices at Norra Grängesbergsgatan?
- In what way are these practices considered in Malmö's plan for Norra Grängesbergsgatan?
- Which transformations currently take place in Norra Grängesbergsgatan? And in what way are these changes that are happening in the street a part of a process of gentrification?

Demarcation

This study focuses on spatial practices in the industrial area of Norra Grängesbergsgatan and doesn't include the residential areas in the north end and the south end of the street. The study focuses on livelihood, businesses, and cultural activities rather than residential situations. There are mentions of the BID- process and Fastighetsägaran Sofielund, but their opinions, participation, or goals are not developed further in this study. Officials from the city of Malmö are not asked to participate. Leading documents and investigations from the city departments are considered evident with incitements of the development of Sofielund's industrial area and Ngbg. In the study, the focus has been on leading panning documents and to examine different people's everyday life routines on the street and their understandings and perceptions of Ngbg.

Disposition of study

First, *The post-industrial and neoliberal Malmö*, the background of Malmö's industrial heritage and the transformation of neoliberal policies and sustainable development will be presented in order to understand the development of and current conditions of the political context of Norra

Grängesbergsgatan. Second, *Presentation the site* presents the industrial area of Sofielund and Norra Grängesbergsgatan the area of this study. Third, *Urban regeneration, gentrification, and the creative class* present definition and concepts of gentrification, to understand the different processes who, the people are in the process. The theory of the spatial triad is presented as it's the tool of analysis of the findings. Fourth, I present my *Methodology* of experimental study with methods from ethnography and literature studies. Fifth, *Culture and communities in an industrial street* are the presentation of findings from visionary documents and the ethnographic research where the street is portrayed by my informants. Sixth is the *Analysis and Discussion* of the study are analyzed and discussed and set in contrast to answer my research questions. And finally, the *Conclusion*.

The post-industrial neoliberal Malmö

Malmö's industrial past derives from the harbor in the late 1700s. In the beginning of the 1900s Malmö was the leading growth center of industrial development in Sweden until the degradation in the 1970- 80s (Malmö stad, 2021: 4-5). During that time European industrial production flourished because of the unregulated industrial market, due to the international institutions lacked a long-term strategy for local sustainability (Pipan, 2018: 11). When the economy in Malmö stagnated, the industries were immediately affected, and downgrades led to unemployment. Years after the industrial decrease in the 90s, the necessity to solve the consequences of deindustrialization was crucial. The solution was a decision to redevelop the economy. Inspired by neoliberal ideas, Malmö turned the curve and aimed to become an economically and sustainable society. The intention was to become a knowledge city, a creative city to attract investments, and *the creative class* inspired by Richard Florida (Anderson, 2014: 11-12; Listerborn, 2017: 14, 18; Malmö stad, 2013: 47). With new economic investments, the city had to develop its old look to become interactive and create entrepreneurial public spaces, which required creative places (Listerborn, 2017: 12, 13).

The physical investments are manifested in urban development in Malmö by world-leading architecture along with sustainable development projects, environmentally sustainable planning and design (Holgersen, & Baeten, 2016: 1174). Some of the investments made were the University College in 1998 along with other office buildings and housing. All in the vicinity of the former industrial harbor and the old shipyard of Kockum. The district of Västra Hamnen (Western Harbor) is still ongoing in development projects. The area is known for its eco-friendly approach and started with the residential area of Bo01 in the early 2000s. To go the extra mile, the dramatic architecture of the skyscraper Turning Torso characterizes the district. The neighborhood has attractive waterfront stays for middle-class inhabitants (Anderson, 2014: 12), and over the years, the area has attracted large numbers of tourists. Further, the erect of Hyllie, a business center with infrastructure with a direct connection to Copenhagen. And later, Malmö Live, a multi-complex of hotels, bars, restaurants, and concert hall, is centrally located and close to the central train station. The development can be considered a strategy to gain global attention (Tran, & Rydin, 2019: 15). On the contrary to the mega projects more settled urban development projects were erected with motives of cohesion. The area of Norra Sorgenfri

has been created by visions of sustainable social development pursuant to commission for a social sustainable Malmö (Malmö commission), *Malmös väg mot en hållbar framtid, hälsa, välfärd och rättvisa* (Malmö's path to a sustainable future, health, welfare and justice) (2013). In this prominent document, one of the goals that Malmö city should strive for is to diminish segregation through the creation of meeting places to integrate people. So far, the erected Norra Sorgenfri shows no signs of social activities to obtain social cohesion. Further, no notions on how to fix problems such as social segregation, nor focus on proposals to incorporate small business owners with ethnic minorities (Tran, & Rydin, 2019: 32). Other initiatives to create cohesion are the implementation of the Rosengårdsstråk that connect the more privileged district of Västra Hamnen with the more vulnerable area of Rosengård, as the vision of the stråk is to encourage movement between areas and considered a cornerstone in changing social relations (Grundström, 2019: 19). Recently, Sofielund and Norra Grängesbergsgatan, located just next to the Rosengårdstråk, have received attention from the city, and the already culturally dense area is now a site of further development.

However, with the neoliberal policies, Malmö has become a city of multiculturalism and culture with various cultural events and festivals all year round. The notion of multiculturalism encourages an exchange of experiences, music, food with global influences. The image of Malmö has shifted from an industrial city struggling with unemployment to a continental metropolis with culture and innovative values that attract young creative people and entrepreneurs (Anderson, 2014: 19; Rogers, 1998: 210). Even if the upside is easy to promote, the other side of the transformation in the city is different. In the hidden Malmö, immigrants do not have employment, and others are not included into society. Debated differences are especially between Västra hamnen and Rosengård (Grundström, 2019: 16). The city suffers from increased geographical segregation, and economic polarization have led to unemployment, segregation, poverty, exclusion, and tensions between groups (Holgersen, & Baeten, 2016: 1174, 1177; Listerborn, 2017: 17; Malmö stad, 2013: 47). Malmö is not only geographically segregated, and differences between districts are not entirely related to socioeconomic matters. Segregation includes access to green spaces, attractive outdoor environments, trust in other people, the possibility of well-being, and the feeling of inclusiveness. The motivation behind social sustainability derives from increased social inequalities globally and locally. Inequality threatens social sustainability and the possibility to trust other people and societal intuitions. Distrust can lead to marginalization, turn into crime, riots, or possibly a collapse in society. Malmö city's strategy to achieve goals of inclusiveness is to create inclusive environments to encourage interaction between different groups and people. The established association life and cultural events are considered crucial regarding interactions, and strong social networks are needed to contribute to collective identity ((Malmö stad, 2013: 20, 21, 67- 77). Even though Malmö has taken measures in urban and sustainable development, there are still challenges in integration and segregation (Anderson, 2014: 14). Inevitably, social membership to all parts of society is not a guarantee for mutual respect or social solidarity (Amin & Graham, 1997: 423).

The transformation in Malmö has become a way to control spatial relations and favor the capitalist mode of production. It is a shift in municipal planning where the focus has changed

from meeting the needs of the public to catering to the needs of the market, using empirical observation to help illustrate underlying power relations that shape cities (Listerborn, 2017: 20). Most important the municipalities are in control of urban planning and the use of land, hence, the potential to develop projects to break down barriers. Lately, municipalities in Sweden have had less influence on the housing market, and a consequence of this is municipalities that instead tend to focus on urban planning and design. In other words, the focus is on public places and how these can be linked together. As a response to fragmentations and social polarization of European cities, public space has been retheorized through theories of new narratives and new normative, linked-in-motion, and liquid modernity (Grundström, 2019: 11, 16- 17).

Presentation of the site

Sofielund's geographical location is in the middle of Malmö, and the district is to the south of the city center (shown in figure 1.). Norra Grängesbergsgatan is approximately 600 m long and extends through Sofielund's industrial area. To the east of Sofielund, located on the other side of the continental rail, is the district of Rosengård. Rosengård is a predominantly public housing area with a high concentration of people with different ethnic backgrounds (Tran, & Rydin, 2019: 16). To the south is Augustenborg, an ethnically mixed area exclusively owned by MKB, the municipal housing company (Mottaghi, Kärrholm, & Sternudd, 2020: 135). To the west are the districts of Möllevången, the area in Malmö that comprises most bars and restaurants, and many public places as Möllevångstorget, Folkets Park, and the station Triangeln (Fastighetsägare Sofielund och Fastighetsägare Möllevången, 2020).



Figure 1. The map shows Malmö, and the purple circle marks the location of the Sofielund industrial area, and the orange line is the Norra Grängesbergsgatan. The blue line represents the Rosengårdstråk connecting Västra Hamnen (Western harbour) and Rosengård (map made by author).

Many of those who live in the vicinity of the area or nearby districts have their workplace within the Sofielund industrial area (White Arkitekter & Fastighetsägare Sofielund, 2018: 66). The population is young compared to other parts of the city, and many of the inhabitants have a foreign background. Sofielunds industrial reflects Malmö's industrial past that the city relied on upon the 1900s (Malmö stad, 2021: 6). Initiatives to develop Sofielund into an attractive district has been made by forming Fastighetsägare Sofielund¹. The organization members consist of local companies with focus on local development. One of the tasks is to support associations in the area and financing parts of development projects. Hence the organization work together with the city of Malmö (Malmö stad, Fastighetsägare Sofielund & ÅF, 2018: 33). Two big industries remain, Stadex AB that manufactures starch derivatives, and Pågens², which bakes bread. Pågens has brought several properties over time within the blocks and intermediate streets (Dahlberg, et.al 2006: 12- 13).

Norra Grängesbergsgatan



Figure 2. Norra Grängesbergsgatans typical low industrial buildings accommodate car repair shops, cultural association, and the industrial complex of Stadex in behind (photo by author).

Norra Grängesbergsgatan and the industrial area has strong ties to the post-industrial era and the former Malmö harbor. When Kockum's closed in the 1980s, closures of the textile industries, foundries, wholesalers, workshops, carpentry, and various service companies disappeared at Norra Grängesbergsgatan. Old industries complexes have new users, and now the street contains printing companies, car repair shops, food wholesalers, vendors and small businesses. The cheap rents allow small proprietor and vendors to develop, and now the industrial buildings are characterized by a multicultural identity, music clubs, associations, import companies, and much more (Dahlberg, et.al 2006: 12- 13). The older industrial low buildings with the office area facing the street and the workshop inside characterizes the visuals of Norra

¹ Property owners Sofielund consists of those who own properties and premises in association with companies and have a close relationship with the City of Malmö. The organisation has more than 60 members that owns properties in Sofielund, Annelund, Lönngränden (residential areas next to Norra Grängesbergsgatan) and Sofielunds Industriområde. The purpose is together to improve the areas.

² Stadex AB and Pågens are a members of Property owners Sofielund (Fastighetsägare Sofielund).

Grängesbergsgatan (Malmö stad, 2021: 15). Contributions to the character are countless music studios, informal music scenes, ethnic associations, sports clubs, mosques, religious communities, restaurants, culture and food theaters, industries, and more. The high density and diversity are an advantage to the area. It contributes to opportunities to expand networks and to create new ones (White Arkitekter & Fastighetsägare Sofielund 2018: 66). The street has an established cultural life with many actors who concur to make the area alive and well visited. Tenants who run restaurants, theaters, or music bars in the area have time-limited building permits. There are also businesses housed without permits. These tend not to be consistent with the plan for the area. At the same time, some of these activities have an attraction value to the area and the city (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2021: 8).



Figure 3. The picture show car washes, a restaurant is located in the yellow brick building and a pint store is within the red brick building (photo by author).

The former negative narrative has come from underground clubs, illegal housing, gambling clubs, clubhouses, smoke cafes, grocery stores, retail, grocery stores, and slum lords. Several businesses have left the area since a united effort with several authorities merged and operated against works and businesses. Consequently, several illegal activities have been closed (Fastighetsägare Sofielund och Fastighetsägare Möllevången, 2019). For many years the street has been subject to media coverage as a result of crime and violence. Due to reports of crime and violence, the portrayal has contributed to the negative narrative of the street. The street still has elements of crime and activities (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2021: 26).

Gentrification: explanation of concepts and discussions about social implications

Regeneration purposes and outcomes

Urban regeneration is an effect of proactive measures in development in a district or a neighborhood to improve particularities or to avoid problems of industrial decline. The outcome of various processes of those changes is referred to as regeneration. A characterization in regenerated cities is the distinction between areas as some are neglected as a result (Roberts, Sykes, & Granger, 2016: 9).

Cities have always provided a set of functions, including the traditional role of sale and purchases, but it is also a place of social and political interactions, shelter, and security. Over time these sets of functions have changed, and new demands have transpired. Now demands have altered in the use of land, space, or infrastructure. In contrast some purposes, depending on the development of an area, town, or city old demand may no longer be required. However, except for the basics a diverting structure of an environment represents wealth. At moments areas in cities changes and areas of industrial degeneration are sources of influence as they are opportunities of altering (Roberts, Sykes, & Granger, 2016: 10). In the past post-industrial urban landscapes have been perceived as peripheral areas and sometimes threatening, but recently these landscapes have become recognized as places of regeneration. Often because of the unique industrial environments and because of closeness to infrastructure and the possibility of redevelopment. At the beginning of regeneration planning, economic motives governed the developments, but currently, regeneration tends to include cultural preservation, economic development, the satisfaction of interests, and public needs (Loures, 2015: 74). A good design can promote sustainable development and improve the existing environment and attract investment (Loures, & Panagopoulos, 2007: 181). In this sense, culture counts as an economic resource based on the commercialization of the former industries (Pipan, 2018: 12) and, the urban restructuring becomes connected to an ulterior economic structure (Zukin, 1987: 130). Overall urban creativity and propensity to innovate complex interactions can be crucial to balance economic competitiveness and social cohesion. Creative clusters tend to establish themselves in margin parts of cities such as industrial districts, central business districts, or cultural complexes (Amin & Graham, 1997: 419). Perhaps attention should be towards social networks that govern complex cultural production. As well as the role those cultural workers may play in the design of cultural industries. It is an incitement to develop an understanding of the emergence of the neo-industrial city (Pratt, 2009: 1058).

Gentrification and gentrifiers

The word gentrification means replacement of an existing population, in reality it is a complex urban process that changes and structure in an area, for instance, increase in property prices, a transformation from renting to owning, and an inmoving middle class that create displacement of working-class residents. The processes happen in correlation to other changes, for instance as cities reimagine themselves out of deindustrialization. In the inner cities middle-class spaces

emerge and massive complexes are being built, restaurants and retail districts develops as do urban waterfronts designed for the middle class (Lees, Slater, & Wly, 2008: 5-6). In contrary to the city centers working-class neighborhoods in margin areas offer cheap living conditions for in-movers, often referred to as the creative class (Zukin, 2009: 20- 22). The creative class is defined in Richard Florida's *Cities and the creative class* (2005) and is characterized by a creative core of people within different creative professions from researchers and engineers to artists, actors, cultural figures, and designers who can create new meaningful forms. Creative capital refers to people within the creative class (Florida, 2003: 8). The idea is to attract the creative class to become creative city, hence conditions for that must be created and there must be conditions to stimulate economic development and generate innovation (Florida, 2003: 10). The in-movers are often a homogeneous wealthier group from the new middle class (Zukin, 1987: 141). The process of in-mover involves a change in an area where land users, residents, or a current population are being replaced or displaced by newcomers that move in. The greater the differences in the socio-economic balance are, the more noticeable is the process of gentrification, as the processes tend to lead to a change in the built environment when investments happen (Clark, 2004: 263; Clark, 2010: 25).

Gentrification a tool for urban development and an instrument for displacement

Gentrification does not necessarily mean social integration. The difference in income contributes to a gap when improvement strategies happen and residents becomes displaced as higher rents force people to move, as the displaces are often characterized by being financially vulnerable. Rents tend to increase as landlords have an interest in higher rents and those who can afford to stay can be overwhelmed with the new culture that involves a rapid change in the neighborhood (Zukin, 1987: 133, 135). When unequal conditions force people to move, gentrifiers indirectly resolve and disrupt communities that have been (Betancur, 2011: 399). The modern bohemian is allowed to pursue the vision through economic exploitation of potential, which tends to destroy the natural process. Neil Smith's "The New Urban Frontier" (1996) argues that it is a form of colonialism at a local level. Gentrification in this sense thrives on systematic inequalities of urban society (Clark, 2004: 264- 265). The process can improve the economy in an area, apart from that, the population is destitute of their jobs has not much benefit from the development as the old community disappears (Pratt, 2009: 1053). In some cases, gentrification becomes a commercialization of spaces where the best use replaces current land use (Clark, 2004: 264- 265). For instance, in city cores, environments consist of consumption and can be used as a method to creating exclusion concerning price, aesthetics, and comfort (Zukin, 2009: 135). In margin districts, chain stores start to establish themselves to meet the resident's needs. Then more chains tend to settle down to meet the needs of the new middle-class residents to further attract new residents to the area (Zukin, 2009: 80). When neighborhood get reshaped by incoming lifestyles, the exchange happens with products, people, and capital. The more local a neighborhood seems more media attention it gets, and then the increased risk of being a cultural destination and the character will be more expensive (ibid: 121).

Furthermore, tensions tend to be higher in areas categorized by a high degree of social polarization and low recognition of the rights of the former users (Clark, 2010: 27). Conflicts can be reduced and can diminish, but it is probably invertible in capitalistic societies. Yet Malmö, Sweden, hasn't had any battlefields even if there have been conflicting interests and personal tragedies (*ibid*: 28). In this point of view, processes of gentrification are of importance to analyze. To some extent, development and economic transformation can contribute to displacement and facing homelessness (Zukin, 1987: 134). When the city makes markets, vendors or businesses in the neighborhoods become a target sometimes because of the central location. At worst, they get constrained by police to leave the area (Zukin, 2009: 79). Redevelopment can challenge vulnerable groups and their place-based social fabrics and incorporations (Betancur, 2011: 383). Many of the land users that have businesses in these areas, have created networks of coherency, and are dealing with forms of intercultural crossings, as many come from different parts of the world. These exchanges are all about making a living (Hall, 2018: 971). Through these networks, the city also becomes linked to a range of places outside the nation, since immigrants are to deflect to peripheral parts of the city where employment is erect. The everyday life of these areas shows the significance of these places. (*Ibid*: 981-982).

Regeneration and gentrification in a perspective of everyday life

Individuals have contrasting perceptions about the world and of the environment they live in. Everyday life can however give indications of the individuals perception (Pink, 2012: 143), and exists in every activity in the daily life and in relations. It refers to those things that happen within family and friends and in other constellations. In this understanding, humans are the producers of social time and space; in a way, we produce the basis of humanity along with our culture. From this point of view, everyday life is created outside the echelons of the state and not constrained upon us. Everyday life involves social relations in the geographical sense of place, as institutional sites of produced and reproduced power. Many places intend to create this kind of relationship, as other spaces or environments erect other social reproductions and productions (Burkitt, 2004: 212- 213). While transitioning happen, planning of urban space to tend to be a matter of social injustice, as land and property during a period been abandoned by capital interests or politics, differences in space are partly because of neo-capitalism. However, urban space is a social construction created through social relations, which Lefebvre characterized as “a triad of space” (Leary-Owhin, 2015: 68). To comprehend the social space in this study, spheres of the spatial triad will apply as analysis. These is represented by the *practiced space* (perceived space) of day-to-day action. Then the *representations of space* (conceived space) articulated by planners, and *spaces of representation* (lived space). The physical space of which the world is experienced pre-rationally. Together they generate simultaneous dialectical interrelations (Pierce, & Martin, 2015: 1282), used to explain the complex space that everyday life takes place in, where space is the basis of our lived experiences (Watkins, 2005: 210).

spatial practice	<i>l'espace perçu</i>	perceived	physical	materialism
representations of space	<i>l'espace conçu</i>	conceived	mental	idealism
spaces of representation	<i>l'espace vécu</i>	lived	social	materialism & idealism

Figure 4. shows clarification of the spatial triad (Elden, 2007: 110).

The depicted three spheres are developed as follows. The system of everyday life is interlinked and defined by a set of functions that refers to *spatial practices* also described as perceived space. The space can be observed, the physical and material environment, and includes buildings, infrastructures that create places of work, life, and leisure. The practices of everyday life as the daily routine involve people and the relationship to materials, spaces, and activities, a theory of place where movement, knowledge of motions, and diversity of events are happening, this Allow us to place practitioners and recognize the connections to other processes, and guide to an understanding of how the lived reality where practical things happen, comprehended as an interdependence (Pink, 2012: 29). Second are *Representations of space*, which relate to the conceived space and refer to urban renewal and the fabrication from the public sector. The city has an economic role as a part of the created space with competitiveness, productivity, or presentation from the social sphere (Leary, 2009: 191; Pierce, & Martin, 2015: 1292). Often actualized in bureaucratic documents of public policy, conceptions of urban areas, and property development purposes. The documents reveal themselves in a quasi-scientific visualization of various kinds. Architects, engineers, urban planners, and artists make these illustrations of spaces, and it is the conceived space and the dominant space in every society (Leary-Owhin, 2015: 69; Leary, 2009: 195). *Spaces of representation* or imaginative and lived space, are spaces lived through images and symbols, the experienced lived space in a combination of verbal or non-verbal, coded or uncoded features. The experiences represent the personal everyday life and the society that is inevitable in everyday life. It is the dominated space. It's the clandestine side of the society, the space of imagination (Watkins, 2005: 210; Purcell, 2002: 102; Leary, 2009: 195). Spaces of representation have two main elements: the everyday space lived by inhabitants and users that are associated with cultural meaning. Imaginations and symbols are interpretations of city space an artistic representation of urban space (Leary-Owhin, 2015: 69).

The ideas about urban space aim to construct an understanding of public space. It is not only about physical approaches, but it's also about a holistic perspective where social processes and planners have a crucial role in the influence of the built environment and the lifestyles it contains (Leary-Owhin, 2015: 72). Presented by institutions, space is yet highly socially interactive, characterized by imagined notions of a range of actors of the history in the city (Leary, 2009: 196). Using the spatial triad in this study attempts to research planning and practice about understanding changes happening at Norra Grängesbergsgatan.

Methodology

This study is a research of exploration to understand the social and psychological life. The core in the exploratory is to recognize new ideas by exploring processes, activities, and social groups. To achieve desired understandings, as a researcher, I must put myself in a position to make discoveries by using ethical methods suitable for the situation I find myself in. As a researcher in this context, this is a pervasive personal orientation, and generalizations are made on observations about culture, structures, or social processes in Norra Grängesbergsgatan (Stebbins, 2001: 3-5). While conducting exploratory research, qualitative research methods are suitable when exploring how people construct their worlds and interpret their experiences. The use of qualitative research finds empirics in words used as data collected and analyzed (Merriam, & Tisdell, 2015: 6). The approach in qualitative methods is related to the postmodern angle and this sort of research is playful and creative. By postmodernism, possibilities are available to get the individuals to describe and interpret a mini-narrative on their perceptions and give insights into the small-scale situations located within particular contexts (Merriam, & Tisdell, 2015: 15).

Literature study

To understand and obtain solid background knowledge and an overall view of the development of Norra Grängesbergsgatan, I started to search for the documentation written about the area. I found prominent documents and investigations in reports, plan programs, or policies from the City of Malmö or collaborations between the City of Malmö with consultant firms or real estate organizations active in the area. In the search for historical background I have used, *Sofielunds industriområde Kulturhistoriskt underlag för planprogram* (Malmö stad, 2021). To capture the present I have analyzed, *Översiktsplan för Malmö, Planstrategi Antagen av kommunfullmäktige* (Overview plan for Malmö, Planning strategy Adopted by the City Council) (Malmö Stad, 2018), *Stadsdelsatlas Sofielund, Kartläggning av lokalt näringsliv, sociala nätverk och strukturella förutsättningar för långsiktigt hållbar stadsutveckling på Sofielund* (Sofelsund District Atlas, Mapping of local business, social networks and structural conditions for long-term sustainable urban development at Sofielund) (White Arkitekter & Fastighetsägare Sofielund, 2018). To understand the development of Sofielund and Ngbg i have analysed *Destinationsanalys Sofielund* (Destination analysis Sofielund) (Malmö Stad, Fastighetsägare Sofielund & ÅF, 2018), *Planprogram 6053, Sofielunds Verksamhetsområde År 2040, Samrådshandling Samråd under perioden 2 februari 2021 - 31 mars 2021, Malmö stad* (Plan program 6053, Sofielund's Business Area Year 2040, Consultation document Consultation during the period 2 February 2021 - 31 March 2021, City of Malmö) (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2021). To interpret the documents on regeneration and gentrification, I have searched after descriptions of development and visionary findings regarding Sofielund and Norra Grängesbergsgatan, where mapping of the areas indicates what is important to preserve, also what can develop further to generate integration cohesion or networking (Bryman 2016: 552).

Ethnographic methods

Urban life contains many complexities concerning lived life and daily practices. Ethnography is a method to create and understanding of the everyday life by unraveling social life, political influences, and enlightening social inequalities (Ward, 2020: 57). The methods aims to get in contact with personal impressions of the environment. To capture reflective aspects of experience about place and space (Kusenbach, 2003: 456; Mullings, 1999: 342). To conduct this study, I used the methods of observations, photography, descriptive field notes, and interviews. Taking photographs has been used as supplementary information to apprehend observations. As a complement to the observance, photography, and interviews, I kept fieldnotes to remember events, activities, or other details (Ward, 2020: 107). The descriptive field notes have been written as soon as possible after observations.

Limitation and ethics: At moments elements, or occurrences not initially intended have shaped the study. Partly is within the execution of the methods, which has limitations in being controlled. Another obstacle is the number of interviews, and the quality of the interviews has been affected, for instance, gain trust and openness are to be earned by the participants. If not, fractions of the insight from participant's perceptions can get lost (Kusenbach, 2003: 465).

Participants were informed about the topic of my study. The interviewees were asked to give their view of Norra Grängesbergsgatan and have proven the recording of recorded interviews. Some were not recorded to get a reliable answer and as a matter of ease. Informants that have been on record had the opportunity to read the material compiled. Informants are anonymized as far as possible. In this ethnographic study, I have been in contact with a spectrum of participants. Because of this, I haven't been able to allow everyone to give their consent since it could be highly disruptive to the content of the study context (Bryman 2016: 129).

Unstructured observations

The empirical material has been gathered partly by unstructured observations. While walking through the street, the observance of movement, activities, and practices was made at the area as everyday life happens (Ward 2020: 107). The aim has been to record as many details as possible to develop a narrative account. Observations have been made any day of the week between 10.00 am -5 pm, starting from the end of January until the end of April. Days of study have been random since movement and activities on the street tend to differ in time and not from day to day (meagerly difference between weekdays or weekends). Hence there is no need to make differences between the day of the week, the time of day is of greater importance (Bryman, 2016: 270).

Limitation: My observations do not reveal anything about how the dwellers or vendors perceive and interpret the environment. The observant reveals more about me and my standpoint as an observer (Kusenbach, 2003: 460).

Go-along

Go-along is a method of interview performed while moving within an area that the participant knows well. The go-along aims to capture a personal perspective of an area by a direct commitment and contact to the environments and situations that may arise. In this study, the

method is used to capture expressions from my two participants, as they express and contextualize their thoughts about the street. This contributes to reflecting on the direct information of the area they identify with. Consequently, of the go-along experience, unexpected things tend to happen. For instance, people are curious that want to tell something about their life (Kusenbach, 2003: 478). Furthermore, it places me as a researcher in the habitat of the informants and gives me access to their experiences. The go-along method also brings a greater phenomenological sensibility to ethnography by allowing researchers to focus on aspects of human experience that tend to remain hidden to observers and participants alike. The two participants have this kind of knowledge of the area. The first go-along was with *the Culture worker* 2012-02-22 during a one-hour walk. The second go-along was with *In-mover* 2021-03-08 during a 30-minute walk. The go-along was performed as they guided me and shared their social and physical experiences on everyday experiences. The stories gave access to different contexts, symbols and revealed individual perceptions (Bergeron et.al, 2014: 110).

Limitation: Since the idea of go-along ideally is performed in the informants' 'natural' everyday routines, I must consider that as the go-along is ongoing, it is not naturally occurring. Unlike the trips are by acquaintances as the interpretations and perceptions (ibid: 464). To conduct this type of interview, the person you walk with must feel comfortable and trust my intentions. Getting hold of people who want to go-along has been a challenge and the method is not ideal when approaching unknown people at Norra Grängesbergsgatan.

Making interviews

The method of semi-structured interviews offers flexibility concerning the interview questions and encourages to do follow-up questions if needed. The informants can answer openly, evaluate their rezoning, and the researcher can adapt the formulation of the question to the matter of conversation. In this study, semi-structured interviews are an alternative for go-along (Bryman 2016: 466). As in the go-along, the interviewee is partly in charge of how much information is said, and as a researcher, I can ask for further explanations (ibid: 468). One interview was performed via Zoom 2021-04-14, except the two go-along, nine of the interviewees have been chosen by convenience at Norra Grängesbergsgatan, partly since it is difficult to get in contact with persons having business at Ngbg, but this is also an opportunity to capture participants in their natural motion. In this case, the interview guide must be relatively short since the selected person who walks in the streets doesn't know about the coming request for an interview (ibid: 638). The purpose of the interviews is to capture different perceptions, personal stories, emotions, information, or other abstracts. Eight interviews were made in Swedish and translated into English. Interviews were transcribed and translated by the author. In total, 14 interviews were carried through and lasted 5- 20 min depending on the interest to share perceptions. The following questions have been posed, with some form of variation depending on the situation and participant:

What is your connection to Ngbg?

How do you feel about Ngbg?

What do you think this place is or represents?

What do you think is important here?

Where do you eat lunch?

Limitation: Most of my interviews were with randomly chosen people at Norra Grängesbergsgatan. Hence, none of these persons were on record due to being uncomfortable with recording. On the contrary, they tend to speak more freely when I take notes. Afterward, I have been dictating the interviews. It can bring some form of fragmentation to the answers. On occasions, it has been a struggle to get someone to talk with me or, I had to wait as they refer me to someone that can speak with me, sometimes because of language barriers. The possibility to make the informants share all parts of their lived experience is not possible (Bryman 2016: 462).

Presentation of participants

To understand the narratives shared in this study, below is a presentation of the participants. The participants are categorized as gentrifiers, land users or the visitors. They are significant in this study to understand the changes in the area, considering how the individuals do bring or do not bring changes with them.

The gentrifiers classifies as the in-mover they are. And are those who introduce the most visible change (this doesn't mean that the gentrifier has the motive to gentrify). The Gentrifiers tend to live at Möllan and are known as follows:

Culture worker is in his fifties and lives at Möllan. He is a member of an organization of cultural initiatives that have collaborations with the municipality. The organization have an great influence in some changes of the street.

In-mover is a man 35-40 years old, lives at Möllan, and has made his cultural contribution to the street with help from the municipality, and knows several in-movers at the site.

Gym member is a woman 35-40 years old, lives at Möllan, and a member of a sports club. She visits the street a few times a week to go to the gym and have other connections at the street.

The workshop owner is a man in his fifties and has created his workshop, inspired to recycle and want to change the narrative about environmental issues.

The visitors are people who have a connection to Ngbg that makes them go there on a basis to visit someone or run an errand. The visitors tend to live in Malmö's suburbs or other cities in Scania and are known as follow:

Visitor 1 is a man around 30 years old and likes to eat lunch at one of the Iraqi restaurants in the street. He knows the restaurant owner at his favorite restaurant and is a daily customer.

Visitor 2 is in his 30s, living in Helsingborg. He is here to visit a friend that works at Ngbg, and he likes to eat at Iraqi restaurants in Malmö.

Visitor 3 is a man around 30 years old, lives in Nydala and is an engineer. He is here to wash his car and visit his friend who owns the car wash on the street.

Visitor 4 is a man around 25-30 years old that works within MKB. He lives in Kristianstad and is in Malmö to visit his parents that live in Örtagård. He is at Ngbg to visit a friend that has a business there.

Land users define those who work somewhere on the street (can have a gentrifying effect or be a product of gentrification, but unlike the gentrifiers, they do not actively contribute to changes). The land users tend to live at Möllan or in Malmö's suburbs:

The Restaurant owner is an older man that runs a restaurant on the street. He has had different business in the street as well and at other locations in Malmö.

The Egyptian man is a man 40-45 years old proper looking and is a friend to one of the business owners in the street. He lives 15- 20 minutes away from the area by car.

The older man comes from Lebanon and is working for himself and looking for tiers to sell.

The Algerian man is a man in his 30s who says he is from Tunis or Algeria on different days as I meet him, at first, he said he lives in Rosengård and the next time in Nydala. He is working at one of the car washes.

Ph.D. student, is a woman in her 30s, living in Malmö, used to live nearby Ngbg before and used to go shopping for food at the street.

Student 1 is a man 25-30 years old, lives at Vita Höja, and is a student that works at a flea market that works with charity to children of war in Iraq.

Student 2 is a woman 25- 30 years old, lives at Vite Höja, and is a student that volunteers at a flea market that works with charity to children of war in Iraq.

Student 3 is in her 20s, live at Nobeltorget is a student intressted in city planning and having an internship at Guldängen³.

Student 4 is in her 30s, living at Möllan, is a former nurse that want to try something new and now working temporary at Guldängen.

Positionality

Within ethnography methods, it is crucial to be reflective, and for me to acknowledge my positionality as a researcher. Increased awareness means locating oneself in my writing and research (Kusenbach, 2003: 458; Bryman 2016: 35). As I am conducting this study, I am a part of the production and the reconstruction of everyday life (Pink, 2012: 31; Chimirri et.al 2015: 2). Ethnographic studies can provide incomplete and subjective representations depending on my positionality, individual social location, or life experience (Ward, 2020: 58). In qualitative research like this study, I am an instrument for data collection for that reason, there are variables connected to my background to illustrate political attitude, cultural backgrounds, such as gender, ethnicity, educational background, or socioeconomic status, which may affect the content of the study. As well, experiences and backgrounds contexts affect the participants.

³ Guldängen is a creative playground driven by founding to promote children's play (www.vaxtvarket.se/guldangen/).

Also, as part of the dominant culture, it has been crucial to achieving trust from people with other experiences. At moments, my research has involved some form of unequal power dynamics, as some individuals may not feel like they belong to the Swedish society (Several have in different ways expressed this clearly). Experience of poverty and racism can be uncomfortable, but the issue must be addressed openly and encountered squarely (Bourke, 2014: 2; Ward, 2020: 59). Even if it is in the nature of the study, I don't want to contribute to further marginalization (Bourke, 2014: 2). Coming from outside doesn't mean that I'm on a higher degree of objectivity and ability to observe without misinterpreting. Being both an insider (since I live nearby and spend some time myself in activities on the street) and an outsider (I'm not a daily user of the space) is an unstable limit, and it can be troublesome to position oneself in both times and space. It is difficult for any individual to be neither or and to strive for a dualistic mindset can be seen as a western phenomenon. Trying to be impartial in this sense is an attempt to create a space for the interviewee to speak freely (Mullings, 1999: 340). But I am aware that my knowledge is always partial, also because of my perspective mold by the color of my gender, class, nationality, or other attributes (*ibid*: 337). Talking about ethnography is to encourage and put more of ourselves in the study. Subjectivity significance and transparency are needed to show how my positionality shapes my representations and personal beliefs (Ward, 2020: 67). The character of the study and my positionality have been challenging according to the aim. I have not found full access to many of the understandings and perceptions, hence the portrayal of the processes is affected by this.

Treatment of material

Through the analysis, I have tried to identify essential characteristics and relationships to interpret the collected data. I have identified sentence units to form themes, summarized interviews and validated them. If necessary, changed words to more neutral coherence. Selected themes were required to summarize my findings (Groenewald, 2004: 47). Findings were coding by looking for when people refer to particular events or similar explanations or reasonings. Those texts were colored to be easy to sort and the same issue sorted in piles (Flowerdew, & Martin 2005: 223). The themes appeared in words frequently repeated in the interviews. Some recognized words are regards questions asked, and some are discussed in general by different informants. Those are of significance to the study concerning the concept of regeneration, gentrification, spatial practices, representation of space, and space of representation (Bryman 2016: 586). For reliability, unsaid structures have emphasized the informants and explain their connection to Norra Grängesbergsgatan (*ibid*: 226- 227).

Limitation: During my time conducting this study, I have realized that studies with phenomenology require substantial amount of time. Informants who performed go- along, are used to the attention, as they before appeared in interviews and essays. For the people I have met on the street, I would have needed to spend more time with them to carry out a go-along. With this insight, I would have to spend more time getting to know people on the street. It has meant that I have not received deeper information from the participants' thoughts reasoning in phenomenological accounts that could engage with social and political analyses, issues of social justice, or with historically situated social relations (Kinkaid, 2020: 171).

Culture and communities in an industrial street



Figure 5. shows the view to Ngbg from the area of Grafittihangaren (photo by author).

Spatial practices at Norra Grängesbergsgatan

Norra Grängesbergsgatan is a ten-minute walk from Möllan, along the Rosengård path. The initial view is a mid-1900s industrial building, next a wall appears with vast graffiti paintings (Grafittihangaren, see figure 5). A bit further at the corner of Annelundsvägen and Norra Grängesbergsgatan is a falafel shop, straight ahead lies the Rosengård station and behind the station is the district of Rosengård. At Norra Grängesbergsgatan facing south you can glimpse the district of Augustenborg. The street contains countless businesses, cultural activities, and religious foundations. I count at least 15 car repair shops, 11 car washes, five restaurants where two offer Iraqi food and the others are fast food with falafel, chebabshi or other food, three bakeries, three religious associations, and two hairdressers. Besides, there are furniture stores, electronics stores, food stores, offices, different retails, and not least the two big industries of Pågens and Stadex AB.



Figure 6. Brick building that contains car repair shops and car washes (photo by author).

At noon the street is busy, and it is hard to keep track of everything that happens everywhere. Most prominent is the heavy traffic, cars driving, and cars parking along the pavements. The car washes lie next to each other, people are working inside while others hang around outside, sitting on chairs while waiting on their car to be cleaned. Between buildings are traces of activities from the different car-related businesses, warehouses, abandoned backyards, or industries. The grocery store, restaurants, hairdressers, and bakeries between car washes and car repair shops are busy. The mixture of businesses, vendors, and activities makes the street alive. Drumming sounds come from buildings where music is playing, occasionally the smell of freshly baked bread fills the air. On the pavement outside the blue building withholding a cinema, some men are sitting in the sun. Traveling by bike on Norra Grängesbergsgatan can be tricky. Obstacles tend to occur at the bike cycle lane “You have to be careful when cycling here”. Often people walking in the way, also cars backing out from car washes can be an obstacle as they must cross the bike lane. Some cyclists are used to the street and the flow of people, but cycling through the area rings the bell before they pass by the car washes. Others whiz past as if there is no obstacle at all along the line. At Norra Grängesbergsgatan, there are plenty of activities going on at the same time. The participants refer to the street as something always happens there, and it is always a flow of people. Some refer to the place as an ordinary street, just like any street in Malmö with regular people and some refers the street as a place that represents freedom because “a lot of value systems are different”. Some elements make the street stand out, and the different cultural backgrounds leave a mark of a global area.

Practices, food and culture

The street is multicultural and offers various impressions and daily practices. Norra Grängesbergsgatan has for a long time been a site for immigrants and has contained several associations, mosques, and workplaces. In the street, there is an Arabic culture and to many an important place. As the place represents a piece of a home where you can eat “authentic food”, go to the mosque, in an overall central location in the middle of Malmö. Some have friends that have artsy studios. Some are visiting their friends, others go shopping or go to work, eat food, leave their car to be repaired or watched, or going to the gym. People tend to know each other or of activities, businesses, organizations, or cultural actors. Profound insight comes from *Ph.D. student* impression of Norra Grängesbergsgatan that highlights the areas of significance to immigrants:

“It’s where they have established their shops, their prayer places, their communities are there, it’s a part of their everyday life and it is somehow connecting them to their homeplaces, home countries or background countries where they come from, they are able to connect their background to their current living country. For their current community this is very important. To be able to make those connections and to be able to make home in the other countries”.

The comment captures the street and the communities that are here. The communities, businesses, and activities contribute to the character of the area. *Student 1* enlightens, “In the morning when you go to work people sit and drink tea outside the car washes”. The street contains a developed social life as two of my informants say that many people know each other on the street, and you treat people with respect. Like any community, the businesses in the

neighborhood have customers that live in the area or activity that goes to Norra Grängesbergsgatan for various reasons. Liveliness in the street shows in actions *Student 2* says, “I go to the mosque sometimes and there is a lot of noise all the time. When I’m in the mosque there is sound from the room below and there is sound from the room above”.

Many informants reveal their feelings about food when I ask about it. The relation to food is a part of life, and food says something about the culture of Norra Grängesbergsgatan. *Visitor 1* often eats lunch at one of the Iraqi restaurants in the street because “it is authentic Iraqi food” (he invites my lunch with him). Later, when I told *the Egyptian man* that *Visitor 1*, invited me to lunch, he told me it is custom, “The cultures are different, it’s about respect for others”. People are friendly, and people like to talk with one another. *Visitor 2* eats at Arabic restaurants when he is in Malmö because of the good Iraqi restaurants. Furthermore, he says, “Swedish people only eat falafel”, *the Egyptian man* makes the same remark. The students are more flexible than the gentrifiers with their selection for food and tend to buy from different places, for instance, pastries from the bakery or shopping from Orient food, and may have tried other restaurants. Two of the students have other reasons not to eat falafel, “we try to be healthy, and here there is only kebab, falafel, and chicken”. The gentrifiers do eat falafel on occasions:

“I’ll use falafel Baghdad, if I’m having chips, but if I’m having something with bread I probably going to the Bosnian kitchen and have the chebavshi”. If its fika, this is what we don’t have, we need someone selling coffee latte here, so that the hipsters get much more comfortable” (*Culture worker*).

In mover says that he lived on falafel when he built his place in the street:

“I was eating Baghdad falafel, I have eaten falafel a million times, I haven’t eaten a falafel I think in a year now actually. First it was great you know, that dies. When I was building this place, I was really dependent on Falafel. I think there are a couple of other new places that I would try out but, there all, there’s no hamburger you know, I don’t think there is pizza on this street and vegetarian options are limited” (*In-mover*).

The liveliness in the street tells about how individuals relate to this space. Intuitive events enable the individual to participate in the events. It includes everyday routines and social conversations that are abstract. These insights are of importance as it is a practice that can attract new investors.

Spaces of representation; the conception about Ngbg

Many of the respondents know people on the street and have been around for a long time, and can remember former constellations at Norra Grängesbergsgatan. The *Restaurant owner* says, 20 years ago, there were only three car repair shops located here and one car dealership before there were many associations in the street, Palestinian, Iraqi, Turkish, Bosnian, and Albanian. Because of this, the street is known as “Föreningsgatan” (“association street”) and not as Norra Grängesbergsgatan. Some associations such as the Lebanese Cultural Association and the Al-Hoda mosque remain. Some shops and vendors have existed in the area for a long time, but

many have disappeared. Among the businesses that have been, and those who are active have created an atmosphere and a driving force that will keep developing in different directions.

Many of the participants have shared how they perceive the street and what it represents. *In-mover* likes Norra Grängesbergsgatan because it doesn't feel like Sweden that much, "it is what we who come here have made of it" and "because a lot of us are immigrants here when you come to a different country, you still have your home with you". He explains, "the street feels a little like wild west American, and like people drive crazy. It just felt very different from the rest of Sweden or Malmö or whatever". One of the gentrifiers sees the street as likable, but there are pros and cons. The *Gym member* mentioned the contrast to other districts "It's nice that it's something that is unstructured and rough. I understand that it is not fun to work illegally in car washing, it is of course a disadvantage. It feels so uncontrollable". Regarding the atmosphere, the *Culture worker* says, "you follow the rules but when you do this kind of work you are always on the edge. People with foreign backgrounds don't always know about the law and that could be a reason why things happen as it does".

Stigmatization

The municipality does not own land, but the city is a strong actor with connections in different spheres in the private sector and authorities. The Swedish tax authority usually walks around the street and fines businesses since many businesses do not pay taxes. Officials act once every year through coordinated raids at Norra Grängesbergsgatan, as a measure to keep criminality away. On the 24th of March, Ngbg was more peaceful than usual, and some businesses were closed. Later I was informed that I probably should not go and talk to people today. The day earlier, there was a raid at the street, where police forces and other authorities swooped against businesses. The police raids do not go unnoticed, and there are opinions about the act. *Visitor 3* explains that two or three days afterward, everything is back to normal again since those who are criminals are more careful, "Those who are criminals know better than to hide money, drugs, or weapons here". To the contrarily, this isn't a solution to stop businesses not paying taxes. They will continue not to pay tax because of the system, "It's too expensive to follow the rules". Those who work here do not earn much money and many of the customers demand low prices, and the businesses must be competitive. Otherwise, people would need to turn to social welfare, and they do not want to do that. "Politicians must listen, they don't listen to us; it is people like you who have to raise the issue." (He refers to that I look like a Swedish person). The *Egyptian man* says that the people that work in the car washes are careful about their customers, and if they like the purchaser, they give a lower price because they know then that the customer will come back for service. Hopefully, the customer will tell his friend about the place. If the customer is from Sweden, they will probably get a better service because they want to be friendly, and because of the difference in culture between Swedish and Arabic people, "they want to show that they are good". Some informants mention that workers at the car washes are afraid of the authorities, and that's why they won't talk to me. They are scared because most people work illegally, "the ones that own the garages are not poor immigrants, poor immigrants work there". Another informant says, "If you ask, most people do not want to answer anything. But sometimes it's because they don't care since they have only been here for a while". As

the *Algerian man*, he works in one of the car washes and says that he doesn't know anyone here, and he is in Sweden to work.

There are rumors of the street being dangerous, considerations of safety are a topic among the informants. One of the participants says that criminals always existed in different ways in the area, before it was because of Bo Billgren, the old MC gang member, "So, it's not a race issue". During the past years, criminal activity has decreased, now it is more about businesses that avoid pay taxes. Serious incidents still happen, *the Culture worker* elucidates (pointing at a carwash) when the water from this car wash went into the basement of another man. He came around complaining, and the situation escalated "He stabbed him three times, he is okay, but the guy who stabbed him is in jail". One of the students says that she has a friend who thinks that Norra Grängesbergsgatan is dangerous. Some of the gentrifiers are not concerned about the reputation, as *In-mover* had he says, "I have seen the police raid a couple of places sometimes, and I have seen one violent attack but, the rest of the time, no matter what hours a day I don't see anything strange". The topic of wrongdoing is sensitive. One of the informants says that he can answer my questions, but he avoids talking about anything that could be considered sensitive and doesn't want to be on record since he doesn't want his voice to be recognized. Another of the informants was hesitant about my intentions when I asked how he sees the street "What do you mean? Do you mean quarrels and such or anything else?".

As I preform the go-along with the *Culture worker*, an *Older man* in worn clothes approaches us. I tell him that this is a study for a thesis, and he responds, "The problem is that there are not that many Swedish people here, because we are not behaving. The Swedish people that come here walk by without really looking because they don't want to". The Culture worker answers, "there are plenty of Swedish people working at Pågens". *The older man* said, "Yes but they only go to work." I ask *the older man* if he works in the car shop; He is not he's collecting tires that he sends to his poor relatives in Lebanon. He says it is difficult to smuggle tires. Although, the authorities have their limitations. Even if there is stigmatization and still the street has a reputation, there are insights that gives a nuanced view as a *Ph.D. student* explains about Norra Grängesbergsgatan, about a complex side in the city of Malmö:

"It has been in the news for a long time and usually when something negative happens it's in the news. It is also a stigmatized area, and crime series like the Bridge (Bron, a series on television) represents Malmö as a stigmatized city, as a crime city, or as it has a high amount of crime, then Ngbg is also a part of it. Despite all of those negative images, I think it's a place where...it's a livelihood place and, it's a part of everyday life of certain people (...) I think it is a very important place".

Signs of changes

Signs of that creativity is established (including the networks) are obvious where gentrifiers have created shops, photo studios, rock clubs, networks, and much more. During this study, the gentrifiers have shared their visions about the street and their thought about development. One of the most visible changes is probably the NGBG festival. The street festival occurs once a year. Beyond there is the rock club, breweries, art, and music studios, which fabricates character

to the street. Informants have expressed that Norra grångesbergsgatan is a place where you can do what you want, be creative, and not have to be quiet. “Ngbg is a place where you can experiment a little. Things happen right away, it is a drive-on attitude”. Outside Annelundsgården next to the Rosengård station, some containers are stored, with the letters NGBG in graffiti. With money from *Kultur och fritid* (Culture department), the *Culture worker* wants to invest in some ideas he has for the festival. The festival here started with 4500 thousand people. In 2019 there were 14 500 people, “we changed the narrative a little”. Other contributions come from the municipality, as the event of the Malmö festival was canceled in 2020, decorations became props in Norra Grångesbergsgatan. The character and physical development of the street change seemingly in favor of the gentrifier's ideas. According to the changes described by the city of Malmö, it can be argued that spaces are to be reshaped.

The cheap rents can be presented as a part of the street attraction and a reason why it attracts investment and gentrifiers. Gentrifiers tend to look for space on the street just because it is cheap and central since the area is close to Möllan, Augustenborg, Rosengård, Persborg, and Sofielund. *Gym member* at the sports club says that they have actively been looking to find premises on Ngbг. The club used to borrow places in the street, as they had access to premises through contacts, among others Kontrapunkt before they closed. *In-mover* relates to the low rents as a motivation “It’s just what we can do, we don’t have the kind of money to build something at Södra förstadsgatan, it’s a larger risk”. He had mentioned to a city planner (that are active in changes at Ngbг) that he had been looking at locations to open the cinema. The city planner found a place that he thought would be perfect for the purpose. Signs of networks are visible in this way among officials and users, businesses and users, and between users in the street. As I was shown, during one of my go-along, the entrance to the old Plan B, where a friend to the *in-mover* has a photo studio and some other studios, he has friends who have studios in different buildings and know the people owning some of the breweries.

Those who are active in creating an atmosphere are a driving force that keeps developing the street. Regarding the involvement and properties owned by the industries, two of the respondents *In-mover* and *Culture worker* both active in the neighborhood, foster culture in various forms have some insight into the industry’s approaches. *In-mover* says Stadex AB has a nice owner, “without them it wouldn’t be this way” he refers to the financial aspect. Regarding Pågens, he explains the number of properties they own in the area, along Kopparbergsgatan down to Lantmannagatan. He believes they buy property to protect their industry. Because of the noise, and to run their facility 24 hours a day. But also to keep MKB and residents away. Considering Pågens *Culture worker* says that Pågens buys a lot of property in the area, he doubts it’s for a good cause and perhaps a reason is to shut out MKB. His experience is that Pågens is not interested in participating or influencing the street.

Remaking the image and the remaking of Ngbг

Development plans and changes in the area raise concern among the gentrifiers, and everyone does not welcome change. The gentrifiers tend to have their ideas on the development at the street and how to do it yourself attitudes and creativity make the image of the area. The *Culture worker* believes that it ought to for meetings, crafts, and offices. Recently the request of the

“kulturljudzon” (cultural sound zone) (referring to the dubbing sides of the sounds from factories and the sounds from music). Furthermore, “the people that are active in the area are people who just want to have a street festival originally”. He has some other ideas of change for the car washes and car repairs that could start renovating electric bicycles instead “Why do we need this much car parking?”. In opposition to the street festival *Student*, 3 says, “I thought that NGBG would be a little more neutral, but it will be a stunt with the festival”. The *Workshop owner* runs a workshop with the idea of a place where anyone can come to paint, screw, drill, or play music. In the workshop, there is no wifi “It’s all about going to the root and working with your hands and redoing and recycling, don’t throw stuff away”. There are some resistances to change towards actors in the neighborhood, such as MKB, “We just trying to funkifying a bit, you know, make it something special and try to mess with the MKBs philosophy and things against the ecocity philosophy” The gentrifiers often know who the real estate owners are and what they bring to the neighborhood or which opportunities there are at chance. *In-mover* has some ideas, “The yellow building is also owned by Extera and it is becoming available, and I might do something else in there, it’s pretty exciting inside”. But he is unhappy with some of the current changes. He points at a building with big windows at the section for Kopparbergsgatan and Ngbg, “That building, now it’s going to be a warehouse for orient food. It could be a really nice building for other uses than a warehouse. Orient food is really boring. Especially on such a big building right on the corner here”. *In-mover* continues on his narrative about Ngbg:

“So, this is, this is kind of where Norra Grängesbergsgatan at Södra Grängesbergsgatan kind of, officially where it ends (...) The street festival ends here, so this area that we just walked is kind of really considered Norra Gränges (...) So, beyond there you start to see some residential (points at Amiralsgatan). And then it becomes a place where I don’t feel it is a part of the Ngbg”.

These beliefs connect to the understanding about what Norra Grängesbergsgatan is and where the real “Norra Gränges” should be, *In-mover* explains that people have a reason to come to ngbg, not just because it's in their neighborhood:

“So that represents a little bit of the business model challenge to create a destination place which, in some way it is a really good thing because it inspires you to make something that’s is a little bit extraordinary in some way, which is kind of the natural for us who are building something out here and like it is just to do something a little bit different and it is just why we are out here in a way”.

Regarding changes, there are ideas to preserve what now is as *Student 4* tells about a friend who lives in Berlin, in a neighborhood, where they did not want to become gentrified, had a pollution campaign. *Visitor 4* thinks that they should demolish all buildings “that the old brick buildings should be demolished (...) this should be a residential district because the location is very central”. He resonates that building apartments in the area can make the street more attractive, the car repair shops can charge more because then they can become more competitive, and thus the workforce will be able to benefit.

Representation of space and cultural clashes

Events a dealbreaker and a tool to communicate

Rapid changes in the street have led to clashes and misunderstandings due to cultural differences. Change can be hard to adapt to, and current changes created clashes between the communities. As events are arranged misunderstandings happen even if efforts to be understanding of other cultures, ignorance can lead to tensions as *the Culture worker* tell me about an event in 2019, they had a reggae stage, and it was at the time in the Muslim holiday in remembrance of the death of Hussain Ibn Ali at the battle in Karbala 680 as people are grieving. *The Culture worker* didn't know that for two weeks before the upcoming event, mourners were not supposed to see colorful things or music. There was some protest about the music, and the reggae people did not react well. Afterward, the *Culture worker* had a conversation with the Imam, and they came to an understanding. A similar clash happened when *In-mover* was working with an opening for a new rock club. On the first day, they had invited some Arabian people, and they came and sat around and hung out "but there wasn't their kind of music they felt like, or they didn't feel a 100 % welcome, they don't drink alcohol, and it's kind of creates a boundary". *The Egyptian man* says music is an obstacle, and Arabic people also try to be inclusive, but we seem not to understand each other. Other signs of changes from another point of view are when younger people with a foreign background is available to integrate their work with the Swedish community, *Student 2* says, "Before the market, hadn't been in touch much with Swedish people but now there are people here that can work to integrate the charity towards the Swedish community". But there is still a gap in understanding to each other and other cultures, as when I was telling one of the students about my invitation to lunch... You were?!. Yes, that's how you do. You invite people to get to know them "Wow, it would never happen that I invite a stranger" or "Have you been and talked to them. I never think I have spoken to anyone.

The city of Malmö visions of future development in Norra Grängesbergsgatan

In general planning strategies in Malmö, the document *Översiktsplan för Malmö* (2018) (Malmö city's general plan) states that; rich culture can help to achieve values of trust and social capital as a basis in building a sustainable society. The cultural establishments in the city consist of larger institutions and smaller organizations. Among those, the smaller organizations have difficulties finding affordable places to operate. It seems like a concern to the city as the value of culture is crucial. And is considered as something that the city planners can strengthen. Malmö city can gain social capital and a sustainable society even if the socioeconomic ability is inadequate. Culture strengthening individuals and society (Malmö stad, 2018: 46). The municipality has a great interest in the area and Norra Grängesbergsgatan. With different investigations, they have tried to apprehension the site. They recognize that cultural life is established, by both young and adult cultural actors. The city hall declares that the vast range of premises has broadened creative functions within culture and study associations and that the cultural life of importance for the residents of Rosengård (Stadsbyggnadskontoret, 2021: 34). Many of the activities at Norra Grängesbergsgatan depend on the unique preconditions, including the central location, closeness to infrastructure, proximity to other activities, and often

low rents. There is an aspect of tolerance in the area that contributes to creating a more inclusive society. The high density and diversity contribute to opportunities in being included in networks and creating new ones. Sofielund has a unique urban environment, with its mixed large and small players and property owners with formal or informal power (White Arkitekter & Fastighetsägare Sofielund 2018: 66).

In the prominent document from Stadsbygnadskontoret, *Planprogram 6053, Sofielunds Verksamhetsområde År 2040* (2021). In the visions of Sofielund the city will prioritize the creation of places to encourage activities and for people to meet in a more creative environment of culture and business, “culture and association life continue to be gathered in a cluster that strengthens not only the individual actors but also the whole of Sofielund as the social incubator that best meets Malmö's challenges. The urban trends control the content”. The vision implies that culture and businesses should collaborate and aim for symbiotic relations between young creators, entrepreneurs, and industries, encouraging activities to occur at all hours of the day. The area shall inspire and unite society within and outside the city. Developing networks within the community is prioritized. Since according to Stadsbygnadskontoret it has led to an unexpected development to a unique environment. Specific in Norra Grängesbergsgatan, festivals and other happenings will be yearly elements, and the area will become more pleasant to visit (Stadsbygnadskontoret, 2021: 4, 10). Further, they declare “It is of great interest to let industrial buildings be used to strengthen the character of the area. At the same time, there is room for actors to change and put their mark on the environment”. The city imagens that participant culture will create cohesion and secure a vibrant district. This will create opportunities for actors to be involved in changes in the area (ibid: 18). The city of Malmö claims that more than the culture is of importance. Also, the cultural environment with the heritage from historic industrial buildings brings identity. Sofielunds industrial area reflects Malmö's former development as an industrial city through the 1900 century. The historical past contributes to connecting the place, and everyday life as an attraction and a resource to Malmö (Malmö stad, 2021: 6).

Contradictory to what said about “there is room for actors to change and put their mark on the environment” in the *Översiktsplan för Malmö* (2018) and *Planprogram 6053, Sofielunds Verksamhetsområde År 2040* (2021). The document *Destinationsanalys Sofielund* (2018) presume those future initiatives to develop the area into an attractive district will happen. The investigation acknowledges that the different activities, works, organizations consisting in Norra Grängesbergsgatan have the potential for development. Taking advantage of this seems to be implied by the city of Malmö. To understand how to use the area. Work with the mapping is needed to know how to meet current challenges (Malmö Stad, Fastighetsägare Sofielund & ÅF 2018: 26). As stated, “The City of Malmö's role in the area in the future is important. The development of the area will require investments in structural efforts, in the public environments in the area and in creating content” (ibid: 34). Further, the formation of Fastighetsägare Sofielund is created with the mission to work together with the city of Malmö in further development of the area, as Norra Grängesbergsgatan gets more attention and gets more attractive. The collaboration with local corporations to support associations and financing parts of initiatives in the area (ibid: 33). In the document *Stadsdelsatlas Sofielund*, by White

Arkitekter & Fastighetsägare Sofielund (2018), the setting of collaborations is highlighted because of their advantage. The collaborators are also investors who have made financial investments, and they also have the power to influence the authorities, of which they have contacts. The consequence is a change in the conditions for the existing businesses (White Arkitekter & Fastighetsägare Sofielund, 2018: 10). In *Stadsdelsatlas Sofielund* (2018), finer workshops with a history connected to the place that has a somewhat cultural value are the emphasis in the report. Not acknowledged are the workshops, restaurants or other cultural association that makes a livelihood for immigrants. Although the business owners in the street work independently, now they face similar challenges to remain (*ibid.* 52). It seems that the ordinary businesses and works in the area have not been the focal point to meet the goals or visions of the city. In the vision documents, there is no recognition that this could harm the people established. Briefly, they mention the importance of the site's cultural activities of significance to residents at Rosengård. But there is no further reasoning of what consequences of these representations or what future development could imply for those that the area is of significance for daily practices.

Analysis and discussion

“All such systems have in common a general law of functionalism. The everyday can therefore be defined as a set of functions which connect and join together systems that might appear to be distinct” (Lefebvre, 1987: 9).

Spatial practices significance to spaces of representations

The spatial practices show in many features at Norra Grängesbergsgatan, maybe the most prominent features are the sometimes-heavy traffic and car washes combined with high fluctuation of people. It is a multi-cultural street, with many reasons to go there for many people because there are places to go. For example, go to concerts, see a movie, go to festivals, get a haircut, go to work, do sports, go shopping, wash your car, eat food or pastries, visit religious communities, churches, ethnic associations, or a friend. These are ongoing practices; the street provides livelihood and culture. People in the street know each other or are acquaintances and are here because of the livelihood that they have created for themselves. There are different networks between the land users, workers, vendors, businesses, or gentrifiers. This clarifies as Ceri Watkins expresses the characteristics expressed in different ways, and each social formation is a form of cohesion required for daily functions and events of society. It is crucial in every social meeting, which informs and is necessary for cohesion and social interaction (Watkins, 2005: 213). In many features, the culture shows in details of daily practices and has a meaning connected, as Zukin describes to those who share a language or ethnic background creates a feeling of home (Zukin, 2009: 172). Food for instance is a practice that has a significant meaning in each person's everyday life, and food can be something that people have in common, and food has a cultural meaning that connects people (Almerico, 2014: 6).

The spatial practices include daily work performed, as well the movement within the space (Pierce, & Martin, 2015: 1292). To explain this, the construction of space connects to what space represents (space of representations) (Watkins, 2005: 210). It implies that people create their living space by interests driven by various social groups (Molotch, 1993: 887). And at Norra Grängesbergsgatan all of this creates an atmosphere, a space that seems untied to commercialism and the high culture venues that exist in other parts of the city. In this matter, the site is appealing and probably gives satisfaction to young artists in the street to perform their creativity (Zukin, 2008: 729). And young creatives are here, performing activities of music, arts, photography, or other creative acts, and the enticing atmosphere, which by itself is a source of attention. The cheap rents were one of the criteria to apply to the area for gentrifiers, but isn't that why everyone is there, to begin with? Someone found the place first and unconsciously made it attractive. No matter what, people in the street have created various sets of communities of belonging, and in some ways, that represents a sense of home. Necessary people from different cultures cannot meet on the same terms, but there is a culture of acceptance that differs from the other districts in Malmö. But in what way? Gina Almerico defines culture as "the attitudes, values or beliefs practiced or accepted by members of a community or group" (Almerico, 2014: 6). Consequently, in the various parts of everyday life, the individual takes on many roles while communicating with others, navigating through different spheres of power while interacting through similarities and differences (Burkitt, 2004: 226). In society, imagination and emotions are not visible in everyday life and knowledge of representations of space does not necessarily mean material change in spatial practice (Leary, 2009: 195).

Networks between actors and how spaces are used, can be explained from the spatial practice that includes the daily work performed (Pierce, & Martin, 2015: 1292). Practices are weaved into the spaces of representation, according to the space lived by inhabitants and users. The associated symbols are imbued with cultural meaning combined with the emotional, artistic interpretations of city space by poets, writers, painters, and others who create artistic representations of urban space (Leary-Owhin, 2015: 69). Spatial practices are the day-to-day actions where the practice is "secretes" in society. Through the mundane movement and use, space is recognized in a moment-to-moment sense but not necessarily conceptually coherent (Pierce, & Martin, 2015: 1282). In this way space of representation overlay and value places in ways that challenge the dominant representations of space. Hence the spatial practices affect the representation of space and are a concern of the urban redevelopment. Owing the production restrained to neoliberal values and the city (Leary-Owhin, 2015: 69; Leary, 2009: 195).

The lack of consideration of cultural differences in future development

The documents from Malmö city reveal that there are plans for Norra Grängesbergsgatan. The intention seems to create a cultural hub, an attraction, a destination, and a place to go to but not defined for whom (other than people from the outside). The vision is a center of culture mixed with works and industries. The idea is to use the already existing unique environment, benefit from the industrial heritage, and other features of significance. But there is not much said about the people behind the culture and the works. In *Stadsdelsatlas Sofielund* (2018) some of the finer workshops with a niche seem to be considered to have a cultural value. But other works,

shops, restaurants, or cultural elements or livelihoods are not mentioned. The mindset of the city of Malmö seems to still focus on neoliberal values where the profit of land use in a capitalistic perspective is a motive to promote culture (of artists or craftsmanship) to be attractive and for cultural attention. Is the city aware of the possible consequence of the mindset? The appealing environment attracts young artists, as Sharon Zukin expresses the young entrepreneurs or hipster entrepreneurs are a force that makes the initial work for a vibrant cultural economy (Zukin, 2009: 46). Or as Alasdair Rogers puts it, the ideology of multiculturalism by the city is linked to the exchange of, among other things, experiences, music, food on the global plane. A part of it is the planners and those who decide, and part consists of what is in the hidden. The value of space in the city has increased and become a value in money. Hence, public spaces are based on the human role as a consumer rather than a citizen. Which consequently leads the city to open for gentrification (Rogers, 1999: 208, 210). Expressed in another way, Eric Clark says that the commercialization of spaces is a root cause of gentrification where “best” use of land replaces current use (Clark, 2004: 264- 265). Notably, in documents from the city of Malmö and general in policy language, the word gentrification is not used. Words such as urban renewal, regeneration, redevelopment, or urban sustainability, are unfortunately frequently used. However, words are used such as “attractive” and a “creative city”. Clark says that this indirect means rejection of opposition or criticism. In those strategies of development, social costs are unavoidable (Clark, 2010: 26).

In the matter of social aspects, the vision from Stadsbyggnadskontoret seems to encourage social mixing, with no recognition of current circumstances and how the issue in the area already manages these matters. According to Loretta Lees, the social mix can be reduced by gentrification and be harmful aspects of socializing (Lees, 2008: 2458). Local groups tend to be polarized since the gentrifiers tend to draw toward people with similar cultural and political values (Lees, 2008: 2458). She argues that it is not realistic to expect people with different social backgrounds to mix socially or even integrate. As shown in Norra Grängesbergsgatan misunderstandings or ignorance happens when several communities don't know how to connect or communicate. This might mean that diversity should not be compelled upon, or in this case, planned. Furthermore, the yearly police raids contribute to stigmatization, according to Zukin it is a tool of power and control, with changes made to keep criminality away, or at least that is what the authorities say. Following this, vendors try to meet the needs of the city, at the same time they don't get the right to the land (Zukin, 2009: 190- 191). Undoubtedly it is of importance to carefully understand the area before decisions are made (*ibid*: 2460). It seems like the city of Malmö isn't willing to allow a few of the current land users to take part in and develop their environment themselves. Furthermore, there are no mentions of the risk of loss in jobs but rather the increased job opportunities, but for whom? And will this mindset not lead to tensions? As Clark puts it, when gentrification occurs, tensions tend to be higher in areas categorized by a high degree of social polarization and low recognition of the rights of the users of place (Clark, 2010: 27). Referring to the economic role of Malmö, this could be a part of the creation of space, with desires of the city. Hence competitiveness and productivity play a part in the development (Pierce, & Martin, 2015: 1292). Rather the matter of Norra Grängesbergsgatan relates to how the built environment, or details in relationships within this area can be bought

and sold, as the space is a vibrant part of the city's economy (Molotch, 1993: 888). Consequently, I would say as Pirece and Martin describes, the vision and planning seem ordered, reinforcing with the attention to reproduce existing economic and social relations (Pierce, & Martin, 2015: 1282).

Contestation between space of representations and spatial practices

Change has continuously happened over the years in Norra Grängesbergsgatan. However, now the municipality is another actor that actively affects the changes, and different processes of gentrification are happening at once. Gentrification is in process, notwithstanding the various prominent documents, the consequences from the vision by the city seems not well thought out. At the same time, creative clusters tend to prefer to establish themselves in parts of cities such as industrial districts, central business districts, or cultural complexes. Amin & Graham argues that the balance between economic competitiveness and social cohesion can lead to urban creativity, urban propensity to innovate where complex interactions can be crucial (Amin & Graham, 1997: 419). The gentrifiers in the area did recognize the drive to create something unique and attractive to visit. And it can be seen in the street that changes incident to hipster culture are happening. Doing it yourself is a part of the urban renewal trend of pop culture. Zukin talks about cool and cultural places with an attractive image. In a way, a cultural consumption produced by the hipster culture, that includes a do-it-yourself performance by musicians and artists that creates a new kind of authenticity (Zukin, 2009: 37). In this matter, the middle-class dismantle the area "latte by latte", and there will be entrepreneurs that recognize this and meet the new needs (ibid: 18- 19). Although, it seems like the gentrifiers themselves do not like changes that they are not in control of. As Zukin describes that gentrifies tend to argue against such changes (ibid: 169). Looking into the municipal plans, it can be assumed that more changes will come at Norra Grängesbergsgatan in favor of the gentrifier's wishes for a caffe latte, hamburger, or less space for parking. Additionally, the street lacks green spaces that could provide outdoor meeting places, as the Malmö documents suggest, greenspaces can increase social networking and creativity.

The area at and around Norra Grängesbergsgatan seems overturned by power struggles concerning occurring changes in the site. The development of the area is above all governed by the city through official documents and policies as in any district in the city. Concerning the representations of space, the development is restrained to the order which the relations impose. But there is pressure from actors in the area that cannot be diminished. As Leary suggests, the perceived space seems to be created by planners, social engineers and urbanists. In this case the representations of space have a substantial role. The representations have through the spatial practices influence in the production of space (Leary, 2009: 195). However, the state tries to conceal its involvement in reorganizing social space. Consequently, the spaces can become homogenize social spaces. The constellation of property owners and the collaboration with the city of Malmö indicates that the state bureaucracy has a far-reaching influence over the landscape with a capitalist strategy. And it could be seen as an attempt from the municipality to try to transform cultivated spaces to become the most effective to monitor a strategic intervention (Brenner, & Elden, 2009: 372) and an opportunity to articulate conceived spaces

to become a matter for planning by planners (Pierce, & Martin, 2015: 1282). As the current process could be defined by, *First* the gentrifiers are consciously establishing themselves in the street, searching for locations in favor of the cheap rents, and partly because the lack of neighbors to take into account. Notable, events that suit the gentrifiers' take place to a greater extent, such as the street festival and other visible attributes in the street. *Second*, the state-led gentrification at this point happening through the gentrifiers. With help from the city (through city planners or other instances) with funding to perform different cultural activities or finding suitable places with cheap rents. The municipality contributes, seemingly for cultural reasons, to provide measures to make the cultural activities happen. But the cultural activities open for more attention and can increase demands in the street. *Third*, the private sector is looking for real estate and some of these actors are members of the Fastighetsägaran Sofielund, which has a close connection to the municipality. Recently visible changes in the matter of investment of property have resulted in new buildings containing stores and restaurants.

A final thought

The understandings from the discussion relate to how we create and perceive the spaces in which we live our lives. These spaces are in this manner shaped by experts, classes, grassroots, and other competing interests, in this way, space does not follow any laws. In Norra Grängesbergsgatan space is produced and reproduced by any activities or unintentional activities (Molotch, 1993: 887), and there is characteristic in each social formation (Watkins, 2005: 210) and the everyday life is affected in all aspects, especially with capitalist-controlled consumption. Where it is about being enchanted rather than oppressed, and then the power becomes less evident. But apart from this, some create alternative lifestyles beyond space and time within the state of consumption. Within these lifestyles of movements oppose capitalism and other aspects of the bureaucratic state. Which can lead to a manifestation of power (Burkitt, 2004: 224). This is an illustration of the multidimensional complex everyday life where each formation combines time and space in a unique way, which overlap each other and create a series of effects. In this the past and the present are created, which can sometimes be hidden and control our everyday moments (Burkitt, 2004: 222).

Conclusion

The study aimed to understand the daily life at Norra Grängesbergsgatan and the practices that matter for those who have their everyday life here. Views from the people about how the daily life and the changes occurring in the area contrast with the changes and influences from what the city wants. To some extent, the study may lack much information that would have contributed to a deeper understanding of the communities that have their daily practices at Norra Grängesbergsgatan. However, the experiences and ideas expressed from the communities in the area are relevant when capturing the contemporary narrative of the street. Specially to understand what impact that the plans from the city can have. By using the spatial triad, structures and agendas affect the area, and hidden actualities and influences have become visible.

Many things about Norra Grängesbergsgatan are exciting, the works, the culture, the location, the industries, the changes, and the people. As those who created the environment, that by chance are appealing to others outside the existing communities, in the case of Ngbg, the process now has accelerated as the municipality has understood the qualities that the place offers. Not only in the aspects the culture but also concerning location and opportunities to create something different. It's easy to understand the urge from the city to develop the area. By this, there is a risk that tension can arise. So far tensions have been solved among those who are directly involved, and understandings have been made. At the same time, different forces contribute to changes in various modes. As a general process of gentrification currently goes on, following this a process driven by the city of Malmö. But is it necessary, or is it a good idea to take too much control? Even if the city believes in doing good, there are signs of ignorance and risk of harming the communities and the general development. Even if the visions for the area prevail for years to come, rapid changes transpire with ideas from the city of Malmö. Investigations show that only a few activities, businesses, or vendors are desirable to retain. Above all, the communities that exist in the area are not mentioned, nor about the individuals that stay here daily, and who have a relationship to the place and what it has to offer. The street is significant to the communities and practices that occur daily at Ngbg that bring livelihood and meaning for those who are here. The significance of the practices as the practices not only represent the spatial practice but influences the representation of space. The characteristics expressed in different ways matter and is a cornerstone to the culture and cohesion existing in different constellations in Norra Grängesbergsgatan. Looking at the process of gentrification contemporary attributes of the street can be lost no matter what, but the city of Malmö should consider what culture in this place means as it's tied to attitudes, values, beliefs practiced and accepted by the communities in this area. In this study, the observation of seemingly mundane occurrences, contains some of the clandestine that is of great value to many people are revealed. This is an opponent of the representation of space and neoliberal values.

A great concern is, what does it mean for the communities when the city has an idea of how they think the area should be, given Malmö as an already segregated city. With this in mind, questions arise, such as who pays the price for the city's visions? If it's not the people, there is a risk that the city will lose in the long run and create new opportunities of increased polarization while prioritizing those who already have benefits. With this mindset, it is likely to counteract the work against segregation and integration in Malmö, and this is not a path to a sustainable future.

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